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LITERARY REMAINS

OF

KING EDWARD THE SIXTH

II



LITERARY REMAINS  
OF  
KING EDWARD THE SIXTH

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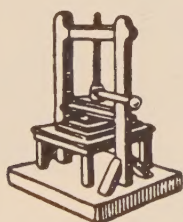
EDITED  
FROM HIS AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPTS  
WITH HISTORICAL NOTES, AND A BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR  
BY  
JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, F. S. A.

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VOLUME THE SECOND.

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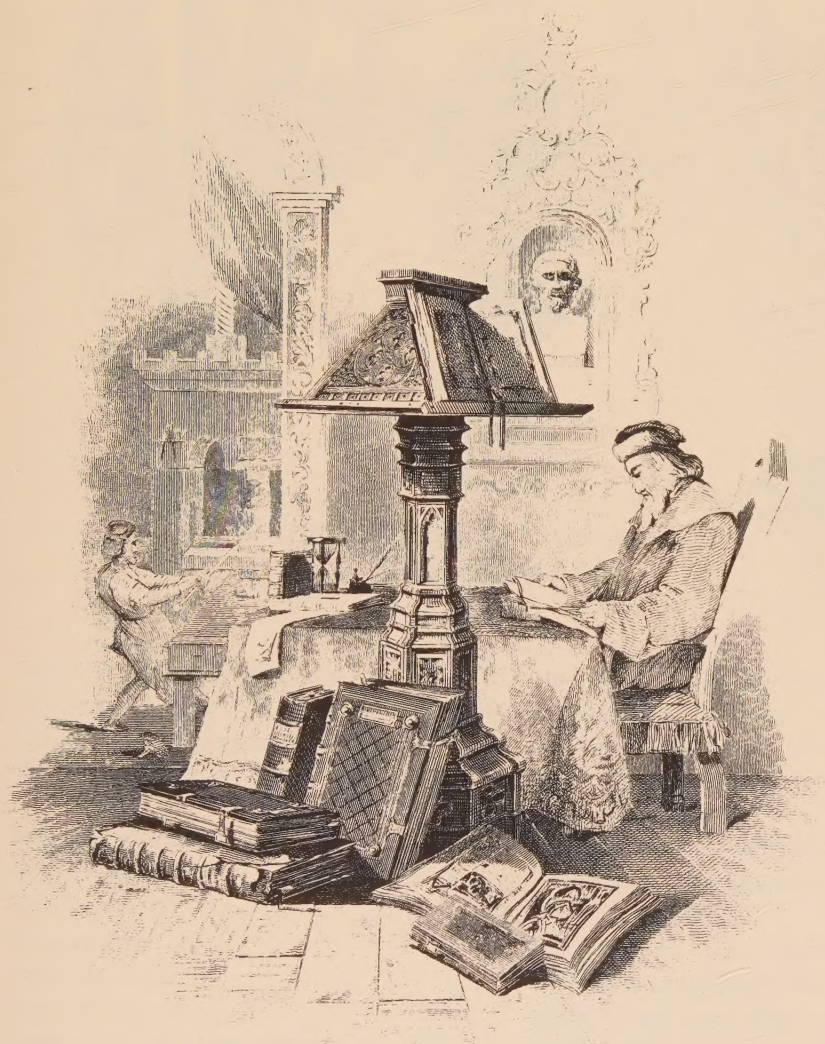
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## ADVERTISEMENT.

IN this Volume is comprised the whole of the King's Journal, together with his Essays on Political subjects, and such State Papers as are still extant in his own autograph.

The earlier portion of the Work contains his Letters, sixty-three in number ; some specimens of his Orationes, or Declamations, in Latin and Greek ; three religious compilations, in French ; and the only piece of Poetry that is attributed to his pen. To these will be prefixed a Preface, giving an account of the Manuscripts from which the collection has been formed ; and a Biographical Memoir.

An Index to the whole Work will also be added to the First Volume, which will be ready for the Club after the lapse of a few months.

J. G. N.

*June 5, 1857.*



# JOURNAL.

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[MS. Cotton. Nero, C. x.]

The MS. of the King's Journal is a folio paper book of 68 leaves, now bound, with some other papers of his writing, in the Cottonian volume above specified. On the fly-leaf in front is a drawing of the royal arms, crowned, within the garter, partly coloured and gilt, but not finished. The present Editor retains the title of Journal, which was bestowed on this compilation by Bishop Burnet; but the royal Author himself seems to have been inclined to call it a Chronicle, which was the more usual term of his day. The words "A Chronicle" are written by his pen, but smeared whilst the ink was wet, at the top of the first leaf; and the word occurs again on leaf \*14.

For the remarks which some of our leading historical writers and others have made on this Journal, the reader may turn to the Preface.

THE yere of our Lord 1537 was a prince borne to king Harry th'eight, by Jane Seymour then quene, who within few dayes after the birth of her soone died,<sup>1</sup> and was buried at the castel of Winsore. This child was christened by the duke of Northfolk, the duke of Southfolke, and the archbishop of Caunterbury.<sup>2</sup> Afterward was brought up, til he came to six yeres old, among the wemen. At the sixt yere of his age, he was brought up in learning by Mr. Doctour Cox, who was after his amner,<sup>3</sup> and Jhon Chieke, M<sup>r</sup> of Art, tow wel

<sup>1</sup> King Edward was born on the 12th of October, and his mother died on the 24th of that month: see Biographical Memoir.

<sup>2</sup> It is remarkable that the King omits the name of his godmother—being his sister Mary. The ceremonial of the Christening is given in the Appendix.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Coxe, S.T.P. was constituted Almoner, by letters patent dated 16th March, 1546-7, which are printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. The following entry in the register of the Privy Council lets us know in what the duties of that office consisted: "1546-7,



learnid men, who sought to bring him up in learning of toungues, of the scriptures, of philosophie, and all liberal sciences. Also Jhon Belmaine, Frenchman, did teach him the French launguage. The 10 yere not yet ended, it was apointed he shuld be created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwal, and Conte Palatine of Chester. At wich time, being the yere of our Lord 1547, the said king died of a dropsi, as it was thought. After whos death incontinent came Edward erle of Hartford and sir Anthony Browne, master of the hors, to convey this prince to Enfil, wheare th' earle of Hertford declared to him, and his younger sister Elizabeth, the death of their father.

<sup>1</sup>After the death of king Henry th'eight, his son Edward prince of Wales was come to at Hartford by th'erle of Hartford and sir Anthony Brown, master of t'horse, for whom before was made great preparacion that he might [be] created Prince of Wales, and afterward was brought to Enfil, whear the death of his father was first shewed him, and the same day the death of his father was shewed in London, wher was great lamentation and weping; and sodenly he proclaimed King.<sup>2</sup> The next day, being the [31st] of [January<sup>3</sup>], he

March 10 : Warrant was addressed to sir William Cavendish, treasurer of the chambre, for the payment of the summes ensuing to Mr. doctour Coxe, the King's Ma<sup>tes</sup> Almonyer, viz. for the almes given by his Ma<sup>te</sup> to xij. pore men daily, at 5 d. sterling a piece of them, per annum lxxv li. x s. Item for almes distributed on Palme Sunday and Good Friday amongs pore parishes as it was the last year, cxxxij li. vj s. viij d. Item for privy almes given monthly by his Highnes, xx li. Facit for one whole year, ccxl li." On the 11th June following sir William Cavendish "had warrant to allow himself xij li. for so much disbursed to xij. pore men by the King's Ma<sup>te</sup> in almes on Maunday Thursday last past."

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Burnet remarks that here the King "begins anew again," repeating some of the particulars already stated. The probable explanation of this is, that the first beginning was here, with his accession, and that he subsequently prefixed the short account of his birth and childhood.

<sup>2</sup> The proclamation (in London) did not take place until the 31st of January; the same day on which the King was brought to the Tower. See in the Appendix the ceremonial of the Proclamation, as related in the Black Book of Lincoln's Inn.

<sup>3</sup> The same day in the after-noon the said young King came to the Tower of London from Hertford, and rode into the citie at Aldgate, and so along the wall by the Crossed Fryers

was brought to the towre of London, whear he taried th'espace of three wekes; and in the mean season the counsel sat every day for the performaunce of the will,<sup>1</sup> and at length thought best that the erle of Hartford shuld be made Duc of Somerset, sir Thomas Seimour Lord Sudley, the erle of Essex Marquis of Northampton, and divers knights should be mad Barons, as the lord Sheffield, with divers other.<sup>2</sup> Also thei thought best to chose the duke of Somerset to be Protectour of the realm and Governour of the Kinges person during his minorite, to which al the gentlemen and lordes did agre becaus he was the Kinges oncle on his mother's side.<sup>3</sup> Also in this time the late King was buried at Windsor with much solemnite, and th'officers broke their staves, hurling them into the grave.<sup>4</sup> But thei were restored to them again when thei come to the towre.

to the Tower-hill, and entered at the Red Bulwarke, where hee was received by sir John Gage, constable of the Tower, and the lieutenant on horsebacke, the earle of Hertford riding before the King, and sir Anthony Browne riding after him; and on the bridge next the ward gate the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellour, with other great lords of the councill received him, and so brought him to his chamber of presence, where they were sworne to his Majestie." (Stowe's Chronicle, quoting "Rob. Greene" as authority in his margin.)

<sup>1</sup> The Will of Henry the Eighth was printed at length in 4to. 1793. The proceedings of the privy council with regard to its execution will be found in the Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> The creations were: 1. The protector to be Duke of Somerset; 2. The earl of Essex (brother to the queen dowager) to be Marquess of Northampton; 3. The lord Lisle to be Earl of Warwick; 4. the lord chancellor Wriothesley to be Earl of Southampton; 5. sir Thomas Seymour to be Lord Seymour of Sudeley; 6. sir Richard Rich to be Lord Rich of Leeze; 7. sir William Willoughby to be Lord Willoughby of Parham; and 8. sir Edmund Sheffield to be Lord Sheffield of Butterwick. The ceremonial of their creations will be found in the Appendix.

<sup>3</sup> On the subject of the Protectorate the reader is referred to the Appendix. The duke was also constituted Lord Treasurer on the 10th of February, and the next day sworn in to that office before the lord chancellor in Westminster hall. He further became Earl Marshal (see the next page), both these high offices being vacated by the attainder of the duke of Norfolk.

<sup>4</sup> The ceremonial of the Funeral of Henry the Eighth is printed at length in Strype's Eccles. Memorials, vol. ii. Appx. A. The interment was accomplished on the 14th Feb.

The lord Lisle was mad(e) Erle of Warwick, and the lord great chamberlainship was given to him;<sup>1</sup> and the lord Sudley mad(e) Admirall of England.<sup>2</sup> Al this thinges wer don, the King being in the towre. Afterwardes, al thinges being prepared for the corroration,<sup>3</sup> the King being then but nin(e) yere old, passed through the cite of London as hiertofore hath ben used, and cam to the palace of Whestmuster, and the next day cam into Whestmuster hall, and it was asked the peple whether they would have him to be there King? who answered "Ye, ye." Then he was crowned King of England, Fraunce, and Irland by th'ar(ch)bishop of Caunterbury and al the rest of the cleargie and nobles, and anointed with al such ceremonies as wer accustomed, and toke his othe, and gave a general pardon,<sup>4</sup> and so was brought to the hale to diner, Shroft sunday, wher he satt with the croune on his hed, with th'ar(bishop) of Caunterbury and the lord Protectour, and al the lordes satt at bourdes in the hal beneth;

<sup>1</sup> On the 21st May following the Council made the following order relative to the hereditary claim of the earl of Oxford to this office: "This day it was ordered by the Lord Protectour's grace, with th'assent of others of the Counsaile, that the patent of the Great Chambrelenship of Inghlande shuld be demanded of th'erle of Oxenfourth, to be by him surrendered into the King's Ma<sup>tes</sup> hands, for the clere extinction of his pretended clayme to the said office, whereunto he could shewe nothing of good ground to have right to the same." (Register of the Privy Council.)

<sup>2</sup> The office of Lord Admiral was resigned by the earl of Warwick at this time, and resumed after lord Seymour of Sudeley's disgrace. The letters patent to Seymour, dated 17th February, 1547, are printed in Rymer's collection, as are other letters to the like purport, dated 30th August following. On the same day (17th February) the office of Earl Marshal was granted for life to the duke of Somerset; that of Great Constable of England was granted, for the day of the coronation, to the marquess of Dorset; and that of Great Steward of England, for the same day, to the earl of Bedford. (Ibid.)

<sup>3</sup> The ceremonial of the Coronation will be found in the Appendix.

<sup>4</sup> From this Pardon six persons were excepted: the duke of Norfolk, Edward lord Courtenay, son of the late marquess of Exeter, sir . . . Fortescue, sir . . . Throckmorton, cardinal Pole, and doctor Pates. (Stowe's Chronicle.) In the act for a General Pardon passed in the ensuing parliament, cap. 15, were excepted all persons being the 2nd Dec 1547, prisoners in the Tower of London. Statutes of the Realm, iv. 35.

and the lord Marshales deputy, for my lord of Somerset was lord Marshal, rode about the hal to make rome. Then came in sir John Dimoke, champion, and mad his chaleng, and soe the King drounke to him, and he had the cup. At night the King retourned to his palace at Whestmuster, wher ther wer justes and barieres; and afterward order was taken for al his servauntes being with his father and him being prince, and the ordinary and unordinary were appointed.

In the mean season, sir Andrew Dudley,<sup>1</sup> brother to my lord of Warwic, being in the Paunsie, met with the Lion, a principall ship of Scotland, wich thought to take the Paunsi without resistance. But the Paunsi approached her and she shote, but at length thei com very nere, and then the Paunsi, shoting of all one side, bust al the over loue of the Lion, and al her takling, and at lenght borded her and toke her. But in the returne, by negligence, she was lost at Harwich haven, with almost al her men.

In the month of May died the French king, called Fraunces,<sup>2</sup> and his son called Hary was proclaimed king. Ther cam also out of Scoteland an embassadour,<sup>3</sup> but brought nothing to passe, and an army was prepared into Scoteland.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At the privy council held at Westminster on the 27th February, "Mr. Andrew Dudeley esquire, being apointed to be admyrall of the King's Ma<sup>tes</sup> flete addressed into the North seas, as well for annoyance of the Skotts bruted to prepare to passe towards France, and for the interception of such munition as is loked to be brought for Skoteland oute of Fraunce, as for the sure-conduct of victuallers northwards, had instructions under the King's Ma<sup>tes</sup> hand for his proceedings. And commission under the hands of the Lord Protector and Counseill to the capitanes and other ministers of the shippes to obey him as their Admyrall in their voyage as apperteigneth." (Register of the privy Council.) The duke of Somerset knighted sir Andrew Dudley on the 18th of September, when he dispatched him with the lord admiral (Clinton) to win the hold of Broughty craig, at the mouth of the river Tay. (Patten, p. 83.) He was subsequently, in 1552, elected a knight of the Garter, being then captain of Guisnes; but degraded and attainted, after the accession of Mary, in 1553.

<sup>2</sup> Francis the First died on the 31st March (not May), 1547.

<sup>3</sup> "7th Aug. Sir Edmund Peckham had warraunt for lxxv li. for sir Adam Otterborn, the Scottish ambassadour, at his departing." (Register of the Privy Council.)

<sup>4</sup> In the collection of Proclamations, &c. in the library of the Society of Antiquaries,



Certain injunctions wer set forth,<sup>1</sup> wich toke away divers ceremonies; and commission sent to take down images:<sup>2</sup> and certain homilies<sup>3</sup> wer set forth to be read in the church.

Doctour Smith of Oxford<sup>4</sup> recauntid at Poulis certain opinions of

is a copy of the Protector's manifesto on making this invasion: printed by Grafton as a broadside to be posted in the towns of Scotland. It is undated, but was issued on the 31st July. It commences, thus grandly setting forth the Protector's style: "Edward, Duke of Somerset, Erle of Hertford, Viscount Beauchamp, Lorde Seymour, Governor of the persone of the Kynges Maiestie of England, and Protector of all his Realmes, Dominions, and subjectes, his lieuテナント-generall of all his armies, bothe by land and by sea, Treasurer and Erle-Marshall of Englande, Governor of the Isles of Gernsey and Jersey, and Knight of the moste noble ordre of the Garter: To all the nobles and gentlemen of the Realme of Scotlande, and the common people of the same, gretynge."

<sup>1</sup> "Iniuncctions geuē by the moste excellent prince Edward the sixte, by the grace of God kyng of England, Fraūce and Ireland: defendor of the Faythe, and in earthe under Christ of the churche of Englande and of Ireland the supreme hedde: To all and singuler his lovyng subiectes, aswell of the Clergie, as of the Laietie. *Coloph.*—Imprinted at London the laste daie of Julii, in the first yere of the reigne of our Sovereigne lord kyng Edward the VI. by Richard Grafton, printer to his moste royall maiestie. anno 1547." 14 leaves. These Injunctions are inserted in the first edition of Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, and in the edit. 1838, vol. v. pp. 706—713; also in Bishop Sparrow's *Collection of Articles*, &c.; and again in *Cranmer's Works* (Parker Society), ii. 498.

<sup>2</sup> A letter of the council to the archbishop of Canterbury, dated from Somerset place, 11 Feb. 1548, for the abolishing of images, together with the subsequent proceedings thereon, will be found in Foxe, edit. 1838, vol. v.

<sup>3</sup> "Certayne Sermons or Homilies, appoynted by the Kynges Maiestie to bee declared and redde by all persones, vicares, or curates, every Sondaye in their churches where they have cure. Anno 1547. London, printed by R. Grafton, 1547." These homilies were twelve in number; of which three, those on Salvation, Faith, and Works, are reprinted by the Parker Society in their edition of *Cranmer's Works*, 1846. On the authorship of others see a note, *ibid.* p. 128. The Injunctions required that every officiating minister should read the two books of Homilies to his flock, and should himself study the Paraphrase of the Gospels made by Erasmus, which was also at this period provided for every parish.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Smith, regius professor of divinity at Oxford. "On the 15. of May, being sunday, doctor Smith, master of Whittington colledge in London, doctor of divinity, and reader of the same in the King's colledge at Oxford, recanted at Paules crosse, declaring his former bookes and teachings to be erronious and hereticall." (*Stowe's Chronicle.*)



the masse, and that Christ was not according to th' ordre of Melchisedec.

The lord Seimour of Sudley married the quene, whos nam was Katarine, with wich mariag<sup>1</sup> the lord Protectour was much offended.

Ther was great preparation mad to goe into Scoteland,<sup>2</sup> and the lord Protectour,<sup>3</sup> th'erl of Warwic,<sup>4</sup> the lord Dacres,<sup>5</sup> the lord

The words of his recantation are printed in the Appendix to Strype's Life of Cranmer, num. xxxix. See bishop Gardiner's remarks on the occasion in a letter to the Protector dated the 6th June, printed in Foxe, first edit. and in edit. 1838, vi. 40; and on Smith's religious opinions generally see the Index to Strype's Works, 1828, ii. 279. He was the preacher in 1555 at the burning of Latimer and Ridley.

<sup>1</sup> With regard to this marriage, the reader may be referred to the letters and remarks already given in pp. 41, 44—46.

<sup>2</sup> The history of this campaign was related in "The Expedition into Scotlande of the most woorthely fortunate prince Edward Duke of Somerset, uncle to our most noble sovereign lord the Kinges Majestie Edward the VI., Goovernour of hys Hyghnes persone, and Protectour of hys Grace's realmes, dominions, and subjectes; made in the first yere of his Majesties most prosperous reign, and set out by way of Diarie, By W. Patten, Londoner. Printed at London, 1548;" 12mo. and reprinted in Dalzell's Fragments of Scottish History, 1798. Patten was one of the judges of the marshalsea in the army, the other being William Cecill, afterwards the great Burghley. His narrative is largely quoted in Holinshed; and followed in Sir John Hayward's Life and Reign of Edward VI. The Sieur Berteville has also left a memoir of the campaign: see note hereafter in p. 217.

<sup>3</sup> The duke of Somerset was experienced in the warfare of the Scottish border. He had been lord warden of the marches in 1542, when James the Fifth lost his life at Solway moss. The next year, accompanied by the lord Lisle, he visited the towns of Leith and Edinburgh with fire and devastation. And in 1544 as lord-lieutenant he commanded the expedition sent into Scotland, in which the towns of Leith and Edinburgh were again burnt, with those of Preston, Haddington, and Dunbar, and various castles, of which expedition a narrative, printed in the same year, is reprinted in Dalzell's Fragments of Scottish History, 1798, 4to. See the duke's military atchievements further particularised in the preface to the work of Patten, mentioned in the preceding note. On

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<sup>4</sup> The earl of Warwick was Lieutenant of the army, and captain of the foreward of iii. m. footmen. (Patten.)

<sup>5</sup> William lord Dacre had the command of the rearward of iii. m. footmen.

Gray,<sup>1</sup> and mr. Brian,<sup>2</sup> went with a great number of nobles and gentlemen to Berwic, where, the first day after his comming, he mustered al his company, wich wer to the number of 13,000 footmen and 5000 horsmen.<sup>3</sup> The next day he marched on into Scoteland, and so passed the Pease.<sup>4</sup> Then he burnt tow

the present occasion he went as "general of the armie, and capitayn of the bataille, having in it iiii. m. fotemen." (Patten.) Letters patent constituting him "Lieutenant and Captain-generall of the warres both by sea and land," passed the great seal on the 11th of August (Burnet erroneously says the 21st); and they are printed in Rymer's *Fœdera* under the wrong year, 1548 instead of 1547, an error which misled Rapin (vol. ii. p. 12), who applied them to a time when (as he supposed) the Protector required authority to send the earl of Shrewsbury as Lieutenant-general, on the second year's campaign in Scotland.

<sup>1</sup> The lord Grey of Wilton was high marshal of the army, and captain-generall of all the horsemen. See the account given of his conduct in the "Commentarie of the Services of William Lord Grey de Wilton," edited by Sir Philip Grey Egerton, Bart. for the Camden Society, 1847, p. 10. After the close of the campaign, lord Grey was left in Scotland in the chief command of the English forces.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Francis Bryan was the captain of the light horsemen, being in number ii. m. (Patten.) He shortly after became marshal of Ireland (having married the countess dowager of Ormonde), and on the 27th December, 1549, was constituted lord justice of that kingdom; but during an expedition into Tipperary he died at Clonmell on the 2nd February following.

<sup>3</sup> The King wrote 12,000 and 2000, and the figures are altered as above. The Sieur Berteville estimated the English army as about 12,000 (he at first wrote 14,000) footmen, 1300 men of arms, *i.e.* cavalry (he at first wrote "viii. centz." and so it is misprinted in the Bannatyne Club-book hereafter noticed), and 2,500 light horsemen. These numbers may be compared with Patten's account, p. xxv. of the several forces.

<sup>4</sup> The lord protector, having left Berwick on Sunday the 4th of September, "marched that daie a six miles, and camped by a village called Rostan, in the baronrie of Boukendall." . . . "The fift of September they marched an eight miles, untill they came to the Peaths, a clough or vallie running for a six miles west streight eastward, and toward the sea a twentie score brode from banke to banke above, and a five score in the bottome, wherein runs a little river. Steepe is this vallie on either side, and deep in the bottome." (Holinshed, following Patten.) The pass is called "the Pethes" in a letter of sir Ralph Sadler to the earl of Shrewsbury, printed in Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*, vol. i. pp. 120, 122. It is now called Cockburn's Path, anciently it is said Colbrand's

castels<sup>1</sup> in Scoteland, and so passed a straight of a brig,<sup>2</sup> wher 300 Scottis light horsmen set upon him behind him, who wer discomfited. So he passed to Musselborough, where the first day after he come he went up to the hill, and saw the Scottis, thinking them, as thei were indeed, at lest 36,000<sup>3</sup> men, and my lord of Warwic was almost taken, chasing th'erl of Huntley, by an ambush. But he was rescued by on(e) Bertivell,<sup>4</sup> with

Path; and the bridge which was built there in 1786 crosses a chasm in some parts more than 160 feet deep. It was this pass which the lord admiral told the King that his brother was not likely to surmount, "without losse of a great nombre of men, or of hymself" (see before, p. 58): it was, however, accomplished without difficulty, as Matthew Home, the captain of Dunglas castle, which commanded the pass, surrendered without a struggle.

<sup>1</sup> Dunglas castle was defaced, and the next day the piles of Thornton and Anderwick.

<sup>2</sup> Linton brig, on the 7th of September.

<sup>3</sup> The King first wrote 23,000. Patten states that he heard some of the Scots confess that their army consisted of "above xxvi. m. fighting footmen, beside ii. m. horsemen prickers (as they cal them), and hereto iii. thousande Irish archers brought by th'erle of Argile." Preface, p. xii.

<sup>4</sup> This occurred (as Patten tells us) on the 7th of September, in a skirmish at the passage of the river Lin, near Hailes castle, when the earl of Warwick was accompanied by scant sixteen horses, whereof Berteville and John de Ribaud, Frenchmen, were two, seven or eight light horsemen more, and the rest his own servants. Berteville was "hurt in the buttok." And it is added that "As Bartevil that day had righte honestly served, so did the lordes righte honorably quite yt, for straight upon the overtakyng of my lordes Grace (*i. e.* Somerset) my lorde Lieutenant (*i. e.* Warwick) did get him a surgion, and drest he was, straight after layde and conveyed in my lordes Grace's owne chariot, that was both right sumptuous for cost and easy for caryage." This gentleman has himself left a memoir of the campaign, but his modesty has not permitted him to insert this adventure. The memoir was contributed by David Constable, esq. to the Bannatyne Club, entitled "*Recit de l'Expedition en Escosse, l'an MDXLVI. et de la Batayle de Muscledburgh, par le Sieur Berteville,*" and printed in 1825, accompanied by a fac-simile of a large contemporary engraving of the battle of Muscledbrogh (or Pinkey, as it has been more frequently termed). The original of this memoir is preserved in the Cottonian Library, Cleopatra A. xi. It commences with an epistle from the author to the King, above which is written "*Liber Georgii fferers ex dono Regis Edouardi:*" which shows that it was given by the King to George Ferrers, well known as the Christmas Lord of Misrule (whose magnificence is amply commemorated in the Loseley Manuscripts), as

twelve hagbusiers on horsbake, and the ambush ran away. The 7 day of September, the lord Protectour thought to get the hil; wich the Scottis seeing, passed the brig over the river of Musel-burough, and strove for the hier ground, and almost gott it. But our horsmen set upon them, who although the(y) staided them, yet wer put to flight, and gathered together again by the duc of Somerset lord Protectour, and th'erl of Warwic, and wer redie to give a new onset. The Scottis being amasid with this, fledde ther wayes, some to Edenborough, som to the see, and some to Dalkeith, and ther wer slain 10,000 of them.<sup>1</sup> But of Englishe men 51 horsmen, wich were almost al gentilmen, and but one foteman.<sup>2</sup> Prisoners were taken the lord Huntley<sup>3</sup> chauncellour of Scoteland, and divers

a contributor to the *Chronicles of Holinshed*, and as the principal poet of *The Mirrour for Magistrates*. He was himself in this campaign; and Patten, describing him as "George Ferrers a gentleman of my lord Protector's, and one of the commissioners of the carriages in this army," tells a story of his smothering some Scots hid in a cavern near Leith (p. 44). To return to Berteville: he was one of those knighted by the earl of Warwick at Berwick in September, when Patten calls him sir John Barteville. He is noticed in a letter of dr. Wotton printed by Tytler, p. 91. His name occurs again in the *King's Journal* in connection with the charges made against the Protector by Warwick.

<sup>1</sup> Sir James Balfour says "the Scotts lost 8000 men of all sortes, and weire 1000 prisoners taken." *Annales of Scotland*, printed in 1825, 8vo. vol. i. p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> Patten commemorates particularly the deaths of Edward Shelley, the lord Grey's lieutenant of the men of arms of Boulogne, upon whom he gives a long eulogium (p. 72); and another Bullener "little Preston," who was "found with both his handes cut of by the wreastes, and knowen to be he, for that it was knowen he had of each arme a bracelet of golde, for the which they so chopt him."

<sup>3</sup> George Gordon, fourth earl of Huntly, constituted lord chancellor of Scotland in 1546. He was distinguished as a soldier, particularly by his victory over sir Robert Bowes at Haddenrig in 1542. On the 9th Sept. 1547 (the day before the battle of Pinkey or Musselburgh), the earl of Huntly challenged the duke of Somerset, to "fight for the whole quarrel, xx. to xx., x. to x., or els hymselfe alone with your Grace man to man." The Protector refused, "beynge of such estate by the sufferaunce of God as (to) have so weighty a charge of so precious a jewel, the governaunce of a Kynges person, and the protection of all his reames." See the incident related at considerable length by Patten, p. 49. The earl escaped from prison at Morpeth in 1548, and was killed in battle with the regent Moray at Corrichie in 1562.



other gentlemen, and slain of lardes a 1000.<sup>1</sup> And mr. Brian,<sup>2</sup> Sadleir,<sup>3</sup> and Vane<sup>4</sup> were mad(e) Barnels [bannerets].

After this battail Bouchtekrag was geven to th' English men, and Hum(e), and Roxborough, and Aymouth; which wer fortified, and

<sup>1</sup> At first written 2000.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Francis Bryan, already noticed.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Ralph Sadleyr was treasurer of the army. Berteville bears this testimony to his valour: "En cest bataille monseigneur Sadeler le tresseurier monstra que son sens et proesse ne gist tant en office du finances qu'en experience de guerre." (p. 17.) Attached to sir Ralph Sadleyr's monument at Standon in Hertfordshire was a banner-staff of extraordinary height, said to have been a trophy of the field of Mussleburgh.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Ralph Vane is described by Patten as "lieutenaunt of all the men of armes and dimilaunces, beyng in number iiij. M." in which number there is perhaps an error. Berteville speaks of "la maison du roy, duquoy estoit chef Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vannez, ung aussi vaillant et saige capitaine." (p. 26.) But sir Thomas Darcy, according to Patten, was the "capitayn of all the Kynges majesties pencioners and men of armes."

<sup>5</sup> Besides these three bannerets—"a dignitie (as Patten remarks) above a Knight, and next to a Baron," the duke of Somerset also made the following Knights in the camp at Roxburgh on the 28th of September:—

The lord Grey of Wilton, high marshal.  
The lord Edward Seimour, my lordes grace's  
[eldest] son [by his first wife].  
The lord Thomas Howard.  
The lord Walldyke, a Clevelandler.  
Sir Thomas Dacre.  
Sir Edward Hastings.  
Sir Edmund Brydges.  
Sir John Thynne, my lord's grace's steward  
of household.  
Sir Miles Partridge.  
Sir John Conway.  
Sir Giles Poole.  
Sir Ralph Bagnall.  
Sir Oliver Lawrence.  
Sir Henry Gates.  
Sir Thomas Chaloner, one of the clerks of the  
council, and in this army chief secretary.  
Sir Francis Flemmyng, master of the ord-  
nance.

Sir John Gresham.  
Sir William Skipwith.  
Sir John Buttes.  
Sir George Blaag (joint commissioner of the  
musters. Patten, p. xxvi.)  
Sir William Frauncis.  
Sir Francis Knolles.  
Sir William Thornborow.  
Sir George Howard, who did bear the King's  
standard in the battail.  
Sir James Wylforde (provost marshal of the  
army. Patten, p. xxv.)  
Sir Ralph Coppinger (a pensioner.)  
Sir Thomas Wentworth.  
Sir John Mervyn.  
Sir Nicholas Lestrangle.  
Sir Charles Stourton.  
Sir Hugh Ascough.  
Sir Francis Salvayn.

captaines<sup>1</sup> wer put in them; and the lord of Somerset rewarded with 500 pound laundes.

In the mean season Steph. Gardiner bishop of Winchester was, for not receiving th' Injunctions, committed to ward.<sup>2</sup>

There was also a parlement called,<sup>3</sup> wherin al chauntries were graunted to the King,<sup>4</sup> and an extrem law made for vagaboundis, and divers other thinges.

Sir Richard Towneley.  
Sir Marmaduke Constable.  
Sir George Awdeley.  
Sir John Holcroft (joint commissioner of the musters. Patten, p. xxvi.)  
Sir John Southworth.  
Sir Thomas Danby.  
Sir John Talbot.  
Sir Rowland Clerk.

Sir John Horsley (captain of Bamborough castle. Patten, p. 28.)  
Sir John Forster.  
Sir Christopher Dies, }  
Sir Peter Negroo, } Spaniards.  
Sir Alonzo de Vile, }  
Sir Henry Hussey.  
Sir James Granado, Brabander.  
Sir Walter Bonham.

And at Newcastle, on the duke's return, he knighted the mayor, sir Robert Brandling.

Subsequently, the earl of Warwick, when lieutenant-general, made five knights at Berwick,—sir Thomas Neville (the lord Neville's brother), sir Andrew Corbet, sir Anthony Strelley, sir Arthur Mainwaring, sir Richard Verney, and sir John Berteville the Frenchman. (Patten, corrected by Holinshed.)

<sup>1</sup> The captains were,—sir Andrew Dudley, appointed to the castle of Broughty craig; sir Edward Dudley (afterwards lord Dudley), to Home castle; and sir Ralph Bulmer, to Roxburgh. (Patten, p. 93.)

<sup>2</sup> Burnet has given, in his *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. Records, No. 13, a letter of Gardiner to sir John Godsalue, concerning the Injunctions; and No. 14, part of a letter addressed by the bishop to the Protector, against the lawfulness of the Injunctions.

<sup>3</sup> The parliament met on the 4th November, 1547, and sat until the 24th December. The acts to which the King refers are,—cap. 14, An acte wherby certaine Chauntries, Colleges, Free Chappelles, and the possessions of the same, be given to the Kinges majestie; and cap. 3, An acte for the punishment of Vagabondis and for the relief of the poore and impotent parsons. See *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. iv. pp. 5, 24. The term "extreme" was applied by the King to the latter law, because, at the time he wrote this Journal, having been found impracticably severe, it had been repealed in the Parliament of 1549 by the 2 and 3 Edw. VI. cap. 16, whereby the statute of 22 Hen. VIII. cap. 12 was revived.

<sup>4</sup> "In the episcopal registers, notices occur of institutions to chantries in the different churches, to such a period as justifies the inference that these establishments escaped the rapacity of Henry and his greedy dependents. Their funds were, however, all swept

Also the S(c)ottis besieged Bouchte-krag,<sup>1</sup> wich was defendid against them al by sir Andrew Dudley knight, and oftentimes their ordinnaunce was taken and marred.

## 2 YERE.

A triumph was, where six gentilmen did chaleng all commers at barriers, justes, and tornay; and also that they would kepe a fortresse with thirty with them against an hundred or under, which was don at Greenwich.<sup>2</sup>

Sir Edward Bellingam being sent into Irland deputy, and sir Anthoni Setlenger revoced, he toke Ocanor and Omore, bringing the lordes that rebelled into subjection; and Ocanor and Omore, leving thear lordshippes, had apece a hundred li. pencion.<sup>3</sup>

away by this Act." (Hatcher, History of Salisbury, folio, 1843, p. 260.) Sir Walter Mildmay and Robert Calwey (or Kelloway) esquire were appointed commissioners of chantries April 17, 1548. (Privy council register.)

<sup>1</sup> Broughty craig, at the mouth of the Tay, was taken by the English on the 21st of September, 1547, being betrayed by the Scot, mr. Henry Durham, who had the charge of it under the lord Gray of Scotland, together with the farm of the fisheries, &c. He received in consequence a reward of 50*l.* from the English council, and was awarded a yearly pension of the same amount. A pension of 100*l.* was assigned to the lord Gray (the patent is given by Rymer, xv. 200), and one of 200 crowns to his brother. (Register of the privy council.)

<sup>2</sup> "The 12 of February, being Shrove-Sunday, and the Munday and Tuesday following, was great Justs, and warlike feates done in the Parke at Greenwich, where was a castle or fort of turves, besieged and assaulted, to shew the King the manner of warres, wherein hee had great pleasure." Stowe's Chronicle. "xxviiij Jan. Mr. William had warraunt for Lx li. viij s. x d. to sir Thomas Darcy for pikes, lances, and other necessities for the Triumph at Shrove-tide, and for weapons at Twelf-tide, according to a bill of particulars." Register of the Privy Council.

<sup>3</sup> "O'Conor (Brian) and O'More (Gilla-Patrick), having been abandoned by the Irish, went over to the English, to make submission to them upon their own terms, under the protection of an English gentleman, *i. e.* the Lieutenant. This, however, was a bad protection." Annals of the Four Masters, sub anno 1547, 4to. 1848, p. 1503, where it is stated in a note that "the Lieutenant" (meaning the Deputy) was Francis Brian. This is clearly an error for sir Edward Bellingham. The next year "O'More (Gilla-Patrick) died suddenly in England." Ibid. p. 1513.

The Scottis besieged the towne of Hadington,<sup>1</sup> wher the captaine mr. Wilford<sup>2</sup> every day mad(e) issues upon them, and slew divers of them. The thing was very weake but for the men, who did very manfully. Oftentimes mr. Holcroft and mr. Paulmer<sup>3</sup> did vitail it by force, passing through the enemies. And at the last the ringrave<sup>4</sup> unawares set upon mr. Paulmer,<sup>5</sup> wich was ther with ner a thousand and 500 horsmen, and discomfited him, taking him, mr. Bowes

<sup>1</sup> "The History of the Winning of Hadington in Scotland, An. 2 Reg. Edwardi VI." forms the last portion of the historico-poetical book entitled "The Flower of Fame," compyled by Ulpian Fulwell, printed in London 1575, 4to., and reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, edit. 1812, vol. ix. His information was received from "capitayne Dethick," one of the officers employed; and the accounts given by Holinshed and the other chroniclers are derived from this source.

<sup>2</sup> Sir James Wilford. He had been knighted by the earl of Hertford after the taking of Leith, September 28, 1547. In the defence of Hadington he acquired great reputation, as will be found in Fulwell's narrative. He was afterwards taken prisoner (see p. 224); and further particulars respecting him may be seen in the notes to Machyn's Diary, p. 314.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Thomas Holcroft and sir Thomas Palmer.

<sup>4</sup> The Rhinegrave is mentioned by Holinshed as "coronall" of 3,000 or 4,000 lansknecchts in the French service at Boulogne in 1546. I have not discovered his name, but may notice a misapprehension of Mr. Park, the editor of the Harleian Miscellany, who (vol. ix. p. 370, misreading Ulpian Fulwell) identifies this commander with d'Essé, and imagines "the Ringrave of Fraunce" to be "a term applied in pantomimic contempt." The force sent by France to aid the Scots in 1548 consisted of "5,000 olde beattin shouldiers,—Frenche, Italians, and Germans. De Dessay was generall; Dandelot commandit the Frenche footte; Strozzi commandit the Italians; the Reingrave commandit the Germans; Dunow was generall of the ordinance." (Balfour, i. 290.) Pietro Strozzi, general of the galleys of France, appears to have arrived first, with sixteen galleys, and won the castle of St. Andrew's. (Ibid. p. 287.) He was cousin-german to the queen, Catharine de Medicis, and was afterwards, in 1554, raised to the rank of a marshal of France; see Anselme, *Histoire Geneal.* vii. 206.

<sup>5</sup> "My lord (the earl of Shrewsbury) sent in hys stead sir Thomas Palmer and sir Robart Bowes: marrye, of all the launcies sir Thomas had the rule, whose selfwyll and glorie in that joorney did cast awaye the whoale power, for they were all over-thrown." *Commentarie of the Services of William lord Grey of Wilton*, p. 16. Sir W. Paget, in a letter to the Protector on this occasion, (MS. Cotton. Titus F. iii.) speaks very highly of sir Thomas Palmer.



warden of the Westmarches, and divers other to the number of 400, and slew a few.

[Upon S. Peter's day the bishop of Winchester<sup>1</sup> was committed to the Toure.] *Inserted.*

Then thei mad(e) divers bragges, and thei had like made to them. Then went th'erle of Shrewesbury general of the army,<sup>2</sup> with a 22,000 men, and burnt divers townes and fortresses; wich the Frenchmen and Scotis hearing, levied their siege in the month of September; in the levieng of wich ther cam (some?) to Tiberio,<sup>3</sup> wich as then was in Hadington, and, setting forth the weaknes of the towne, told him that al honour was dew to the defendours, and none to the assailers; so the sieg being levied, th'erle of Shrewesbury entred it, and vitailed and renforced it. After his departing by night ther cam in to the utter court at Hadington 2000 men armed, taking the tonsmen in ther shiertes, wich yet defended them with the help of the watch, and, at lenght with ordinaunce issued out upon them, and slew a marvailous nomber, bearing divers hot assaultes, and at lenght driving them home and kept the towne sauf.

A parliament was called,<sup>4</sup> wher an uniform order of prayer was institut, before made by a number of bishoppes and lerned men gathered together in Windsore. Ther was grauntid a subsidie, and

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Gardiner preached the sermon which was made the test of his religious faith and policy on St. Peter's day (June 29), as already noticed in p. 59. He was sent to the Tower two days after.

<sup>2</sup> The earl of Shrewesbury was made lieutenant-general in the absence of the duke of Somerset. Fulwell states that he arrived at Hadington with 16,000 fresh soldiers, and raised the siege. (See some documents relative to this period from the Talbot papers, in Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*, vol. i.)

<sup>3</sup> Tiberio was an Italian captain in the English service.

<sup>4</sup> The parliament met for its second session on the 24th of November, 1548, and was prorogued on the 14th of March. The first chapter of the acts passed in this session is intitled "An acte for the unyformitie of service and administration of the Sacramentes throughout the Realme." (See *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. iv. p. 37.)

ther was a notable disputation of the sacrament in the parlement house.

Also the lord Sudeley admiral of England was condemned to death, and died the Marche ensuing.<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Sharington was also condemned for making fals coine, wich he himself confessed ;<sup>2</sup> divers also were put in the Towre.

### 3 YERE.

Hum(e) castle was taken by night and treason by the Scottis. Mr. Wilford in a skirmish was left of his men sore hurt, and taken.<sup>3</sup> Ther was a skirmish at Bouchtekrage, wherin mr. Lutrel,<sup>4</sup> capitain after mr. Dudley, did burne certain villages, and toke monsuieur de Toge prisonnier.

The Frenchmen by night assaulted Boulinberg,<sup>5</sup> and were manfully repulsed. After, the(y) had made fagottes with pich, tar, talow, rosin, powder, and wilefier, to burne the shippes in the

<sup>1</sup> The lord Sudeley's condemnation was by act of parliament, founded upon examinations taken by privy councillors. The parliament (says Stowe) "brake up on the 14 of March, and on the 20 of March the said lord Tho. Seimer was beheaded on Tower hill." The act of his attainder is printed in the Statutes of the Realm, and some extracts have been given in the present volume, at p. 54. The articles upon which the act was founded, and some of his replies thereto, are printed from the Council Book in Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. Records, No. 31, and the warrant for his execution, *ibid.* No. 32. The examinations are extant in the State Paper office, and are printed in part by Tytler, as well as from other copies in the Burghley Papers, by Haynes.

<sup>2</sup> Respecting the misdemeanours of sir Thomas Sharington, as mint-master at Bristol, various documents are preserved in the Burghley Papers by Haynes. His confession, made in the Tower 2 Feb. 1548, is in Strype, *Eccl. Memorials*, ii. App. Z.

<sup>3</sup> "By a Gascoigne of the country of Basque called Pellicque, that won no smal commendation for that his good happe in taking such a prisoner, whose name for his often approved prowes was so famous among the enimies." Holinshed.

<sup>4</sup> Sir John Luttrell.

<sup>5</sup> Boulogne berg was a fort outside the town of Boulogne, which had been built by the English in 1546. The attack mentioned by King Edward took place on the night of May-day, 1549, when the place was successfully defended by its captain sir Nicholas Arnold. Its subsequent capture by the enemy is mentioned hereafter.

havin of Bolein. But thei wer driven away by the Boulenois, and there fagottes taken.

In Mr. Bowes' place,<sup>1</sup> who was Warden of the West Marches, was put the lord Dacre; and in the lord Gray's place<sup>2</sup> the erle of Rutland, who after his comming entred Scoteland, and burnt divers villages, and toke moche pray.

The peple began to rise in Wiltshier, where sir William Harbert did put them downe, overrun, and slay them.<sup>3</sup> Then the(y) rose in

<sup>1</sup> Sir Robert Bowes.

<sup>2</sup> As Warden of the East and Middle Marches.

<sup>3</sup> "In the month of May (says Stowe), *by meanes of a proclamation for inclosures*, the commons of Somersetshire and Lincolnshire made a commotion, and brake up certain parks of sir W. Herberd's and lord Sturton's, but sir W. Herberd slue and executed many of those rebels." For "Lincolnshire" in this passage should probably be read Wiltshire; but no further account of the disturbances in that county has been discovered, except that a local chronicle of Salisbury mentions an "uproar" occurring at Harnham hill, near that city. (Hatcher's History of Salisbury, fol. 1843, p. 261.) The "Proclamation for Inclosures," to which Stowe so ambiguously alludes, was the origin of all the insurrections and civil troubles that now ensued, and eventually of the protector's deposition and destruction. It was dated on the 1st June, 1548, and alleged that "of late by the inclosyng of landes and arable groundes in diverse and sundery places of this realme, many have been driven to extreme povertie, and compelled to leave the places where thei were borne, and to seke them livynges in other countreis, with greate miserie and povertie. Insomuche, that where as in tyme past, x. xx. yea, in some place c. or cc. christian people hath been inhabityng and kept houshold, to the bryngyng furthe and norishyng of youthe, and to the replenishyng and fulfilling of his majesties realmes with faithfull subjectes, who might serve both almightie God and the Kynges majestie, to the defence of this reame, now there is nothyng kepte but shepe or bullockes: all that lande whiche heretofore was tilled and occupied with so many men, and did brynge furthe not onely diverse families in worke and labor, but also capons, hennes, chickons, pigges, and other suche furniture of the merkettes, is now gotten, by insaciabie gredines of mynde, into one or two mennes handes, and scarsely dwelled upon with one poore shephard: so that the realme thereby is brought to a marvelous desolacion, houses decayed, parishes diminished, the force of the realme weakened, and Christian people, by the gredy covetousness of some men, eaten up and devoured of brute beasts, and driven from their houses by shepe and bullockes." This unfortunate manifesto so far encouraged the people to take the law into their own hands that in the following summer it was judged necessary to issue another proclamation

Sussex, Hamptshier, Kent, Glocitershier, Sowthfolk, Warwickeshir, Essex, Hartfordshier, a pece of Lecitershier, Worcestershier, and Rutlandshier,<sup>1</sup> where by fair purswasions, partly of honestmen among

to a contrary effect. It is dated on the 14th June, 1549, and, in reference to the former proclamation, it states: "Upon this moste Godly warnyng, admonishment, and Proclamacion, whiche was to kepe ordre and lawes, his highnes is advertised that a greate nombre of rude and ignoraunt people, in certain shires of Englande, hath taken occasion, or at the least pretended to take occasion, of doying greate and moste perilous and heinous disordre, and contrary to all good lawes and statutes, and th'ordre of this realme, have riotously, with routes and compeignies, with force, strength, and violence, of their owne hed and authoritie, assembled theimselfes, plucked doune mennes hedges, disparked their parkes, and beeyng led by furious and light guydes of uprore, taken upon them the direccion of thynges, the Kynges royall power and sworde, and committed thereby such enormitie and offence, as thei have justly therefore deserved to lose life, landes, and goodes, and to bee made example to all other." This proclamation then proceeds to excuse them, "acceptyng that this outrage was dooen, rather of folly and of mistakyng the sayd Proclamacion, and at th'instigacion and mocion of certain leude and sedicious persones, then of malice or any evill will." Pardon therefore is proclaimed, and the proclamation concludes with threatening punishment in case of future like offences. (Original in the Society of Antiquaries' collection.)

The council repudiated the former of these proclamations, and, in the 10th article of their charges against the protector, alleged, "Also, you caused a proclamation to be made concerning enclosures, whereby the common people have made divers insurrections, and levied open war, and distrained and spoiled divers of the King's subjects; which proclamation went forth against the will of the whole council." The next article relates to a commission concerning inclosures of commons, highways, decaying of cottages, &c. a copy of which is also preserved in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries; and the 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th articles allege various acts and speeches of the protector, which were calculated to encourage the rebels. Leaning to the popular side of this question, the duke of Somerset was overpowered by the great lords. In parliament they were less triumphant: a bill "for the appointing of parks" was passed in the upper house, by common assent of the peers, excepting the earl of Arundel, on the 4th Feb. 1548-9 (Lords' Journals, i. 337), but rejected by the commons on a division for the third reading, on the 11th March. (Commons' Journals, i. 10.)

<sup>1</sup> No detailed accounts of the insurrections in these counties are known to the present Editor. A letter of the earl of Huntingdon to the earl of Shrewsbury, written on the 12th September, briefly relates that he had been occupied by "such busynessys for the Kynges Ma<sup>te</sup>, uppon a sturre of dyverse confederators that hadd intended a rebellyon



them selves and partly by gentlemen, thei were often appeased, and again, bicaus certain commissions wer sent downe to pluke downe inclosures, then did arise again.

The French king, perceiving this, caused warr to be proclaimed,<sup>1</sup> and, hearing that our shippes lay at Jersey, sent a great nombre of his galeis, and certein shippes to surprend our shippes; but thei laying at anker bett the French, that they war fain to retir, with the losse of a 1000 of their men. At the sam time the French king passed by Boulein to Newhaven with his army, and toke Blakeness by treason, and the Alman camp;<sup>2</sup> wich don, Newhaven surrendered.

within the counties of Rutland and Leycester, for wiche rebellyon ther have already dyverse in the countie of Rutland byn condempned, and have suffred for the same, and this next week there shall dyvers other in the countie of Leycester be arrayned before me and the Kynges Ma<sup>ties</sup> justices of assyse, accordyng to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> laws." Lodge's Illustrations of British History, i. 134.

It is recorded that the insurrection in Essex deprived the Londoners of their usual supply of cheese: "there was no cheesys in Bartylmew fayer but soch as came owte of dyvers men's howsys within London that was not good, and the cause was for them that rose in Essex at that tyme." Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, p. 62.

<sup>1</sup> "Aug. 8. The French ambassador declared his revocation and the opening of the warres to my lord's Grace." (Privy Council Register.) On the following day, he "came to the court, and proclaimed open war with a herald and trumpeter." (Chron. of the Grey Friars of London, p. 61.) The consequent proceedings of the French king and his army will be found related by Foxe and Holinshed. He passed by the English fort of Boulogne berg on the 19th August

<sup>2</sup> The Almaine Camp was the name given to one of the English forts, built about a mile from Ambleuse. The "treason" which the King alludes to "was reported to be begun by one Sturton, a bastard sonne of the lord Sturton's, which had betrayed Newhaven, and went himselfe to the French king's service." This is Stowe's account; but it is not entirely confirmed by Holinshed. That chronicler, quoting "*Le Chroniques de Aquitaine*," relates that little more than two hours after the French artillery had begun to batter this fort, "Charles Sturton, capteine of that peece, and George Willoughbie, a gentleman associat with him, came forth to parlée with the conestable, offering to yeeld the fort into his hand, upon condition they might depart with bag and baggage." The French at that moment thrust forward, and entered the fort. This happened on the 24th of August. The castle of Ambleuse, otherwise called Newhaven, was surrendered on

Ther were also, in a skirmish between thre hundred English footmen and 700 French horsmen, six noblemen slain. Then the French king cam with his army to Bolein, wich thei seing raised Boulinberg.<sup>1</sup> But because of the plage he was compelled to retire, and Chastilion<sup>2</sup> was left behind as gouvernour of the army.

In the mean season, bicause ther was a rumour that I was dead, I passed thorowgh London.<sup>3</sup>

After that, thei ros(e) in Oxfordshier, Devonshier, Northfolk, and Yorkshier.<sup>4</sup>

To Oxfordshier the lord Gray of Wilton was sent with 1500 horsmen and footmen; whose coming, with th'assembling of the gentlemen of the countrie, did so abash the rebels, that more then hauf of them rann ther wayes, and other that tarried were some slain, some taken, and some hanged.<sup>5</sup>

the 26th by lord John Grey; and the fort of Blackness on the 27th. These forts had been built by the English in 1546. See Holinshed, edit. 1808, iii. 854.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Nicholas Arnold, the captain of Boulogne berg (see note in p. 224), observing the success of the French, removed his artillery and stores into the high town of Boulogne, and set fire to the abandoned fort, whereupon it was seized by the enemy Holinshed.

<sup>2</sup> Gaspard de Coligni, seigneur de Châtillon, who shortly after came to England as ambassador (see a subsequent page).

<sup>3</sup> "Item the xxiiij. day of the same monyth (July) the Kynges grace came from the dewke of Suffokes place in Sothwarke thorow London, and soo to Whytte hall, goodly, with a goodly company." Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> Of the Yorkshire rebellion, which broke out at Semer, on the sea-coast, some account will be found in Foxe and the other chroniclers. See also Drake's History of York, p. 128.

<sup>5</sup> These disturbances commenced towards the end of June. A circular letter of summons to attend the King at Windsor with as many horsemen and foot as could be raised, accompanied by a long list of persons to whom such letters were sent, is preserved in the State Paper office, indorsed "p<sup>mo</sup> Julij 1549." The suppression of the tumults in the counties of Berks, Buckingham, Northampton, and Oxford, was confided to the lord Grey of Wilton. It was in Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire that they most prevailed, but, as Holinshed states, were "speedily appeased," and the lord Grey was then sent into the West. In the State Paper office is a very remarkable document, dated

To Devonshier the lord Previ-seal<sup>1</sup> was sent, who with his band, being but smal, lay at Honington whils the rebels besieged Exciter, who did rise divers preaty feates of warre. For after divers skirmishes, when the gatis were burnt, thei in the cite did continew the fir(e), til thei had mad a ramper within. Also afterward, when they were undermined and pouder was laid in the mind, thei within drowned the pouder and the mind with water they cast in; wich the lord Previ-seal hearing, thought to a gone to renforce them a bie way; of wich the rebels having spial, cut al the trees betwixt St. Mary-Outrie and Exciter. For wich cause the lord Previ-seal burnt that toun, and thought to returne home. The rebels kept a brig behind his bake, and so compelled him with his smal band to set upon them, wich he did and overcam them, killing 600 of them, and returning hom without any loss of men. Then the lord Gray and Spinula<sup>2</sup> with their bandis came to him, and afterward Gray (*sic*) with 200 of Reding, with wich bands he being renforcid came to raise the sieg at Exciter, for bicaus thei had scarcety of vitel; and as he passed from Hunnington, he cam to a little towne of his owne, whether cam but only tow waies, wich thei had ranforced with tow bulwarkes mad of earth, and had put to the defence of the same about 2000 men, and the rest the(y) had layed, some at a brige called Honnington brige, partly at a certain hedg in a hie way, and the most part at the sieg of Exciter. The rierward of the horsmen, of which Travers was captain, set upon the on(e) bulwark, the vauard and battail on the tother. Spinula's band kept them occu-

the 19th July, containing the orders he left behind with the sheriff and gentlemen of Oxfordshire, for the completion of the terrible commission which he left unfinished. Executions were ordered in all the principal towns, and several of the parish priests were to be hung on their own steeples.

<sup>1</sup> John lord Russell, shortly after made earl of Bedford. Some of his despatches to the council on this occasion will be found in Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. Records, DD.; also in Wiffen's Memorials of the House of Russell, i. 369.

<sup>2</sup> "Captaine Paule Baptist Spinola, an Italian, borne of a noble house in Genoa, with a band of Italian footmen." Holinshed, p. 1651.

pied at their wale. At lenght Travers drove them into the towne, wich the lord Previ-seal burnt. Then thei rane to a bridg thereby; from whence being driven their were in a plain about 900 of them slain. The next day ther wer mete about other 2000 of them at the entrie of a hie way, who first desired to talk, and in the meane season fortified them selves, wich being perceived they ranne ther wayes, and that same night the cite of Exitter was delivered of the siege.<sup>1</sup>

After that thei gathered at Launston, to whom the lord Prevy seale and sir William Herbert<sup>2</sup> went, and overthru them, taking their chief heades and executing them. Nevertheles some sayled to Brigewater and went about sedicion, but were quikely repressed. Hitherto of Devonshire.

At this time the blake gali taken.<sup>3</sup>

Now to Northfolk.<sup>4</sup> The people sodenly gathered together in

<sup>1</sup> A very full narrative of the Devonshire rebellion, written by John Vowell, alias Hooker, chamberlain of Exeter, accompanied by a "description of the citie," was first published in the edition of 1586 of Holinshed's Chronicle, and it occupies in the edition of 1808 pp. 926-963 of vol. iii. It was also printed distinctly in 4to. 1775. Great pains were taken to refute the religious doctrines advanced in their "supplication" or manifesto: and several drafts of "the King's answer" thereto are preserved in the State Paper office, which Mr. Tytler has partly printed, i. 178-182; but a much more elaborate reply was compiled by Cranmer, which will be found at length in his works (Parker Soc. edition), ii. 163-187.

<sup>2</sup> Sir William Herbert, then master of the King's horses, and afterwards earl of Pembroke, brought a thousand Welshmen, who, says Hooker, though they came too late to the fray, were yet soon enough to the play; for the whole country was then put to the spoil.

<sup>3</sup> I have not found this black galley elsewhere mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> Of the Norfolk rebellion a history was written in Latin by Alexander Nevylle, secretary to archbishop Parker, the archbishop himself having been present in the city of Norwich during the tumults, against which his oratory was unsuccessfully inlisted. It was printed in 1575, under the title, "*Alexandri Nevylly Angli de Furoribus Nolfolcien-sium, Ketto duce, Liber unus. Ejusdem Norwicus. Ex officina Henrici Bynneman, 1575.*" There was a second edition in 1582, and an English translation, made by Richard Woods, was printed in 1615, entitled, "*Norfolk Furies and their Foyle*, under



Norfolke, and encreased to a great number; against whom was the lord marquise Northampton sent, with the nombre of 1060<sup>1</sup> horsmen, who winning the towne of Norwich, kept it one day and one night, and the next day in the morning with losse of 100 departed out of the towne; among whom the lord Sheffield<sup>2</sup> was slaine. There were taken divers gentlemen and serving men to the nombre of 30, with wich victory the rebels were very glade. But afterward, hearing that th'erle of Warwic came against them, thei began to stay upon a strong plat of ground upon a hil niere to the towne of Norwich, having the towne confederat with them. Th'erle of Warwic came with the nombre of 6000 men and 1500 horsmen, and entred into the towne of Norwich, wich having wone, it was so weke that he cold scarcely defend it, and oftentimes the rebels came into the streets killing divers of his mene, and were repulsed again; ye, and the townsmen were gieven to mischief themselves. So, having endured ther assaultis three dayes, and stoped there vitales, the rebels were constrained for lake of meat to remove, whome th'erle of Warwic folowed with 1000 Almans and al his horsemen, leaving th'English footmen in the towne, and overcam them in plaine battail, killing 2000 of them and taking Keit there captain, who in January folowing was hanged at Norwich, and his head hanged out. Keit's brother was taken also, and punished alike.<sup>3</sup>

Kett, their accursed Captaine. Second edition, 1623." See Upcott's *British Topography*, pp. 972, 973. In the first instance the duke of Somerset himself intended to take the field against "one Kett, a tanner, who hath taken upon himself our royal power and dignity, and calleth himself master and king of Norfolk and Suffolk." See letter under the King's signet, dated 6th August, printed by Strype, *Memorials*, II. i. 174, from MS. Cotton. Vesp. F. III. A subsequent proclamation, dated 16th August, when it was determined to send the earl of Warwick on this service, is partly given *ibid.* p. 176.

<sup>1</sup> So the MS., perhaps an error for 1600.

<sup>2</sup> Edmund Sheffield, raised to the peerage in 1547 (see p. 211).

<sup>3</sup> "The 29 of November, Robert Ket, and William Ket his brother, were delivered out of the Tower of London to sir Edmond Windham, knight, and sheriffe of Norfolke, to be conveyed to Norwich, where Robert Ket was hanged in chains on the top of Norwich castle, and William Ket likewise hanged on the top of Windham steeple." Stowe's *Chronicle*.

In the meane season Chastilion besieged the pierre of Bolloin made in the haven, and after long batry of 20000 shot or more gave assault to it, and were manfully repulsed. Nevertheles thei continued the siege still, and made often skirmishes and fauls assaults, in wich thei wane not mich. Therefore seing thei profited litle that way, thei planted ordinaunce against the mouth of the haven, that no vitail might come to it; wich our men seing, set upon them by night and slew divers Frenchmen, and dismounted many of their piecis. Neverthelesse the French came another time, and planted their ordonaunce toward the sand side on the sand hilles, and bete divers shippes of vitaylours at the entrie of the haven; but yet th'Englishmen at the kinges adventure came into the haven, and refreshed divers times the towne. The French men, seing thei could not that way prevayle, continewed their batry but smally, on wich before they had spent 1500 shote in a day, but laded a galey with stones and gravel, wich they let goe in the streame to sinke it, but or ere it sonke it came niere to on banke, where the Boullenors toke it out, and brought the stones to renforce the pierre.

Also at Guines was a certaine skirmish, in wich there was about a 100 French men slaine, of wich some were gentlemen and noble-men.

In the meane season in Englund rose great sturres, like to increase much if it had not been well forseen.<sup>1</sup> The counsel, about 19 of

<sup>1</sup> Under the influence of the earl of Warwick, seconded by the ex-chancellor Southampton and the Romanist party, a majority of the council now undertook to terminate the supreme dictatorship assumed by the Protector. It appears that Somerset's suspicions of his insecurity were first alarmed by learning that the councillors in London dined at each others' houses (see Tytler, p. 249); he consequently took measures on the 5th October, if not before (see the documents quoted in p. 235 hereafter), to strengthen his military resources. According to the record of the council, entered in their register, they had appointed on the morning of Sunday the 6th of October "to repayr to Hampton court, accompanied with their ordinary numbers of servants, to have had friendly communication with the lord Protectour about the reformation of the state;" when, "as they were booted and ready to have mounted upon their horses," they "were certainly advertised, as well as credible reportes of diverse gentlemen, as

them, were gathered in London, thinking to mete with the lord Protectour, and to make him amend some of his disorders. He, fearing his state, caused the secretary [Petre] in my name to be

by letters subscribed by the hands of the said lord Protectour, that he, having some intelligence of their lordships' intents, and moved with the conscience of his ill-government, whereof he would abide no reformation, had suddenly raised a power of the commons, to the intent, if their lordships had come to the court, to have destroyed them; which power he had levied as well by letters whereunto he caused his Ma<sup>ty</sup> to set his most gracious hand, as by most seditious bills, which he had devised for that purpose, the tenor whereof word for word foloweth, *Good People*," &c. (not entered in the Council Book, but preserved in the State Paper office, see hereafter, p. 242). Their lordships consequently determined to remain in London, assembling themselves at Ely Place, then the mansion of the earl of Warwick, in Holborn, where the following councillors were present: lord St. John, lord great master (who had been with the Protector at Hampton court only two days before), the earls of Warwick, Arundel, and Southampton, mr. secretary Petre, sir Edward North, sir Richard Southwell, sir Edmund Peckham, sir Edward Wotton, and mr. doctor Wotton dean of Canterbury. Their first step was to unfold their views to the magistrates of London, who consequently held a court of aldermen at Guildhall that same afternoon, and their proceedings will be found detailed at full by Stowe. The council sent out various letters to countermand and counteract the orders issued by the Protector, and also to levy forces on their own party; and, sending for the lieutenant of the Tower of London sir John Markham, they "required him to suffer certain others to enter for the good keeping thereof to his Majesties use; whereunto the said lieutenant according, sir Edmund Peckham knight and Leonard Chamberlayne esquire, with their servants, were commanded to enter into the Tower, as associates to the said lieutenant, for the better presidy and guard of the same."

The next morning, Monday Oct. 7, the council met at Mercers' hall in London, in number sixteen, there being present, in addition to those of the day before, the lord chancellor (Rich), mr. treasurer (Cheyne), sir John Gage, sir Edward Mountagu, sir Ralph Sadler, and sir John Baker. They were informed that, during the previous night, the lord Protector had hastily conveyed the King from Hampton court to Windsor castle, and they directed to Windsor the letters hereafter noticed.

On the 8th, at 9 A.M. they met at Guildhall, with the further accession to their company of the marquess of Northampton and the earl of Shrewsbury. The mayor, aldermen, and common council were ordered to attend them, and, the lord chancellor and others (as Stowe relates) having declared divers abuses of the lord Protector, they persuaded the citizens to take their part. "The lords dined with master Yorke, one of the sheriffes, and in the afternoone proclamation was made in divers places of the cittie, with trumpets,

sent to the lordes, to know for what cause they gathered their powres together, and, if they ment to talke with him, that they should come in peacable maner. The next morning, being the 6 of

heraults, and kings at armes, wherein was contained divers articles touching the evill government of the lord Protector."

On the 9th the council was held "at the house of mr. Yorke, sheriff of London" (this was the ancient mansion, then belonging to the Crown, called the Duke's Place in Southwark, the new sheriff being master of the mint then established there). The names of the lord privy seal (Russell), the master of the horses (Herbert), the lord Wentworth, and the vice-chamberlain (Wingfield), are also entered as present in council; but the two former were certainly this day at Wilton, as shown by their autograph signatures to the letter mentioned hereafter, and none of the four signed the council's letters of this day.

"The tenth of October (says Stowe, but this certainly should be the 9th), by a common councill at the guild-hall, was granted five hundred men of the citie (one hundred to be horsemen) to be readie on the next morrow: and this day the lords dined with master Yorke, one of the sheriffes of London."

On the 10th, "the same appearance of the councill as before" assembled "at the house of the lord St. John, lord great master, being in London," when they were informed "that, through their former letters, and other means by them devised, and by the diligent travail also of the archbishop of Canterbury and sir William Paget, then being at Windsor, the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup> owne servants were again restored to their places of attendance about his Ma<sup>ties</sup> person, and that the duke of Somerset's servants and others of the bands were sequestered from his Maj<sup>tie</sup>." Having received the private communication from Paget, noticed hereafter, they this day sent to Windsor sir Anthony Wingfield the vice-chamberlain, sir Anthony Sellenger one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber, and sir John Williams treasurer of the augmentations and revenues of the crown, with their servants, for the better guard of the King's person, and for the prevention of Somerset's escape. These officers effected the arrest of the duke the next morning; and, on Sunday the 12th, the lords in a body repaired to Windsor "and presented themselves forthwith before the King's Ma<sup>tie</sup>, most humbly on their knees, declaring to the same the occasion and order of their doings, the which his Ma<sup>tie</sup> did accept in most gracious part, giving to their lordships his Ma<sup>ties</sup> most hearty thanks." Calling before them sir Thomas Smith, sir Michael Stanhope, sir John Thynne, Edward Wolfe one of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> privy chamber, and William Gray esquire, of Reading, "adherents of the said duke, and the principal instruments and counsellours that he did use, both at this time, and otherwise also in the affairs of his government," they charged them with their offences, and ordered them to the Tower of London, sir Thomas Smith being at the same time sequestered from the council, and deprived of his secretaryship.



October, and Saturday [Sunday], he commaunded the armoure to be brought downe out of th'armury of Hampton court, about 500 harnesses, to arme both his and my men withal, the gates of the hous to

On the 13th, the duke himself "being sent for t'appeare before their lordships, and charged by them with his faults, was with the others before named sent to the Tower of London, under the conduct of the earls of Sussex (not Southampton, as some of the chroniclers state) and Huntingdon, the lords Grey and Burgayny, sir John Gage constable of the Tower, and certain other gentlemen and their bands. This day also the King's Ma<sup>tie</sup> departed from Windsor to Hampton court."

Such is the account of this revolution which the privy council were pleased to place upon record. The course of these important events may be further traced by abundant documentary evidence, the greater part of which has been published, but scattered in various places. The two letters placed first in the annexed list may be regarded as a portion of the series—the first clouds that foreboded the coming storm:—

May 8, 1549. A letter of warning from sir William Paget to the lord Protector, remonstrating on his angry and snappish conduct towards those of the council who differed from him or ventured to express their own sentiments. Transcript in MS. Cotton. Titus F. iii.; printed by Strype, Memorials, ii. Appendix GG.

July 7. A second, and very long, letter of expostulation and advice, written by Paget when abroad, upon hearing of the insurrection in the West. Transcript in MS. Cotton. Titus F. iii.; another in State Paper office, Domestic Edw. VI. vol. viii. art. 4; printed by Strype, Memorials, ii. App. HH.

Oct. 1 [or 5 ?] a letter, signed by the King and the Protector, summoning all the King's loving subjects with all haste to repair to Hampton Court, "in most defensible array, with harness and weapons, to defend his most royal person, and his most entirely beloved uncle the lord Protector, against whom certain hath attempted a most dangerous conspiracy." It is plainly dated "the *first* of October;" but was received (by a party unnamed) on "the vj of October, of George Dunstalle my lord of Canterbury's servant." In the State Paper office, Domestic Edw. VI. vol. ix. art. 1; printed in Tytler's "England under Edward VI. and Mary," i. 205. Another (transcript) copy in the State Paper office, dated Oct. 5, is addressed "To all Justices of peace, mayers, shrives, balives, constables, hed boroughes, and all other the Kynges Ma<sup>ties</sup> officers and subjects."

Oct. 4. A letter from the lords at Hampton court to lord Cobham, deputy of Calais, directing him to select twenty gunners from Calais, and send them to lord Clinton (at Boulogne), is signed by the Protector, archbishop Cranmer, W. St. John, Wm. Paget, and Wm. Petre. Original in MS. Harl. 284, fol. 46, printed by Tytler, i. 211.

Oct. 5. Letter of the Protector to the lord privy seal and sir William Herbert, then in

be rempared; peple to be raysed. Peple came abundantly to the house. That night, with al the peple, at 9 or 10 a cloke at night, I went to Windsore, and there was watch and ward kept every

command of the forces lately employed against the Western rebels, requesting both of them to come to Hampton court, and the latter by post, and his servants to follow. In the State Paper office, Domestic Edw. VI., vol. ix. art. 5; unpublished.

—— Letter of the Protector “to our loving servant — Golding esquire,” requiring him to solicit the aid of the earl of Oxford’s servants. In State Paper office, printed by Tytler, vol. i. p. 213.

—— Letter signed by the Protector, the King’s signature being prefixed by a stamp, to Sir Harry Seymour, to levy horse and foot. In State Paper office, art. 3, partly printed by Tytler, p. 213.

Oct. 6. Circular letter, of the like form, summoning those to whom it was sent to repair to Hampton court. In State Paper office, printed by Tytler, p. 214.

—— Letter under the King’s signet, dated from Hampton court, addressed to the lord mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London, requiring them to levy men, to watch their gates, and to send one thousand, well harnessed, and with good and convenient weapons, to be at Hampton court that night, or at least on the morrow before noon. This was accompanied by a letter requiring credence to the bearer, Owen Claydon, signed EDWARD and SOMERSET; printed in Foxe’s Actes and Monuments, under the head of “The troubles of the duke of Somerset;” and in Holinshed’s Chronicle.

—— Letter under the King’s signet to the lord privy seal and sir William Herbert, announcing that “suche a henous and grevus conspiracye as never was seen, is attempted against us,” &c. Transcript in the State Paper office, art. 9.

—— Another like letter to the same parties, desiring them to assemble with all expedition as many men, both horse and foot, as they could, and bring them to Hampton court. Transcript in the State Paper office, art. 8.

—— A third letter to the same, representing the matter more at full, and desiring them to repair “with such force as ye have” to Windsor castle. Contemporary transcript in the State Paper office, art. 6; printed by Foxe, Actes and Monuments.

—— A shorter letter of the same date desiring the same parties to give credence to lord Edward Seymour, the Protector’s eldest son, who was the bearer of one or more of the preceding letters. Transcript in the State Paper office, art. 7.

—— A letter from the Protector to the earl of Shrewsbury, requiring his aid; printed in Lodge’s Illustrations of British History, i. 135.

—— Letter of certain of the council to the lord mayor, &c. denouncing the conduct of the Protector, and requiring that no harness, weapons, or munitions should be sent to

night. The lordis sat in open places of London, calling for gentlemen before them, and declaring the causes of accusation of the lord Protectour, and caused the same to be proclaimed. After wich

him. It is signed by nine councillors—St. John, Northampton, Warwick, Arundel, Southampton, Petre, North, Gage, and Southwell; printed in Foxe and Holinshed.

— Circular letter of the council in London, being a summons to arm in support of their side of the dispute. An original copy, undirected, but having the autograph signatures of R. Ryche, canc., W. Seint John, W. Northt., J. Warwyk, Arundell, F. Shrewsbury, Henry Sussex, T. Cheyne, Edward North, and John Gage: in the State Paper office, art. 10.

Oct. 7. Circular letters from the council to the sheriffs, forbidding the levies ordered to be raised by the Protector. One undirected is preserved in the State Paper office, art. 20, bearing the autograph signatures of the same councillors as above, except Cheyne.

— Another letter nearly of the same import, addressed to certain commissioners: signed like the last, excepting that it wants the names of the earls of Arundel and Shrewsbury, and has that of Edward Mountagu. Ibid. art. 21.

— Letters under the signet, signed both by the King and Somerset, directing levies to be made by the bailiffs of Uxbridge, Hillington, and Cullam. Dated “at our castle of Windsor.” Original in State Paper office, art. 15.

— Letter of the lord Protector, now at Windsor, to the lords in London, declaring his intention, “if you will take no other way but violence, to defend us (as nature and our allegiance doth bind us) to extremity of death, and to put all to God’s hand, who giveth the victory as it pleaseth him.” He desires an answer either by secretary Petre, whom he had sent with a message, or, if they would not let him leave them, by the bearer. Original in the State Paper office, art. 16, signed only by the Protector’s hand, printed by Tytler, p. 214; also previously published by Foxe, Holinshed, and Stowe.

— The lords of the council in London to those at Windsor, requiring the duke of Somerset to absent himself from his Majesty, and to disperse the force which he had levied. “Consider, my lords, for God’s sake, we heartely pray you, that we be almost the hole Councell,” viz. the chancellor Rich, lord great master St. John, marquess of Northampton, earls of Warwick, Arundel, Shrewsbury, and Southampton, sir Thomas Cheyne, sir William Petre, sir Edward North, sir John Gage, sir Ralph Sadleyr, sir Richard Southwell, and dr. Nicholas Wotton—in all fourteen. Sent by master Hunnings, a clerk of the council. Original in MS. Cotton. Calig. B. vii. fol. 404; printed in Strype’s Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. App. No. 44; Ellis’s Letters, I. ii. 166. Draft copy in State Paper office, art. 22.

— Letter to the King, signed by the same councillors, with the addition of sir

time few came to Windsore, but only myn owne men of the garde, whom the lordes willed, fearing the rage of the peple so lately quietid. Then begane the Protectour to treate by letters, sending

Edward Mountagu. Original in MS. Cotton. Titus, B. ii. fol. 35; three draft copies in State Paper office, Nos. 17, 18, and 20; printed in Burnet's History of the Reformation, Part II. Book I. Records, No. 41.

— To this day (Oct. 7) probably belongs a document which Mr. Tytler has edited, i. 207, with the date Oct. 4, from the State Paper office, art. 13, being suggestions for a letter to be written by the King strongly justifying the general conduct of the Protector. On the second leaf of the same sheet are various memoranda in the same handwriting, (but not copied by Tytler,) consisting partly of informations and partly of suggestions, apparently intended for the eye of the Protector. Among the latter are these:—

“Also that the Kinges matie wold make a letter unto the Maior, sherifes and aldremen of the citie, and to be delyvered unto the messenger by the Kinges own hande.

“Also lettre unto the lordes wylleng that asmany of them as are his treue honorable [subjects] shuld repayre unto him against his ennemys, or else they sought his blode aswell as his uncle's.”

A previous paragraph states, “Also that upon sondaie [Oct. 6] my lorde grete m<sup>r</sup> [St. John] entered into the Tower of London to the Kinges use, and have made mr. Peckeham [sir Edward Peckham, treasurer of the mint,] lieutenant therof, and given him allowance for a table.”

“Also the disobedyence of mr. Markham [the lieutenant of the Tower] in his office.

“Also that sir Thomas Darcy is laid in the Tower as a traytor.”

Oct. 8. Circular letters to counties, countermanding the duke of Somerset's orders for levies, and charging all men to follow their vocations peaceably. Two copies (undirected), each bearing the autograph signatures of — R. Ryche, canc. W. Seint John, W. Northt., J. Warwyk, Arundell, F. Shrewesbury, Thomas Southampton, William Petre, Nicholas Wotton, Edward Mountagu, Jo. Baker, are in the State Paper office, art. 28, 29.

— Autograph letter of Harry lord Morley, acknowledging the council's summons, and expressing his readiness “with that pore power I have within one hower's warnyng, so ether to lyve or to dy.” Dated from Mark hall. In State Paper office, art. 30.

— Reply of the lord privy seal and sir William Herbert, written from Andover, to the lord Protector: after having received other letters from the lords dated the same day (Oct. 6) as the Protector's letter to them. Contemporary transcript in the State Paper office, printed by Tytler, p. 217: the substance given in Foxe's Actes and Monuments.



Sir Philip Hobbey, lately cum from his ambassad in Flaundres to see to his famyly, who brought in his retorne a letter to the Protector very gentle, wich he delivered to hime, another to me,

— Letter from the lords at Windsor (Cranmer, Paget, and Smith) to those in London, in answer to theirs sent the day before. Original in the State Paper office, art. 26, printed by Tytler, p. 223; contemporary transcript in MS. Cotton. Caligula, B. vii. fol. 406; also printed in Stowe's Chronicle, and by Todd, in his *Life of Cranmer*, 1832, vol. iii. p. 57, Strype and Sharon Turner having considered the archbishop to have been the writer of it.

— Letter from the King to the lords in London, entreating them to hold a moderate course; being accompanied by "certain articles exhibited unto us by our said uncle, signed with his own hand." Original in the State Paper office, art. 24; printed by Tytler, p. 220. Draft copy in MS. Cotton. Caligula, B. vii. fol. 405.

— "Articles offered by me the lord Protector to the King's majestie, in the presence of his highnes counsail and other his majesties lordes and gentlemen at Wyndesor, to be declared in my behalf to the lordes and the reste of his highnes counsail remayning in London." Original in the State Paper office, marked 24 I. It is signed both at the beginning and end by the King, and at the foot by Somerset: contemporary copy in MS. Cotton. Caligula, B. vii. fol. 407; printed in Burnet, No. 42; Ellis, I. ii. 173.

— Private letter from the duke of Somerset to the earl of Warwick, soliciting reconciliation. Printed in Stowe's Chronicle.

— Private letter from secretary Smith to secretary Petre, earnestly begging him to advocate moderation. Original in the State Paper office, art. 27, printed by Tytler, p. 228. There is also (art. 39) a second letter of Smith to Petre, which commences with thanking "my lords of Warwicke, Arondell, and yow, that my brother George had leave to come and visite me." It is written in a tone somewhat less anxious than the other, yet it is difficult to say whether a few hours before or a few hours after.

Sir Phillip Hoby was the bearer of these five documents. On the same day the council were actively proceeding in their prosecution of the Protector, by issuing a public proclamation. The charges it contained against him are given by Foxe and by Stowe.

Oct. 9. The following anecdote regarding this day is related on the authority of sir Thomas Smith, who remained faithful to the Protector:—

"Sir Phillip Hobby, [having] receaved an answere of the lordes in London by letter, came out of London, and by the way, faininge he had loste his letter out of his poquet, said to his man he would retorne for a newe, and willed him to goe to the courte and tell the Counsell all should be well. This excuse was of purpose before devised by the

another to my house, to declare his fautes, ambicion, vain glorie, entring into rashe warres in mine youth, negligent loking on Newhaven, enriching of himself of my treasour, folowing his owne opinion,

lords, to the end they might winne tyme the better that they might doe their feates. The next daye he came to the courte with a letter to the Kinge from the lordes, and before he delivered said thus—

“‘ Sir Phillip Hobby’s saying or mesuage declared to the duke of Somerset, the archebishop of Canterbury, sir W. Pagett mr. comptrolor, sir Thomas Smithe secretary, in the presence of mr. Cecill, sir John Thinne, sir Richard Cotton, and divers others; reported by sir Thomas Smith.’” MS. Harl. 353, fol. 77; printed by Tytler, p. 238.

— Letter from the lords in London, to the King. Printed from the Council Book, by Burnet, No. 43. Draft copy in the State Paper office, art. 35.

— Reply of the lords in London to those at Windsor, sent by sir Philip Hoby. Original, with fifteen autograph signatures, in MS. Cotton. Caligula, B. vii. fol. 408; draft copy in State Paper office, art. 37; printed from the former in Ellis’s Letters, I. ii. 169; and from the Council book by Burnet, No. 44.

— Letter from the lord privy seal and sir William Herbert to the lords of the council, dated from Wilton, they having retired further with their military forces, instead of advancing. Original in State Paper office, art. 31, printed by Tytler, p. 231.

— Letter of the lord privy seal and sir W. Herbert to the sheriff of Gloucestershire. “The like letters are goone unto other shirrefes, not only to the sherrifes, but also to every justice of peace and gentleman privately.” Summoning levies to repair to Wilton, from which town the letter is dated. Contemporary copy in the State Paper office, art. 31 i.

— Letters, addressed to the lady Mary and the lady Elizabeth respectively, relating, on the part of the council, the events that had occurred, and denouncing the pride and ambition of the Protector. Original draft in the State Paper office, art. 33; printed by Tytler, p. 248.

Oct. 10. Letter of the archbishop of Canterbury, sir William Paget, and sir Thomas Smith, the lords at Windsor, acknowledging the receipt of the letter brought by sir Philip Hoby, and professing themselves ready to obey the directions of those in London. Sir Philip Hoby returned with their submission. Original in MS. Cotton. Caligula, B. vii. fol. 412; printed in Ellis’s Letters, I. ii. 171; also printed, from the Council Book, by Burnet, No. 45.

— Letter from the lords in London to sir William Paget, acknowledging a credence sent them by his servant Bedill, and desiring him to give firm credence to the bearer mr. vicechamberlain sir Anthony Wingfield, who was also captain of the guard. In a

and doing al by his owne authorite, et<sup>ce</sup>.; wich lettres was openly redd, and immediately the lordes came to Windsore, toke him, and brought him through Holborn to the Tower. Afterward I came to Ampton court, wher they appointed by my consente six lordes of the counsel

postscript (to which the council repeated their signatures), it was intimated to Paget that "if yow shall see any good oportunitie for this purpose, and if it may be conveniently doon, as by your servant's message it semed," the duke should be apprehended, and also secretary Smith, sir John Thynne, Richard Whalley, and William Cycill, who was then the duke's private secretary and master of his court of requests. Original in MS. Cotton. Caligula, B. vii. fol. 410; printed by Ellis, I. ii. 173.

— A Proclamacion, set furth by the body and state of the Kynges majesties privey counsaile, concernyng the devisers, writers, and casters abroad of certain vile, slaundersous, and moste trayterous letters, billes, scrowes, and papers, tending to the seducement of the Kynges majesties good and lovyng subjectes: persons "whiche do labor now to maintain the trayterous doynges of the duke of Somerset," for that purpose "doon devise the moste vile, false, and traiterous billes, papers, and bokes that ever wer hard of, strawyng the same in the stretes, as well within the citie of London as in diverse townes and other places in the country, wherein thei do falsely and traitorously travaile to slaunde the Kynges majesties counsaill, thinkynge thereby to amase and abuse his majesties good subjects, whiche bee in areadinesse to joyne with the said counsaill for delivery of the Kyng our sovereigne lordes most royall persone, remainyng to his greate perill and daunger in the saied duke's custody." A reward of one hundred crounes is offered for the apprehension of every offender. This document, of which the draft is in the State Paper office, art. 40, is extant in an original broadside copy preserved in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries. It is subscribed by the names of all the following councillors:

The Lorde Riche, Lord Chancellor.

The Lorde Saint Jhon, Lorde Great Master, and President of the Counsaill.

The Lorde Russell, Lorde Privey Seale.

The Lorde Marques of Northampton.

The Erle of Warwicke, Lorde Greate Chamberlain.

The Erle of Arundell, Lorde Chamberlain.

The Erle of Shrewsbury.

The Erle of Southampton.

The Lorde Wentworth.

Sir Thomas Cheiney, Knight of the Order, and Threasaurer of the Kynges Maiesties house, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Portes.

Sir Willyam Herbert, Knight, Master of the Kynges Majesties horses.

to be attendant on me,—at lest tow, and fower knightes; lordes, the marches Northampton, th'erles of Warwike and Arondel, lordes

Sir Anthony Wingfeld, Knight of the Order, the Kynges Majesties vice Chamberlein, and Capitain of the Garde.

Sir Jhon Gage, Knight of the Order, Constable of the Towre.

Sir Willyam Petre, Knight, Secretary.

Sir Edward North, Knight.

Sir Edward Montague, Knight, Chief Justice of the Comon Place.

Sir Raufe Sadler, Knight.

Sir Jhon Baker, Knight.

Sir Edward Wotton, Knight.

Master doctor Wotton, Deane of Cantorbury.

Sir Richard Southwell, Knight.

Sir Edmund Peckham, Knyght, high Threasaurer of all the Kynges Majesties Myntes.

Of the handbills mentioned in this proclamation, two are preserved in the State Paper office: one (art. 11 of the volume so often cited) commencing, "Moste loving and trew Ynglishmen," and signed, "By the Kynges true and loving subject to his poure, Henry A." This is supposed to have been "cast about" in the city of London (see before, p. 233), and it is indorsed, *Rede itt and gyve itt furth*. (Printed by Tytler, p. 209: the word "conspire" in p. 210, should be read *serve*.) The other (art. 12) is indorsed, "The copie of the bill sowed emongest the commons" (printed by Tytler, p. 210, where, for "the extortions of gentlemen," read "*the extortiousse gentylmen*"). There can be little doubt that this was the very bill which the lord privy seal found at Andover; where, he tells the council, "The gentlemen had received like letters from the King's majestie as we had done; and the commons had found *bills that were sown abroad*, to raise them in the Kinges name and the Protector's quarrel, as by a copy of one of the same bills, which ye shall also receive herewith, your Lordships may more plainly perceive." In his letter written to the duke of Somerset the day before, Russell had directly taxed him with the authorship of these papers: "Your Grace's proclamations and billets sent abroad for the raising of the commons we mislike very much." It is to be considered that the nobility, with great effort and much difficulty, had very recently succeeded in suppressing various insurrections, which they attributed in part to the Protector's former conduct towards the common people; they now detected him in acts calculated to provoke a repetition of such troubles. This indiscretion had the effect of arraying them against him, and throwing them into the hands of the more subtle and insidious Warwick.

Oct. 11. Letter written partly by Wingfield, and partly by Paget, signifying to the council the arrest of the duke, and describing the King's behaviour. It is signed also by Cranmer. Original in the State Paper office, art. 42; printed by Tytler, p. 241.



Russel, Seintjone, and Wentworth ; knigh(tes) sir Andrew Dudely,

— Minute of the whole discourse of the duke of Somerset's doings, addressed to the English ambassadors abroad. In the State Paper office, art. 41.

— A circular letter from the council to counties, announcing the dispersal of the forces assembled by the duke of Somerset, and staying any further musters. Contemporary copy in MS. Cotton. Titus, B. II. fol. 30.

— Another circular letter announcing the duke's arrest, and directing the parties addressed "to staye your nombres at home, without taking eny further traveile for this matter." One with the autograph signatures of eleven councillors in State Paper office, art. 44.

Oct. 14. Letter of the council to the lieutenant of the Tower, that he suffer no one to speak with the duke of Somerset or any other prisoner. Ibid. art. 45.

Articles objected to the duke of Somerset. These have never been edited accurately. The most perfect printed copy is that in Stowe's Chronicle (but in article 12 for Iniunction read Commission ; in article 26 the 6 instead of "9 of October," and there are other errors.) In Foxe's Actes and Monuments, the 29 articles are reduced to 20, by the omission of the 10th, 20th, 21st, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th. Holinshed follows Foxe. Hayward's copy (Life and Reign of King Edward VI.) is imperfect, by the omission of the 28th article, as well as by a modernization of the language throughout ; and Burnet copies Hayward. Strype in his Life of Cranmer, p. 265, has pointed out the significance of the 10th article, which charged the Protector with having laid the blame of the insurrections on the nobility ; and it is to be regretted that Strype did not print the draft copy which he had seen. It was, as he imagined, in the hand-writing of bishop Gardiner : but this was a very bold surmise. Strype is in error in attributing these articles to the time of the duke's "second apprehension and trial." There is an old transcript of the whole 29 articles in MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 9069 ; which is worth consulting if no other can be recovered.

Dec. 23. The duke of Somerset's submission, having read and considered the said 29 articles. Printed in Stowe's Chronicle.

Feb. 2. His second submission, dated from the Tower. Also in Stowe.

Feb. 6. His recognizance in 1000*l.* to reside at the King's manor of Sheen or his own house at Syon, without passing the limit of four miles from either house. In the Register of the Privy Council.

"The 6 of February the duke of Somerset was delivered out of the Tower, and that night he supped at sir John Yorke's, one of the sheriffes of London," (Stowe,) where, it appears from the council book, the lords assembled to welcome him.

Feb. 16. A pardon to the duke by letters patent under this date is printed in Rymer, Fœdera, &c. xv. 205.

sir Edward Rogers, sir Thomas Darcy, sir Thomas Wroth.<sup>1</sup> After I came through London to Westmuster.<sup>2</sup> The lord of Warwike made Admyral of England.<sup>3</sup> Sir Thomas Cheiney sent to the emperour for relief,<sup>4</sup> wich he could not obtaine. Mr. Wotton<sup>5</sup> made secretary. The lord Protectour, by his owne agreement and submission, lost his protectourship, treasourirshipe, marchalshipe, al his moveables, and niere 2,000 pound lande, by acte of parlie-ment.

<sup>1</sup> Of the "four principal gentlemen of his Highness' privy chambre" (the knights) it was also ordered that "two at the least should be continually attendants, . . . to whom was advanced, above their accustomed fee of Lli. by the yeare, the yearly fee of Lli. more, in consideration of the singular care and travail that they should have about his Majesties person." (Council Book.) See further arrangements under the 20th April, 1550, hereafter.

<sup>2</sup> "The 17 of Octobre, King Edward came from Hampton court to his place in Southwarke, then called Suffolke place, and there dined, where after dinner he made master John Yorke one of the sheriffes of London knight, and then rode through the citie of London to Westminster." Stowe's Chronicle. In a subsequent entry (see p. 249) the King dated this passage through London as having taken place on the 15th of October; but "the xvij. day" is the date confirmed by the Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, p. 64. At the Council, "14 Oct. Sir Ralph Sadler, master of the wardrobe, (was directed) to deliver to the master of the King's horses so much cloth of gold and silke as shall serve for his Ma<sup>ties</sup> person and his horse at his highness' entering through London to Westminster in this month."

<sup>3</sup> The letters patent for this second appointment of the earl of Warwick as High Admiral, dated 28 Oct. 1549, are printed by Rymer, *Fœdera*, xv. 194. The office had remained vacant from the time of the attainder of lord Seymour of Sudeley.

<sup>4</sup> "18 Oct. The Lords agreed this day to send sir Thomas Cheyney, kn<sup>t</sup> of the order, and treasurer of his Maj<sup>ties</sup> houshold, and sir Philip Hobbey, knight, gentleman of his Maj<sup>ties</sup> privy chamber, and ambassadour ordinary with the Emperour, as Ambassadors to the said Emperour, aswell to declare to the same, as to his Maj<sup>ties</sup> good brother, the alteration of the present state, as to demand and require ayd of men, of carriages and victualls out of his Low Countries towards the defence and succour of Bulloin, according to the instructions delivered to them in that behalfe, the double whereof remayneth in the counsell chamber." (Council Book.)

<sup>5</sup> "14 Oct. This day mr. doctour Wotton, deane of Canterbury and Yorke, was by their lordships appointed to the roome of one of his Maj<sup>ties</sup> principall secretaries, in the lieu of sir Thomas Smith." (Council Book.) He continued in this office to the 5th September, 1550, when he was succeeded by Cecill.

Th' erle of Arrundel<sup>1</sup> committed to his house for certaine crimes of suspicion against him, as plucking downe of boltes and lokkes at Westmuster, geving of my stuff away, et<sup>ce</sup>. and put to fine of 12,000

<sup>1</sup> There is a mystery hitherto unexplained about this disgrace of the earl of Arundel. The frivolous charges above recorded were fastened upon a presumed mal-administration of his office of chamberlain of the household: but political causes were doubtless at work. I have found no document relative to his "committal to his house;" but his last attendance at a council as lord chamberlain was on the 11th Jan. 1549-50. On the 21st Feb. "the lord of Arundell appearing before the lord treasurer [Wiltshire], lord great chamberlayne [Northampton], lord Wentworth, and mr. secretary Wootton, declaring to him that, touching his offences, the Kinges maj<sup>tie</sup> referred to his choyce whether he would stand to the tryall of the law, or submit himselfe to such fine as his Maj<sup>tie</sup> by the advice of the lords would set upon him, the same earle made answer that he would submit himselfe to suche order by fine as his Highness would impose and lay upon him; whereupon it was declared unto him that he should forgoe th' office of the lord chamberlayne and the other office about his Maj<sup>tie</sup> [*i. e.* as one of the six lords attendant, see p. 242], the stewardship of Petworth, and the master of the games there, and his warrant that he had for the mynt, and pay xij. M<sup>l</sup> li. fyne, to be paid by M<sup>l</sup> li. by the year." (Council Book.) The lord Wentworth was his successor as lord chamberlain. On the 8th of July the council directed "a letter to th' erle of Arundell to repaire into Sussex, there to remaigne till Mighelmas, and to be in areadiness to serve whensoever he shoulde be called upon by the Kinges mat<sup>ties</sup> lievetenaunte or his deputie." There are subsequent entries in the council book showing that the earl for some time stoutly resisted this banishment, and finally came to a compromise upon the point. But we shall find him again in trouble at the time of the duke of Somerset's second prosecution.

It appears that the same suspicions affected several of the Romanist party, including sir Richard Southwell and sir Thomas Arundel, the earl's brother-in-law. Bishop Ponet, in his "Short Treatise of Politic Power," published in 1556, thus refers to this crisis: "When Wriothesly, Arundel [*i. e.* sir Thomas], and Southwel conspired with the ambitious and subtil Alcibiades of England the earl of Warwic, after duke of Northumberland, to pull the good duke of Somerset, King Edward's uncle and Protector, out of his authority, and by forging a great many false letters and lies to make the Protector hated brought to pass Warwic's purpose, who then for a while but they three? Wriothesly that before was banished the court, is lodged, with his wife and son, next the King: every man repaireth to Wriothesly, honoureth Wriothesly, saith unto Wriothesly, as the Assyrians did to Haman, and all things be done by his advice, and who but Wriothesly?"

pound, to be paide a 1,000 pound yerely; of wiche he was after releasid.<sup>1</sup>

PART OF THE CHRONICLE 3 ANNO REG. REGIS E. SEXT. IN  
CHARTA 1549.<sup>2</sup>

Also Mr. Southwel<sup>3</sup> committed to the Towre for certaine billes of sedicion written with his hand, and put to fine of 500 pound.<sup>4</sup>

Arundel is promised to be next to the King, groom of his stoole, or comptroller of his house, at the least. Southwel, for his whisking and double diligence, must be a great counsellor in any wise. But what was the end? The earl, as crafty as the best, seeing that his desire should not take place if these men might have that they hoped for, so handleth the matter, that Wriothesly is faine in the night to get him out of the court to his own house, where, upon narrow examination, fearing lest he should come to some open shameful end, he poisoned himself, or pined away for thought. [He was not present at a council after the 18th Oct. 1549. Having been confined to his house, he obtained leave, on the 28th June, being then very sick, to repair to country air in Hampshire, where he died July 31, 1550.] Southwel is committed to the Fleet; where, being examined, he confessed enough to be hanged for, and had gone very near it, had not his examiners, upon hope of his amendment,—breaking out of his eye, but not out of his heart,—obtained the earl's favour. And at th' erle's sute Arundel hathe his head with the axe divided from the shoulders." [Feb. 26, 1551-2.] This last passage, when quoted by Strype (*Eccles. Memorials*, ii. 307), was inexcusably interpolated, in order to make it apply to the *earl of* Arundel, who was supposed by that historian to be the person of whom Ponet spoke. Strype has in this respect misled Carte (iii. 247).

<sup>1</sup> See hereafter, under the 6th Jan. 1550-1.

<sup>2</sup> This line is written at the head of page \*14 of the MS., by the King's own pen.

<sup>3</sup> Burnet, vol. ii. p. 149, describes this person as "sir Richard Southwell, master of the rolls," and Carte (iii. 247) as "sir Robert Southwell, master of the rolls." Under the former designation two brothers are confounded. It was not the master of the rolls, but his elder brother sir Richard Southwell, who had been nominated by the late King to be one of the assistants to the executors of his will, and was one of the privy council. He subsequently in 1553 took an active part against the duke of Northumberland, and in consequence received from queen Mary a yearly pension of 100 li. by patent dated 4 Dec. 1553 (*Rymer*, xv. 355). He was a devoted Romanist, and ancestor of the family which, having adhered to that faith, became Lords de Clifford in the last century.

<sup>4</sup> The register of the council corrects this entry of the King's in two particulars.



Likewise sir Thomas Arrundel<sup>1</sup> and sir Jhon committed to the Towre for conspiracies in the West partes.<sup>2</sup>

Southwell's prison was the Fleet, and his fine 500 marks, not pounds: "ix. March, 1549. Mr. Southwell enlarged out of the Fleet upon recognisance of v C markes fine, payable at Easter 1550 Cli., at Easter 1551 Cli., and at Easter 1552 CC markes."

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Arundel was son of sir John Arundel, K.B., of Lanherne in Cornwall, by lady Alianor Grey, daughter of Thomas marquess of Dorset and aunt to lady Katharine Grey, the earl of Arundel's first wife. His half-sister Mary (previously countess of Sussex) was the earl of Arundel's second wife. He was educated in the household of cardinal Wolsey, being "one of the gentlemen of the lord legate's privy chambre;" under which designation, and as his cousin and bedfellow, he is addressed by the earl of Northumberland in 1527 (letter in Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, edited by Singer, 1825, ii. 125). He was made knight of the Bath at the coronation of queen Anne Boleyn; and, having married Margaret, daughter of lord Edmund Howard, and sister to queen Katharine Howard, he was chancellor to that queen. He was also receiver of the duchy of Cornwall. (Council Book, Oct. 20, 1549.) George Cavendish, in his Metrical Visions, represents him as having pursued a line of conduct at this period corresponding with that attributed to him by bishop Ponet in the passage already quoted,—

With the duke of Northumberland I was in consultacion,  
Who bore the duke of Somerset high indignacion:  
*I was cheafe counsellor in his first overthrowe*  
*Of the duke of Somerset, which few men did know.*

On what ground he got into trouble at the present time has not been ascertained. In the proceedings of the council merely appears this entry under the "xxx. Jan. 1549-50: Sir Thomas Arundell knight committed to the Tower by the order of the board." He continued in the Tower until the 4th Oct. 1551, when he was released; but was again arrested on the 16th of the same month, and was one of those who were executed as conspirators with Somerset (as will further appear hereafter).

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Arundel was the elder brother of sir Thomas. He died in 1557; having married lady Anne Stanley, daughter of Edward earl of Derby. He was ancestor of the Arundells of Lanherne in Cornwall and Chideock in Dorsetshire; and his brother sir Thomas of those of Wardour,—still peers of the realm. As this passage of the King's Journal has been hitherto inaccurately printed, the name of sir John Arundel wholly disappeared from the text. On the xvij April, 1550, the council directed "letters to the lieutenant of the Tower to permit the lady Arundell, wife of sir John Arundell, to resort to her husband, at times convenient, at her liberty, talking with him in the presence of the lieutenant or his deputy." On the vij May "a letter to the lieutenant of the Tower,

A parlement,<sup>1</sup> wher was made a maner to consecrat priestes, bishops, and deacons.

Mr. Paget,<sup>2</sup> surrendring his controllership, was made lord Paget of Beaudesert, and cited into the hier house by a writte of parlement.

Sir Anthony Wingfeld, before visechamberlaine, made controller. Sir Thomas Darcy made visechamberlaine.<sup>3</sup>

commanding him to lett sir John Arundell have the libertie of the same, having alwaies one of the lieutenaunt's men to attend upon him." On the 24th June the same liberty was conceded to sir John and sir Thomas Arundell, John a Leigh, and ——— Hosier. (Council Book.) The earl of Warwick blamed the duke of Somerset for "having so unadvisedly attempted the enlargement and delivery of the bishop of Winchester and the Arundells." See a letter of R. Whalley to Cecill, dated 26th June, in Tytler, ii. 21.

In the absence of any other evidence than the above passage of the King's Journal, it may be doubted whether either sir Thomas Arundel or sir John had anything to do with "conspiracies in the West partes." A serious rebellion made head in Cornwall about this time, of which the chief captain was Humphrey Arundel, governor of the castle of St. Michael's Mount. That person, on his defeat, was brought prisoner to the Tower of London, and with some of his comrades was hung at Tybourn on the 27th Jan. 1549-50. Of this rebellion in Cornwall and Devonshire considerable details are related by Foxe; see also Carew's Survey of Cornwall, and Hals's History of Cornwall, edited by Davies Gilbert, Pres.R.S. 1838, 8vo. ii. 192-198.

<sup>1</sup> The parliament re-assembled on the 4th Nov. and sat until the 1st of Feb. Among its acts is a very short one, cap. xli, entitled "An Acte for the orderinge of Ecclesiasticall Ministers," whereby it was provided that "one unyforme fasshion and manner for makinge and consecratinge of Busshoppes, Priestes, Deacons, or Mynisters of the Churche" should be framed by six prelates and six other men learned in God's law, and set forth by the King's proclamation. (Statutes at Large, iv. 112.) The form was subsequently added to the Book of Common Prayer, set forth in 5 & 6 Edw. VI. and confirmed by an act of Elizabeth in 1566: see Strype's Annals, ii. pp. 528 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> "The 19 of January sir John Russell, lord privie seale, was created Earl of Bedford; William Paulet, lord Saint John, lord great master, was created earle of Wiltshire; and sir William Paget, comptroller of the King's house, was made lord Paget." Stowe's Chronicle.

<sup>3</sup> "On Candlemas day, [Feb. 2] William lord Saint John earl of Wiltshire, lord great master, president of the councell, was made Lord Treasurer; John Dudley earl of Warwick, lord great chamberlain, was made Lord Great Master; William Parre, marques of Northampton, was made Lord Great Chamberlain; lord Wentworth was made Lord Cham-

I passed through London the 15 of October. At Ampton courte the lord of Warwike made lord admirall.<sup>1</sup>

Guidotty made divers haraundes<sup>2</sup> from the constable of Fraunce<sup>3</sup> to make peace with us, upon wich were appointed fower commissioners to treate, and they after long debatement made a treaty as foloweth: (*The rest of the page cut away.*)

#### AN. D'NI 1549.—MART.

24. Peax<sup>4</sup> concluded between Englaund, Fraunce, and Scoteland, by, on th' English side, Jhon erl of Bedford lord previ seal, lord Paget de Beaudesert, sir William Petre secretary, and sir Jhon Mason; on the French side, monsuir de Rochepot,<sup>5</sup> mons. Chas-

berlain of Household; sir Anthony Wingfield, captain of the guard, was made Comptroler of the King's house; and sir Thomas Darcy, knight, was made Vice-chamberlain and Captain of the Guard. And the earl of Arundell, late lord chamberlain, with the earl of Southampton, were put off the counsell, and commanded to keep their houses in London." (Stowe's Chronicle.) The marquess of Northampton's patent as Great Chamberlain of England will be found in Rymer, xv. 203; and that of the earl of Warwick as Great Master of the King's household, at p. 208.

<sup>1</sup> These passages are struck through by the King's pen. He had entered them already (see p. 244).

<sup>2</sup> *i. e.* errands.

<sup>3</sup> Anne duc de Montmorency.

<sup>4</sup> The commission issued by Henry II. King of France on the 20th Jan. to his four plenipotentiaries to treat for peace is printed in Rymer, *Fœdera*, xv. 202, and that to the same persons for its ratification, dated 31 March, *ibid.* p. 220. King Edward's instructions to his commissioners are printed by Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, ii. Records, No. 49, followed (No. 50) by other articles devised in answer to certain doubts moved on the 27th Feb. The original of the latter paper is in MS. Cotton. Caligula, E. iv. (not E. i. as Burnet gives the reference) fol. 270, preceded by other original instructions, also bearing the signatures of the King and council. The treaty itself is printed in Rymer's collection, xv. 211.

<sup>5</sup> François de Montmorency, seigneur de la Rochepot, governor of the isle of France, and lieutenant-general in Picardy. He was younger brother to the constable Anne duc de Montmorency; and died in 1551. Anselme, *Histoire Genealogique*, iii. 603.

tillon,<sup>1</sup> Guillart de Mortier,<sup>2</sup> and Bouchetel de Sarcy,<sup>3</sup> upon conditions, that al titles, tributs and defensis shuld remaine; that the fault of on(e) man, except he be unpunished, shuld not breake the league; that the shippes of marchaundis shal passe to and froe, that pirats shall be called bake, and shippes of warre; that prisoners shal be deliverid of both sides; that we shal not warr with Scoteland, except new occasion be gieven; that Boulein, with the pecis of new conquest, and 2 basilicus,<sup>4</sup> 2 demy canons, 3 culvrins, 2 dimy culvrins, 3 sacres, 6 faucons, 94 hagbutes a croke with wodden tayles,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gaspard de Coligny II. seigneur de Châtillon-sur-Loing, son of Gaspard de Coligny I. marshal of France, who died in 1541, and brother to Odet cardinal de Châtillon and François seigneur d'Andelot. He was born in 1516, and was now lieutenant-general of the Boulenois in the absence of the seigneur de la Rochepot. After the death of the seigneur d'Annebaut, in 1552, he was made admiral of France. He was afterwards still more distinguished as the chief of the Huguenots, and was one of the victims of the massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572. Anselme, *Histoire Geneal.* vii. 152, 883.

<sup>2</sup> André Guillart seigneur du Mortier, a privy councillor.

<sup>3</sup> Guillerm Bochetel seigneur de Sassy, secretary of state and the finances, and greffier of the order of St. Michael.

<sup>4</sup> The acquittance of the French commissioners on the receipt of the artillery and munitions here mentioned, dated the 24th March, is printed in Rymer, xv. 218. The list agrees very nearly with that given by King Edward:—"c'est assavoir, deux Gros Canons qu'on appelle Bazeliqs, deux Demys Canons, trois Coulevrines, deux Demyes Coulevrines, deux Sacres, six Faulcons, soixante quartorze Harquebuzes a crochet de bronze, quinze pieces de fer qu'on appelle Serpentine bons et mauvais, six Harquebuzes de fer a crocq, quatre barillz pouldre serpentine, septcens bouletz de fer pour demyz canons, quatre cens quatre vingtz boulets de fer pour coulevrines, quatre cens quatre vingtz douze boulets de fer pour demys coulevrines, et quatre vingtz douze boulets de fer pour sacres." Two of the "long French pieces called Basiliques" had been brought to Portsmouth, and are mentioned in a warrant addressed to sir Francis Flemming, April 2, 1550. (Council Book.)

<sup>5</sup> The MS. is indistinct in the word "tayles" or "rayles;" but the figures are 94, instead of 74, according to the French receipt. "Hagbuttes of croke of yron" occur in an inventory of the royal artillery, 1 Edw. VI. printed in Meyrick's *Critical Inquiry into Antient Armour*, vol. iii. p. 11: and the croke is there explained as "the crooked part of the butt protected by iron." The hakbute, or harquebus, was "a short but heavy



21 iron peces; and Lodres<sup>1</sup> and Dunglas, with all th' ordonaunce, saving that that cam from Hadington, shall, within six monthes after this peax proclaimed, be delivred, and for that the French to pay 200,000 scutes within three dayes after the delivery of Boullein, and 200,000 scutes on our Ladie day in harvest next ensuyng, and that if the Scottes raised Lodr. et<sup>u</sup>ç. we shuld raise Roxborough and Aymouth. For the performance of wich on the 7 of April shuld be deliveride at Guisnes and Ard thies hostages:<sup>2</sup>

fire-arm which preceded the musket, and carried a ball of about three ounces. The stock of it greatly resembled that of a cross-bow." (Glossary in the same work.) I suspect the crook was really a rest to support it when discharged.

<sup>1</sup> Lauder, in Scotland.

<sup>2</sup> The French hostages were given as security for the payment of the sum of 200,000 crowns in the following August; the English as security for the restoration of the town of Boulogne to France. The custom of giving hostages during the period of a treaty for peace is one of very remote antiquity. "*Jurisconsultis obsides dicuntur, qui dati sunt a populi Romani hostibus pro captivis redimendis, vel pro pace componenda.*" (Lexicon Antiq. Roman.) The selection of the children of persons of high rank for this purpose may also be traced to the Roman times. Cæsar mentions a resolution "*Obsides nobilissimi cujusque liberos poscere.*" (De Bello Gall. i. 31.) The same custom may be traced existing at long intervals in subsequent ages. On the treaty with Scotland in 1139, David king of Scots gave as hostages to king Stephen the sons of five earls. (Ric. of Hexham, in Twysden's Decem Scriptorum.) At the conclusion of peace between Edward II. and France in 1325, ten noble youths, who happened at the time to be wards of the Crown, were appointed to accompany the royal train. Their names were Edward de Monthermer, Bernard de la Bret, Jame le Botiller, Johan de Multon, Robert de Ferrers, Johan Lestrangle, Esteven Dabingdon, Hugh le Despenser, Donenald de Mar, and Ric. Tuyt. Each was to be attended either by a *maistre* or a *compaignon*. (Archæologia, xxxvi. 248.) On the present occasion the English hostages were all youths; but those of the French were of more advanced age. On the 28th of March the council directed "lettres to the duchesse of Suffolke to give order as the duke of Suffolke her son (being appointed to be a hostage in France) may be furnished and accompanied as to their honours and state belongeth; so as he may be beyond the seas by Easter day; and signifying his abode there not to be long, and his charges to be maintained by the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup>. The like letters to the duke of Somerset for th'earl of Hertford his son; to th'earl of

Marques de Means.<sup>1</sup>My lord of Southfolke.<sup>2</sup>

Warwick for the lord Lisle his son; to th' earl of Shrewsbury for the lord Talbot; to the earl of Bedford for the lord Russell; to the earl of Derby for the lord Straunge; to the earl of Huntingdon for the lord Hastings; to the earl of Bath for the lord Fitzwarren; to the earl of Arundell for the lord Matravers. [Of these it will be perceived that three, the lords Lisle, Russell, and Hastings, were afterwards excused.] Letters to the lord Talbot for his speedy repayre hither by post for the same purpose." On the 1st of April "the receiver of the Wards has warrant for CC markes to the duke of Suffolke towards his furniture into France." On the following day the Council issued a "warrant to mr. Ayleworth receiver of Devon and Cornwall for C li. to the lord Fitzwarren son to the earle of Bath, towards his furniture, being appointed one of the noblemen hostages to be sent into France. Also a warrant to mr. Williams for C li. to the lord Talbot, of the sales, for like purpose. Letters to the lord Cobham, deputy of Calais, to provide carriage for the stuff and other necessaryes of the hostages, with lodging. Mr. Williams had warrant for M li. to Robert Beverley for the household of the hostages, imprest of the sales. Letter to the said Beverley to defray money upon the warrant of Richard Blunt, governour of the hostages. Warrant to (*blank*) for xl li. towards the furniture of the officers of the household of the hostages, as followeth, for the Pantry, Ewry, Buttrety, Cellar, Kitchen, Pastry, and Scullery, viij in number, according to the bill." On the xij April the council sent "lettres to mr. Dansell to have in readiness M<sup>l</sup>M<sup>l</sup> crownes of the sunne to be sent into France to the Kinges ma<sup>ties</sup> hostages there, whensoever mr. Richard Blount their governour, or in his absence he that shall have the chief charge of them, shall send for the same; wherein he [Dansell] shoulde be repayd according to the value of the money." On the vij May, "a warrant to (*blank*) for payment of CC marks by waie of his Ma<sup>tie</sup> gifte towards the charges of the furniture of the erle of Hertford, appointed one of the hostaiges lately sent into Fraunce." On the iiij July "a warrant to (*blank*) to paie CCxlv li. xvjs. iiij d. to the duke of Somerset in recompense of his charges emploied on the erle of Hertford when he was sent hostaige."

<sup>1</sup> François de Lorraine, marquis de Mayenne, eldest son of Claude first duc de Guise, and brother to Mary queen of Scotland. His father died whilst he was in England on this occasion, on the 12th April, 1550. He became prince de Joinville in 1552, and grand-maître of France in 1559. He was killed at the siege of Orleans in 1563. Anselme, Hist. Geneal. de France, iii. 486, viii. 387.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Brandon, second duke of Suffolk (1545), who died of the sweating sickness in 1551. Two miniatures of him (one of which is incorrectly assigned to his brother) are engraved in Chamberlain's Holbein Heads. Other particulars respecting him are collected in a note to Machyn's Diary, p. 318.

Mons. Trimouille.<sup>1</sup>My lord of Hertford.<sup>2</sup>Mons. d'Anguien.<sup>3</sup>My lord Talbot.<sup>4</sup>Mons. Montmorency.<sup>5</sup>My lord Fizwarren.<sup>6</sup>Mons. Henaudiere.<sup>7</sup>My lord Matravers.<sup>8</sup>Vicedam de Chartres.<sup>9</sup>My lord Straunge.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Louis III. of the name, seigneur de la Tremouille, born in 1521. For his military services in Italy, and elsewhere, Charles IX. erected his vicomté of Thouars into a duchy in 1563. He died at the siege of Mesle in 1577. Anselme, iv. 170.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Seymour, the Protector's heir apparent, by his second wife Anne Stanhope; restored to the dignity of earl of Hertford by queen Elizabeth in 1559, and died in 1621. Mr. Tytler, vol. i. p. 279, has printed a letter of the duke of Somerset to lord Cobham, deputy of Calais, thanking him for letters dated 13th April 1550, whereby "we be advertised of the good health of our son the earl of Hertford, and also of his behaviour towards the company where he cometh, gaining thereby much commendation, whereof we be right glad." The duke, though no longer Protector, retained the royal "We."

<sup>3</sup> Jean de Bourbon, comte de Soissons et d'Enghien, brother to Anthony de Bourbon at this time duc de Vendosme and afterwards king of Navarre, and to the cardinal de Bourbon. He was born in 1528, and died of a pistol-shot received at the battle of St. Quintin in 1557. Anselme, i. 330.

<sup>4</sup> George Talbot, only son of the earl of Shrewsbury: he succeeded as ninth earl 1560, and died 1590.

<sup>5</sup> François de Montmorency, eldest son of the constable Anne duc de Montmorency. He was born in 1530, and when duc de Montmorency was grand maître and constable of France; he was elected a knight of the Garter in 1572, as his father had been in 1532. He died in 1579. Anselme, iii. 604.

<sup>6</sup> John Bouchier, son and heir apparent of William earl of Bath. He died in his father's life-time, leaving issue William, who succeeded his grandfather in 1560.

<sup>7</sup> Jean III. seigneur d'Annebaut, only son of Claude d'Annebaut, marshal and admiral of France, by Françoise de Tournemine, baronne de la Hunaudaye, whose title he now bore. He died of wounds received at the battle of Dreux in 1562, and was the last of his ancient family. Anselme, vii. 179.

<sup>8</sup> Henry FitzAlan, only son of the earl of Arundel, born in 1538. He also died during his father's life, in the year 1556, and the ancient earldom went in consequence to the Howards.

<sup>9</sup> François de Vendôme, vidame de Chartres, succeeded his father in 1526, and died in 1563, in his 38th year, or, according to other authorities, in 1560. Anselme, viii. 731.

<sup>10</sup> Henry Stanley, son and heir apparent of the earl of Derby. He succeeded his father as the fourth earl in 1576, and died in 1592.



Also that at the delivery of the towne ours shuld com home; and at the first payment thre of thers; and that if the Scotis raise Lodres and Dunglas, we must rais Haimouth and Roxborough, and non after fortifie ther. With comprehension of th' emperour.

AN. D'NI 1550.

25. This paix proclaimed<sup>1</sup> at Cales and Boulein.

29. In London. Bonefieres.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The terms of this proclamation (which is not included in the collection of Grafton) are preserved in the MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 5485, p. 43, as follows :—"Edward the vi<sup>th</sup> by the grace of God King of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England and also of Ireland the supreamed, To all and singuler our true and faythfull subjects of this our realme of England, Calays, and the marches of the same, and to all other our subjects of all other our domynions, and every of them, sendeth greeting. Know ye, that upon sundry great and weighty consideracions us and our counsell moovinge, wee have, by th'advise of our said counsell, treated, communed, concluded, and made a good peace and perfyte amytie with our good brother and ally the French king, between us and our realmes, domynions, and subjects for ever to endure, and in the same have comprehended our deerest brother th'Emperor, according to the streight league and perpetuall amytie between us and hym, and likewise the Queene and realme of Scotland, with the subjects of the same. Wherefore wee woll and stretelie chardge and commande you and every of you of our said subjects to observe and keepe all and every poynt of the said league and peace, usinge and entreatinge frendly in all things, accordinge to this our said amytie, all and singler the subjects of our said good brother, doinge also our said good subjects to understand that our pleasure is they shall haunte, frequent, and traffique with the same accordinge to the said peace concluded. And likewise behave themselves in all things toward our said deerest brother and perpetuall ally th'Emperor, hys realmes, domynions, and subjects, and the said Quene and realme of Scotland, accordinge to there comprehense. And therefore fayle not, as ye entende our pleasure, and will make answer to the contrary at your uttermost perrell.

"God save the Kinge."

<sup>2</sup> "Item the xxx<sup>ii</sup> day of March was Palme sonday, and on the evyng was proclamyd a generalle pes betwene the kynge of Ynglond and the Frenche kynge, and the qwene of Scottes and the realme of the same also, with their subjecttes; and grett bonfyeres with grett chere at every cunstabulles dore in every parich thorow alle London; and soo after thorow alle Ynglonde." (Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, p. 66.)



30. A sermon in thanksgiving for paix, and Te Deum sung.

31. My lord Somerset was deliverid of his bondes, and cam to court.

#### 1550.—APRIL.

2. The parlement proroged to the second day of the terme in Octobre next ensuyng.

3. Nicholas Ridley, befor of Rochester, made bishop of London, and received his othe.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Thirlby, befor of Whestmuster,<sup>2</sup> made bishop of Norwich, and received his othe.

5. The bishop of Chichestre,<sup>3</sup> befor a vehement affirmer of transubstantiation, did preach against (it) at Whestmuster in the preching place.

Removing to Grenwich from Whestmuster.

6. Our hostiages passed the narrowseas between Dover and Cales.

7. Mon. de Ferñin,<sup>4</sup> gentilman of the kinges privi chamber, passed from the French king by England to the Scottish quen, to tel her of the paix.

An ambassadour came from Gostav the Suethin King, called Andre, for a surer amiti touching marchandis.

<sup>1</sup> "Item the xij<sup>th</sup> day of Aprill, he that was byshoppe of Rochester, Nicolas Rydley, was stallyd [bishop of London] by one of the byshoppe of Ely('s) chaplynes." (Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, where several curious notices will be found of the changes which the new bishop soon made in his church and diocese.) The letters patent of Ridley's translation are printed by Rymer, xv. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Thirlby's resignation of the bishopric of Westminster, dated 30th March, is printed in Rymer, xv. 219, from the Close roll, 4 Edw. VI. p. 1, m. 11; and at p. 221 are letters patent dated 1 April, translating him to the bishopric of Norwich, which was then vacant "by the free resignation of William (Rugge, alias Repps) late bishop" thereof. Bishop Rugge died on the 21st Sept. following.

<sup>3</sup> George Day, already noticed in p. 37 of the present volume.

<sup>4</sup> In the council book this name occurs under a very different form: "vij April. Warraunt to (*blank*) for xxx li. to (*blank*) herrald at armes, imprest for his charges in the conduction of mons<sup>r</sup> de Funette gentleman of France into Scotland."

9. The hostages delivered on both the sides, for the ratification of the league with Fraunce and Scoteland, forbicaus som said to mon. Rochepot, lieutenant, that mon. de Guyse,<sup>1</sup> father to the marquis of Means, was ded, and therefor the delivery was put over a day.

8. My lord Warwic made general warden of the North,<sup>2</sup> and mr. Herbert president of Walis, and the one had graunted to him a 1000 marc land, th'other 500, and lord War(wick) 100 horsmen at my (*altered to King*) charge.

9. Licencies signed for the whole counsel, and certaine of the privi chamber, to kepe amonge them 2290 (*above is written 2340*) retainers.<sup>3</sup>

10. My lord Som(erset) taken into the counsel.<sup>4</sup> Guidotti,<sup>5</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> Claude duc of Guise was dangerously ill: he died on the 12th of April.

<sup>2</sup> Warwick, though glad to accept this important and influential office, was unwilling to encounter the exile from the chief administration of affairs which its personal execution would have involved: see hereafter, under July 18. Sir William Herbert also did not proceed to his seat of government for some time: see under June 13.

<sup>3</sup> Other arrangements as to this matter of retainers occur in subsequent pages. One of the licences granted on the present occasion is printed in Rymer's collection, xv. 235. It is that given to the duke of Somerset, dated on the 5th of June, and allows him two hundred retainers beyond his household servants and the keepers of his parks, &c. Rot. Pat. 4 Edw. VI. p. 6, m. 15.

<sup>4</sup> "The 8 of April, the duke of Somerset came to the court to the King's majesty at Greenwich, where he was honourably received of the King and his counsell, and dined with the King, and was sworne of the privy counsell." Stowe.

<sup>5</sup> Letters of protection granted to Guidotti for two years from the 30th May, 1549, are printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. vol. xv. p. 185. He is styled therein Anthony Guidotti, merchant of Florence and of the town of Southampton. On the 17th April, 1550, a yearly pension of 250*l.* was granted to him, under the name of sir Anthony Guidotti, and another of 37*l.* 10*s.* to his son John Guidotti esquire. Ibid. pp. 227, 228. (These two last letters patent bear *Teste Rege apud Lieghes*; but it may be remarked that they do not show that the King was there in person, but only that the lord chancellor had then the great seal at his country mansion—Leez in Essex.) On the 1st of April the council issued "a warrant to (*blank*) for xlvij*l.* to mr. Perrot for a flaggon chaine bought of him to be bestowed upon Anthony Guydott at the time of the order of knighthood given unto him."

beginner of the talk for peax, recompensed with knightdom, a thousand crounes reward, a 1000 crounes pension, and his son with 250 crounes pencion. . Certen prisoners for light maters dismissed. Agreed for delivery of French prisoners taken in the warris. Petre Van sent embassadour to Venice.<sup>1</sup> Lettres directed to certein Irish nobles to take a blind legat coming from the pope, calling himself bishop of Arcman.<sup>2</sup> Commissions for the delivery of Boulein, Lodres, and Dunglas.

6. Thre Fleminges men of war wold have passed our shippes without veling bonet, wich the(y) seing, shot at them, and drove them at lenght to vaile bonet, and so depart.

11. Mon. Trimoul, mon. vicedam de Char(tres), and mon. He-naudie(re), cam to Dover; the rest taried at Cales til thei had leave.

12. Order taken that whosoever had benefices given them<sup>3</sup> shuld preach befor the King in or out of Lent, and every Sonday ther shuld be a sermon.

16. The thre hostiages aforsaid cam to London, being met at Detford with the lord Graye of Wilton, lord Bray, with divers other gentlemen to the nomber of twenty, and serving men an hundred, and so brought into the cité, and lodged there, and kept houses every man by themself.

18. Mr. Sidney<sup>4</sup> and mr. Nevel<sup>5</sup> made gentlemen of the privy

<sup>1</sup> See hereafter, under the 19th of May, p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> The tenure of the see of Armagh was at this time disputed. In 1543 king Henry VIII. had appointed George Dowdall (who died in London, 12 Feb. 1559); but the pope nominated Robert Waucop, a Jesuit (who died at Paris, 11 Nov. 1551). Neither of these was conformable to the Reformation, and on the 2nd Feb. 1552-3, Hugh Goodacre was consecrated to the see, at the same time that the famous John Bale was consecrated bishop of Ossory. (See Ware's History of the Bishops of Ireland, fol. 1776, p. 91, and Stuart's Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh, 8vo. 1819, pp. 234 et seq.) The person named by King Edward in the text was probably Waucop.

<sup>3</sup> "Understand it, not by private patrons, but either presented by the King or lord chancellor." Note on this passage by Dr. Fuller in his Church History.

<sup>4</sup> Afterwards sir Henry Sidney, and K.G.

<sup>5</sup> Afterwards sir Henry Neville.

chamber. Commission given to the lord Chobham deputy of Cales, sir William Petre chef secretary, and sir Jhon Mason, French secretary, to see the French king take his oth, with certain instrucion; and that sir Jhon Mason shuld be embassadour ligier.

Commission to sir John (Maurice) Denis and sir Wiliam Sharyngton to receive the first paiment and deliver the quittaunce.<sup>1</sup>

19. Sir Jhon Mason taken into the previe counsel, and William Thomas mad(e) clerk of the same.<sup>2</sup>

Wheras the emperour's embassadour desired leav(e) by lettres patentés that my ladi Mary might have mass, it was denied<sup>3</sup> him; and wher he said we brake the legue with him by making peax

<sup>1</sup> On the 17th of April the council had directed "letters to mr. Dennys treasurer of Callays, that he and mr. Sharyngton be joyned in commission for the cc m<sup>l</sup> French crowns to be received, of the goodness, purity, and weight as they be currant in Frànce." On the 20th, "A letter to sir Morice Denys and sir William Sherrington knights, commissioners appointed for the receipt of the first payment now to be made by the Frenche, that if mons<sup>r</sup> Gondie, master of the French king's finances, do come withall (as it is thought he doth) they shall give him in rewarde from the Kinges Majestie two thousand crownes, because he was the first motioner and procurer of this Peace. And in case it be not he, then to give the bringer of the said money such reward under the said summe of two thousand crownes as to their wisdomes shall seem convenient." (Council Book.)

<sup>2</sup> "April xix. An order was taken and determined by his Majestie, by the advise of his said counsaile, that there should be a clerke attendant upon the saide counsaile, to write, enter, and register all such decrees, determinacions, and other things as he shulde be appointed to enter in a book to remaigne allwaies as a leger, aswell for the dischardge of the said counsaillors tooching such things as they shulde passe from time to time, as also for a memoriall unto them of their own proceedings."

"April xx. It was agreed that, forasmuch as the due observacion of the registre of all such things as shulde passe by ordre of the counsaile is an office that shall require a speciall diligence, Therefore the forenamed William Thomas is discharged of all other manner of businesse, to th'entent that, havinge nothing else to attend unto, he may the better applie his charge to see that nothing worthy to be recorded be omitted or left unwritten: And specially, to th'intent no warrant shulde escape unregistered, it was ordred that lettres shulde be written to the thesaurors not to paye any warrant, though it be signed by the counsaill, unlesse it be also subscribed with the hand of the said William Thomas." (Council Book.)

<sup>3</sup> *i. e.* refused.



with Scotland, it was answered, that the French king and not I did comprehend them, saving that I might not invad(e) them without occasion.

10. Lodres being besieged of the Scotis, the captain, hering that the peax was proclaimed in England, deliverid it as the peax did will him, taking sureties that al the bargaines of the peax shuld be kept.

18. Monsiur de Guyse died.

20. Ordre taken for the chambre that three of th' utter previe-chamber gentlemen shuld alwaies be here, and tow lie in the palat, and fill the rom(e) of on(e) of the foure knightes;<sup>1</sup> that the esquieres shuld be diligent in ther office; and 5 gromes shuld be alwaies present, of wich on(e) to watch in the bedchamber.

21. The marquis du Means, the duc d'Anguien, and the constable's sone arrived at Dover.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 243.

<sup>2</sup> On the 17th letters had been addressed "to the lord Cobham in answer to his, that the coming over of the French hostages remaining at Callays be referred to themselves to come or tarry. If they come before the receipt of the cc m<sup>l</sup> crownes, that then the lords appoint some to have the charge of them; if after, that then they may come at their libertie; howbeit that in both cases they be provided of good shippes and of some of good behaviour to conduct, and that the lords of the councill be advertised beforehand of their comming, to th'erld order may be given in that behalf accordingly."

"April xx. A letter to sir Thomas Cheyney knight, lord wardeigne of the Cinque Ports, to repaire to Dover, there to meet iij of the French hostaiges, that is to weete mouns<sup>r</sup>. Denghuyen, le marques du Mayne, and mouns<sup>r</sup>. Montemorency eldest son to the conestable of France, who for the French parte, in lieu of the duke of Suffolk, th'erle of Hertford, and the lorde Matraverse with others for th'Englishe part, are delivered for performance of the covenants mentioned in the treatie of this last peace concluded at Boloigne: which iij hostaiges shall retourne home upon the retourne of all our hostaiges laied for the delivery of Boloigne, the first payment being made by the French. For the suretie of whose second payment iij other hostaiges, mouns<sup>r</sup>. Tremoyle, mouns<sup>r</sup>. vidame de Chartiers, and mouns<sup>r</sup>. Hanniball D'oy th'admirall's only sonne, shall remayne here.

"And forasmuche as these iij French hostaiges are of the principall nobilitie of France, it was also agreed that the lorde marques of Northampton high chamberlain of England,

23. Mons. Trimouille and the vicedam of Chartres and mons. Henaudiere cam to the court, and saw the ordre of the garter,<sup>1</sup> and the knightes with the souverain receive the communion.

24. Certain articles touching a straighter amytye in marchandis sent to the king of Swethen,<sup>2</sup> being these: First, if the king of

with an honorable companie, that is to wete, th'erle of Rutland, the lorde Lisle, the lorde Russell, the lord Graye, the lord William Howarde, the lord Braye, sir Anthony Sellenger, sir William Stafforde, sir John Cuttes, sir Peter Mewtas, and certain other gentlemen, shulde encounter them by the waye between Dover and London, to conduct them the more honorable according to their estates." (Council Book.)

<sup>1</sup> "At a chaptre holden at Grenwiche on St. George's daye at eveninge, being the xxiiij day of Aprille, and likewise the next day by the soveraigne of the noble order of the Garter, then present with the Soveraigne the duke of Somerset, the marques of Dorsett, the marques of Northampton, th'erle of Bedford, th'erle of Wiltshire, the lord Pagett, sir Thomas Chenye, sir John Gage, sir Anthony Wingfelde, and sir Anthony Sentleger." See further in Anstis, Register of the Order of the Garter, ii. 445.

<sup>2</sup> On the 22d of April, "Th'ambassador of Swethen's requestes were declared by Thomas Chamberlaine, the effect whereof was, that the king of Swethen, for him and his subjects, would be free of custome in England, and his subjects exempte from all lawes and restraints here: which request, he said, being first graunted, he wold then common further, and elles he had no commission so to do. These requestes of th'ambassador of Swethen were thought onreasonable, to require so great privileges without making any offer. Wherefore it was agreed he shulde be with the counsaill the xxiiij of this presents, and with gentle words like condicions to be proposed unto him: and so to be licensed, without conclusion. Devising rewarde correspondent to the rewarde and entertainment that mr. Chamberlaine had of the king his master." On the 24th, "The ambassador of Swethen had accesse to the counsaill, unto whome, according to the order taken the xxij of this present, these condicions following were proponed:—

"1. First the Kinges majestie embraced the auncient amitie of the king of Swethen, and was well pleased the same shulde continu mutually between them and their subiects.

"2. Likewise for the trafficque of their subjects, that they might freely come and go without any empeachment, observing the laws and customes of either realme.

"3. If any expedicion of navie or armie shulde be made by sea, either prince to bynde his subjects not to dampnifye or annoy any part of the other's dominions or subjects, taking sufficient suretie therefore er they depart foorth of his owne havens.

"4. And tooching the request of the freedome for payinge of custome, the Kinges majestie was contented that the Swethen and his subjects shulde yerely bringe in to this

Suethen sent bullion, he shuld have our commodites, and pay noe toll. Secundly, he shuld bring bullion to non other prince. Thirdly, if he brought ozymus, and stele, and cooper, et<sup>e</sup>, he shuld have our commodites and pai custom as an Englishman. Forthly, if he brought any other, he shuld have free entrecours, paing custom as a strangier, et<sup>e</sup>.

It was answerid to the duc of Brunswic,<sup>1</sup> that wheras he offered

realme the value of xx m. li. in merchandise, upon condicion that he shoulde yerely send hither xx m. li. of sylver bulloyn which he shall pay noe custome for, and the Kinges highnesse to have the same sylver at xlvij s. the once. Provided that the Swethen shall carrye no monye hense, but such comodities of the realme as they shall choose to that value, paying therefore such custome as Englishmen pay, and with condicion also that they shall utter no part of the said comodities on this side the city of Breame.

"5. Or ells if this first condicion please him not, it shall be lawfull for him and his said subjects to bring into this realme in sylver, copper, steele, and yron, the value of xx m<sup>l</sup>. dallers by the yere, whereof the one halfe to be sylver; for which sylver he shall paie no custome: and the same sylver to be sold to the Kinges majestie at the price accustomed here in the yere 1543. To the value of which merchandize they shall take clothes of divers sorts, leade and tynne, at like prices as they were here the same yere 1543.

"6. Further, if he like not this, the Kinges majestie is pleased that the Swethen shall carry hense two thousand clothes a yere, to bring hither the value thereof, th'one half in sylver, after the manner aforesaid. The Swethen as well to pay, for that he carryeth out as for that he bringeth hither, such custome as Hansemen pay, saving the King to have the sylver at xlvij s. the once, the rest to be sold at their pleasure.

"7. Finally, wheare this ambassador demaundeth restitution of a shippe lost in the Temes, with the goods of the same, it was answered, that the judges of the office apperteigning thereunto shuld search and examine how the case had been; and, upon answer of these articles from the king of Swethen, hee shulde see there shulde be no lacke of justice tooching his demaunde in that behalfe.

"Wherewith this ambassador was dispatched, and thereupon—

"A warrant to (*blank*) to give in rewarde to the king of Swethen's ambassador C<sup>l</sup> li. sterling." (Council Book.)

<sup>1</sup> On the 24th April "the marquess of Brandenburg's ambassador had access to the counsaill, whose requests consisteth in two poincts: the first, that his master offered his service to the Kinges majestie with aide of men of warre; and the second, that he desired the lady Maries grace in marriage. First, he was answered, that, as for service, the Kinges majestie had taken the offer in good parte as it deserved, and therefore did ac-

service with 10,000 men of his band, that the war was ended; and for the mariage of my lady Mary to him, ther was talk for her mariag with th'enfant of Portugall, wich being determined, he shuld have answeare.

25. The lord Clinton captain of Bolein, having sent away befor al his men saving 1800, and al his ordonnaunce saving that the treaty did reserve, issued out of the towne with these 1800, delivering it to mons. Chastillon, receiving of him the six hostagies English,<sup>1</sup> a

cordingly thank the marques. And as tooching the marriage, his highness, with th'advise of his counsaill, had alreadie entred into practise thereof with th'emperor, which, being yet undetermined, allowed not them with their honors to begin any newe practise for the same: wherefore he was praied to take this for an answeare, with most hearty thanks for his good will. And so departed. A warrant to (*blank*) to give in rewarde to the marques of Brandenburg's ambassador ccli. sterling." The reader will observe that these passages speak of the margrave of Brandenburg as offering marriage to the princess Mary, whilst the King in the text names "the duke of Brunswick." Either statement has found its way into our histories; and Miss Strickland in her life of Mary treats both princes as suitors. But Joachim II. margrave of Brandenburg was a married man at this date, and so was his son John-George. The only conclusion must be that the margrave urged the suit of another person, and the duke of Brunswick in question may be identified beyond a doubt. Julius was the third and youngest son of Henry duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, who married a staunch Romanist. Julius, who had embraced Protestantism, was resigned by his father to the mercies of the priests, but, escaping from prison, he took refuge with the margrave of Brandenburg; and he became a distinguished Protestant captain. He was at this time a widower, but subsequently, in 1566, he married the margrave's own daughter Hedwige, and having lost his two brothers at the battle of Silverhausen in 1553, he eventually succeeded his father as reigning duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel in 1568.

<sup>1</sup> These young noblemen, when released from their honourable and very agreeable duty, were desirous to prolong their stay in France, in order to visit the French court. On the 24th of April—"Mocion was made for license that our hostaiges, that is to wete, the duke of Suffolke, th'erle of Hertforde, the lorde Matraverse, the lord Talbott, the lorde Strange, and the lorde Fitzwaren, might make their repaire unto the Frenche corte to see the king, like as the French hostaiges have libertie here to come to the corte. Whereupon it was thought convenient, that, forasmuch as the appointment of the delivery of Boloigne is this present day, which being accomplished our hostaiges must be restored home, therefore they shall not have license till the counsaill be advertised of their deliverance:



quittance for delivery of the towne,<sup>1</sup> and save-conduyt to com to Cales, whither when he cam(e) he placed 1800 in the emperour's frontieres.

27. The marquis du Means, conte d'Anguien, and the constable's son wer received at Blakheth by my lord of Rutland, my lord Gray of Wilton, my lord Bray, my lord Lisle, and divers gentlemen, with al the pensionaries to the nombre of 100, besid a great number of serving men.

It was grauntid that my lord of Somerset shuld have al his movebal goodes and lesses (leases), except thos that be alredie given.<sup>2</sup>

The kinges of Seuthen embassadeur departid home to his master.<sup>3</sup>

29. The conte d'Anguien brother to the duke of Vendosm, and next heir to the croun after the kinges children, the marquis de Means brother to the Scottish quen, and mons. Montmorency the

that, if they go, they may go at libertie and not as hostaiges. And to that effect a lettre written to mr. Blount, requiring him immediately upon their delivery to advertise the lords here, and to lerne withall the time of the Frenche king's approche into those parties, to th'entent our younge lords may meet him as neere the confines as may be.

"April xxviiij. Upon lettres receaved from my lord Clynton and Richard Blount esquire, of the receipt of our hostaiges which are already retorned to Calays, it was agreed that, forasmuch as the French king's comyng downe into Bullonoys is uncertain, our young lords that had been hostaiges shulde immediately return home, notwithstanding their request and first determinacion that they shulde have licence to visite the French king." (Council Book.)

<sup>1</sup> Boulogne was delivered to the seigneur de la Rochepot and the seigneur de Chastillon on the 25th of April by the hands of Edward lord Clinton, sir Richard Cotton, and sir Leonard Beckwith: see the acquittance of the French commissioners, mentioned by King Edward, in Rymer, xv. 228; the treaty for its surrender having been concluded on the 24th March (*ibid.* 230).

<sup>2</sup> "April xxvii. It was agreed by the whole counsaill that the Kinges majestie shulde be moved for the restitution of the duke of Somersett unto all his goods, his debts, and his leases yet ungiven." (Council Book.) By "yet ungiven" was meant not granted out to other parties.

<sup>3</sup> "April xxvii. The ambassadour of Swethen was at the courte and tooke leave both of the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup> and of the counsaill, unto whom th'answere unto his demandes were delivered written in Latine,"—as it is entered in the Council Book.

constable's sone, cam to the court, wher thei war received with much musike at diner.

26. Certein wer taken that went about to have an insurrection in Kent upon May-day following, and the priest who was the cheaf worker ran away into Essex, wher he was laid for.

30. Dunglas was deliverid, as the treaty did require.

#### MAY.

2. Jhon (Joan) Bocher, otherwis Jhon (Joan) of Kent,<sup>1</sup> was burnt for holding that Christ was not incarnat of the Virgin Mary, being condemned the yere befor, but kept in hope of conversion; and the 30 of April the bishop of London and the bishop of Elie<sup>2</sup> were to perswad her. But she withstode them, and reviled the preacher that preached at her death.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Joan Bocher, *alias* Knell, was a martyr for religious opinions, whose story is *not* related by John Foxe: but that historian mentions her incidentally in his account of the King's character, illustrating his meek nature by the following anecdote: "Hee alwaies spared and favoured the life of man: as in a certain dissertation of his once appeared, had with master Cheeke in favoring the life of heretickes: in so much that when Joane Butcher should have been burned, all the counsel could not moove him to put-to his hand, but were faine to get doctour Cranmer to perswade with him, and yet neither coulede hee with much labour induce the King so to doe, saying, What, my lord, will yee have me send her quick to the devill in her error? So that doctour Cranmer himselfe confessed that hee had never so much to doe in all his life, as to cause the King to put-to his hand, saying that he would laie all the charge thereof upon Cranmer before God." This story, apocryphal at the best, has been considered so far to the discredit of Cranmer that his friends have been anxious to vindicate him. Mr. Bruce, in the Works of Roger Hutchinson, edited for the Parker Society, 1842, Preface, p. iv., has shewn that the King would not be required to sign any document on the occasion, the warrant of the council being sufficient. For the particulars of Joan Bocher and her heresy see Wilkins, Concilia, iv. 43; the General Index to the Works of the Parker Society, 1855, p. 124; also the General Index to the Works of Strype, Oxford edition. The religious insurrection in Kent, which the King has just mentioned under the date of the 26th April, was perhaps the proximate cause of her suffering; for it was on the 27th that the council issued their warrant to the lord chancellor to make out a writ to the sheriffs of London for her execution. (Council Book.)

<sup>2</sup> Ridley and Goodrich.

<sup>3</sup> "There preached before her, or she dyed, Scory; and she said to hym he lyed lyke

The first paiment was paied at Cales, and received by sir Thomas (Maurice) Dennis and mr. Sharington.

4. The lord Clinton, befor captain of Bolein, come to the courte,<sup>1</sup> where, after thankes, he was mad Admirall of England, upon the surrendre of th'erle's of Warwic patent. He was also taken into the previe counsel, and promised farther reward. The capitaines also and officers of the town wer promised rewardes. Mons. de Brisay<sup>2</sup> also passed by the court to Scoteland, where at Grenwich he cam to the King, telling him that the French king wold see that if he laked any commodite that he had, he wold give it him, and likewis wold the constable of Fraunce, who then bar al the swinge.

5. The marquis du Means departid into Scoteland<sup>3</sup> with mons. de Brisay, to comfort the quen of the death of the duc of Guise.

a knave, &c." Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, p. 66. The preacher was John Scory, afterwards bishop of Hereford in the reign of Elizabeth.

<sup>1</sup> The following is from the Council register:—

"May iiij. The lorde Clynton with the rest of the commissioners from Bulloigne were received and welcomed home by the counsaill, unto whom the lorde Clynton presented the acquittance that he had receaved of the Frenche for the delivery of Bulloigne, and the copie of their commission to receive the same, which the counsaill delivered to sir John Godsalue, knt., to be fair engrossed, and then laid up in the King's threasorie for a memoriall. Whereupon thanks were given to the said lorde Clynton and commissioners, with the rest of their companie, for the faithfull and diligent service they had doon unto his Majestie in his warres on that side the sea; and then the lord Clynton was by the whole counsaill brought to the King's presence, who after like thanks given was pleased he shulde be made High Admirall of Englande, and one of his privye counsaill: insomuch that the lordes retorned with him immediatlye to the counsaill chambre, and there ministred an oath unto him accordingly. And so this day he sat in counsaill."

<sup>2</sup> Artus de Maillé, seigneur de Brézé et de Milly. He had received the young queen of Scots in France in 1548. He was afterwards governor of Anjou, and died in 1592. Anselme, Hist. Geneal. vii. 516.

<sup>3</sup> On the 1st of May, "Upon request being made to the counsaill by the marques du Mayne, that, being one of the hostaiges for the first payment of the Frenche, he might neverthesse, without retorning to Calays, immediately passe hense into Scotland,

6. The Mr of Askin<sup>1</sup> and mon. Morret's brother came out of Scoteland for th'acceptacion of the peax, who after had pasport to goe into Fraunce.

7. The councel drue a boke for every shier, who shuld be lieutenants in them, and who shuld tary with me;<sup>2</sup> but the lieutenants

affirming it to be the French king's pleasure, It was agreed that, being a nobleman and in singler favor with the King his maister, it was necessarie to gratifie him; and so ordre was taken for his entertaignment by the way, and lettres written both to th'erle of Shrewsbury and also to sir Robert Bowes, wardeignes of the marches, to receave him according to his estate. And hereupon a lettre to sir John Wallop, sir Morrice Dennys, and sir William Sherrington, signifieng unto them the hole case, and willing them to declare the same unto mouns<sup>r</sup> de la Rochepote to knowe his opinion, to th'entent that if he misliked the marquess proceeding, ordre may be taken for the staic of him, to be returned unto Calays according to the treatie, if the case so require.

"And likewise a speciall lettre from the lord privie seale and the lord Paget to Mouns<sup>r</sup> de la Rochepote of the same effect."

The letter addressed by the lords on this occasion (May 2) to the earl of Shrewsbury, lord president of the North, is printed in Lodge's *Illustrations of Brit. History*, i. 137.

"May iiij. A warraunt to (*blank*) to deliver to Richard Shelley and [Thomas] Stukeley c li. towards their charges in accompanying the marques du Mayne into Scotlande."

"May xxxi. A warraunt to deliver to William Aman, one of the groomes of the chambre, xx li. for his charges and diligence used in conveyeing the marques du Mayne with his traine Northwards."

"June xij. A warrant to the First-fruicts to deliver John Keyme x li. by him paid to Thomas Stukeley towards charges in conducting the marques du Mayne homewards."

"June xxij. A warraunt to (*blank*) to pay to Richard Shelley lx li. towards his charges as well in conveying the marques du Maine into Scotlande and backe again, as also in taking the musters of straungers in divers places." (Council Book.)

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Erskine, second but at this time eldest surviving son of John fourth lord Erskine, and elder brother to John afterwards restored to the earldom of Marr. He died in 1551, before his father. Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland*, (edit. Wood,) ii. 211.

<sup>2</sup> At this period lords lieutenant were only incidentally appointed, either on occasion of insurrections (as before in p. 228, &c.) or when the King was going a journey or progress, as was now the case. The appointments made at the present date are not stated in the Council Book; but subsequent entries disclose who the noblemen were. The earl of Warwick took care that the duke of Somerset should be away from the King: and he



wer appointed to tary till Chastillon's, Sarcy, and Bouchetel's coming, and then to depart.

9. Proclamation was mad that the soldiars should returne to their mansions;<sup>1</sup> and the mair of London had charge to loke thorough al the wardes, to take them, and send them to thear countries.

The det of thirty thousand pound and ode money was put over an yere, and ther was bought 2500 cingtales of powder.<sup>2</sup>

11. Proclamation was made that al wolwinders<sup>3</sup> shuld take an

was stationed at Reading, as lieutenant of Oxfordshire and some adjoining counties (see hereafter, under July 26). After Michaelmas the lords were recalled to court. In the minutes of the council held at Oatlands on the 24th Sept. is mention of "a letter for the revocation of the duke of Somerset dated the 6th Septembre;" and "a letter for revocation of my lord wardein to repair to the court at his libertie." The next day, "letters of revocation to the lord marquess of Northampton touching his lieutenantship; and the like to the lord chancellor, th'erle of Oxford, and sir Thomas Darcie."

<sup>1</sup> So the MS. It must have been a term then equivalent to "barracks."

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Burgon (*Life of Sir Thomas Gresham*, i. 69) supposes that this powder was bought as a *consideration* to the merchants or bankers for the payment of the debt being deferred: some purchase being always expected by them on such occasions, as will further appear in a passage of the following April.

<sup>3</sup> "April xxviiij. Complaint was made by certain clothiers that the merchaunts adventurers by agreement had set such a price upon their clothes that without the loss of xx s. in a piece they could not utter them; for the more perfect knowledge whereof all maner of clothiers that then were in London appered at the Starre Chamber by commaundment, where the more part denied to be privie or of counsaill with the said complaint; finding great fault with the multitude of clothiers lately encreased in the realme; affirming that as longe as every man that wolde had libertie to be a clothier as they have now it was impossible to have good clothe made in the realme, for he that is not bred up in that facultie must trust his factors, and so is commonly deceaved; and nowe the good making is decayed, the clothes are out of estimacion, by reason whereof the prices must also decaye. Wherefore it was concluded that some device should be had for a law that none shulde meddle with clothe-making but such as had been prentises to th'occupation. Further, divers reasons were made by them tooching the decay of our money by exchange: with other devises tooching the common wealth; which they were commanded to put in writing.

"For the clothiers' mattier the merchaunts adventurers were called before the counsaill,

oth that the(y) wold make good cloth ther as the lord chauncelour wold apoint them, according to an acte of parlement made by Edward the thirde.

7. The lord Cobham, the secretary Petre, and sir Jhon Mason cam to the French king to Amyens, going on his journey, wher thei were received of al the nobles, and so brought to thear loginges, wich were wel dressed.

10. The French king toke the othe for th'acceptation of the treaty.

12. Our embassadours departid from the French court, leving sir Jhon Mason as legier.

14. The duke of Somerset was taken into the prive chambre, and likewise was the lord admirall (Clinton).<sup>1</sup>

15. It was apointed that al the light horsmen of Bolein and the men of armes shuld be paid their wages, and be led by the lord marquis of Northampton, capitain of the pensionaries, and al the gard of Bolein under the lord admiral. Also that the chiefest capitaines shuld be sent, with 600 with them, to the strengthening of the frontieres of Scoteland.

for whom the maior of London with certain of the chiefest of the companie appered, and to the complainct of the clothiers answered that they agreed not togheters to hinder the clothiers' prices; but the troth is that there lie at Antwarpe such a nombre of our clothes onsolde, that till they were uttered these here wolde not be bought; which, together with the naughtiness of the making, hindred the prices; and, besides that, it was commonly not used to shippe any between Easter and Whitsontide." (Council Book.)

<sup>1</sup> "Maye xj. 1550. And where it had pleased the King's majestie to call the lorde Clynton to be High Admirall, which office his lyving did not thoroughly extende to mainteigne, forasmuch as his service at Bulloigne deserved notable consideracion, therefore the counsaill determined to be meanes unto the King's majestie to give him ccli. lande, and to accept him of his prive chamber.

"And likewise syns it had also pleased his highness to call the duke of Somersett again into his prive counsaill, they likewise determined to be sutors for him, that he might be again admitted of the prive chamber." (Council Book.)

The comprehension of peax with Scoteland<sup>1</sup> was accepted so fare as the league went, and sealed with the (*unfinished*).

16. The maister of Eskin<sup>2</sup> departed into Fraunce.

17. Removing to Whestmuster from Grenwich.

18. The French king came to Bolein to visit the pieces lately delivred to him, and to apoint an ordre and stay in thinges there; wich done, he departid.

19. Peter Van<sup>3</sup> went as embassadour to Venice, and departid from the court with his instruccions.

20. The lord Cobham and sir Wiliam Petre cam hom from ther journey, delivering both the oth, the testimoniall of the oth, witnessid by divers noblemen of Fraunce, and also the treaty, sealed with the great seal of Fraunce; and in the oth was confessid that I was Suprem Hed of the Church of England and Irlan(d), and also King of Irland.

23. Mon. Chastil(lon) and Mortier, and Bouchetel, accompanied

<sup>1</sup> The act of comprehension of Scotland in the peace with France, dated at Edinburgl 13 kal. Maii 1555, and sealed with the great seal of Scotland, is printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. xv. 255.

<sup>2</sup> "May xj. This day the M<sup>r</sup> of Erskyn, sent as ambassador out of Scotlande, presented the ratificacion of the comprehension concluded in the treatie made at Bulloigne, under the great seale of Scotland, and delivered withall certein articles of request, according to his instruccions from the Queene and counsaill of Scotlande, which he was promised to have answer of with expedicion.

"Maye xvj. The M<sup>r</sup> of Erskyn, ambassador of Scotlande, was dispatched with letters and an instrument of ratificacion of the comprehension, as ferreforth as the articles of the treatie at Bulloigne did, and no further; and his requests made on the counsaill's behalf of Scotland were answered." (Council Book.)

<sup>3</sup> Peter Vanne, by birth an Italian, was employed by Henry VIII. some years before this date. He was appointed the King's Latin secretary by letters patent dated 13 Dec. 3 Edw. VI. 1549. He held several prebends and other church preferments, and died dean of Salisbury in 1563. On the present occasion a warrant was issued on the 4th of May "to mr. Petre, threasorer of the first fruites and tenths, to pay unto mr. Peter Vanne, now appointed the Kings Majesties Ambassador for Venice, the rate of xls. by the daie for his dietts from the first of this moneth. and so forwards." (Council Book.)

with the Ringrave,<sup>1</sup> Dandelot,<sup>2</sup> the constable's secound sone,<sup>3</sup> and Chenault the ligier,<sup>4</sup> cam to Durasme place, where in their journey thei wer met by mr. tresoror (Cheyne) and threscore gentlemen<sup>5</sup> at

<sup>1</sup> The Rhinegrave John Frederick was deprived of his electorate by the emperor after the battle of Muhlberg in 1547, and remained a prisoner at Innspruck until 1552. His nephew Otho-Henry, called the Magnanimous, whose proper title was only count of Neuburg until after his uncle's death in 1556, was at this time in the service of France, and was made a knight of St. Michael in Oct. 1550 (see Tytler, i. 325).

<sup>2</sup> The seigneur d'Anelot was François de Coligny, younger brother of the seigneur de Chastillon, already noticed in p. 250, and like him a zealous Calvinist and intrepid soldier. He became comte of Laval and Montfort in Britany; and in 1555 he was appointed colonel-general of the French infantry in place of his brother. He died in 1569. (Anselme, vii. 155; viii. 215.)

<sup>3</sup> The second son of the constable of France was Henry afterwards duc de Montmorency, who now, during his father's lifetime, bore the title of seigneur de Damville. (Anselme, *Histoire Genealogique*, vi. 229.) If the King writes with accuracy, he must have been one of the train; but if he meant one and the same person by "Dandelot, the constable's second sone," this may have arisen from d'Anelot being (by his mother's side) "the constable's nephew, and one of the (French) king's minions." (Tytler, i. 160.)

<sup>4</sup> Of Chenault no particulars have occurred. Among the illustrious visitors on this occasion, or immediately after, appears to have been Claude de Lorraine, duc d'Aumale, third son of the late duc de Guise. On the 6th Oct. following sir John Mason writes from Rouen to the council: "The duc d'Aumale is much desirous to have a portrait of the King's person, which he says the King himself promised him at his departing out of England. He hath been in hand with me twice or thrice herein, praying me in my next despatch to desire your lordships to put his Majesty in remembrance hereof. If any shall be sent unto him, this is a very good time therefor, while yet he remaineth in Roan. He speaketh very much honour of the King and of the realm, and hideth not the courtesy he found the time of his being there. He is, as your lordships knoweth, of right good estimation, and therefore the remembring of him in this his request cannot be but well bestowed." (Tytler, i. 330.)

<sup>5</sup> In order that the court might make a good show of nobility when the Frenchmen arrived, the council had despatched, on the 17th of April, "Lettres severall to the earles of Rutland, Bathe, and Worcester, to the viscount Hereford, and the lord Fitzwalter, to repayre to the court out of hand, bringing with them their best apparell and furniture, for the receiving and entertaining of the ambassadors and noble men that came out of France."

On the 4th May, "For the receaving of mouns<sup>r</sup> Chastillion, and the rest of the Frenche



Whulwich, and also saluted with great peales both at Whulwich, Dettford, and the Towre.<sup>1</sup>

24. The embassadours came to me, presenting the ligier, and also delivering lettres of credaunce from the French king.<sup>2</sup>

ambassadors, the lord warden of the Cinque portes, thresorer of the King's Majesties household, was appointed to be the chief, and a nombre of lords and gentlemen appointed to accompanie him by water with the King's barges, bicause th'ambassadors are determined to come from Bulloigne in their owne galleys up alongest the Teames."

"May xvij. A warrant to the master of the jewellhouse to deliver unto Benjamin Gonstone, threasorer of the King's shippes, one peir of potts, one peir of flagons, iij. nest of bolles, ij. basons and ewers, a garnish and a half of vessell, ij. dozen of plates, and ij. saltes of silver, for the furniture of the galley appointed for the lord wardeigne to mete the French ambassadors coming up by the Temes, to be restored again upon retorne of the same galley. A warrant to sir John Williams to delyver to the said John Gonstone xlii. in prest towards the furniture of the said galey." (Council Book.)

<sup>1</sup> "On Friday was seven-night [May 23] the galley Subtle, with two other of the King's pinnaces, under the charge of sir William Woodhouse, mr. Brook, and others, were sent to the Thames mouth to meet with the French galleys, and to conduct them upwards, and at their first meeting received them with an honest banquet; so accompanied them along the Thames, where, passing by sundry of the King's ships, they were saluted by honest peals of ordnance; and, a little above Greenwich, I, the lord warden of the Cinque Ports (Cheyne), being accompanied with the earl of Worcester, the lord Grey of Wilton, the lord William Howard, with divers other young lords and gentlemen, to the number of sixty, in sundry barges, met with them upon the water, bade them welcome on the King's ma<sup>ties</sup> behalf, with other good words to the purpose, and so received them into those barges. They were conveyed by water through the bridge to their lodging, being appointed at Durham-place, which was furnished with hangings of the King's for the nonce; where, against their coming, was ready laid in a very large present of beer, wine, beeves, muttons, wild fowls, poultry, fish, and wax. By the way the King's ships at Deptford shot off; and at the Tower, as they passed, a great peal of ordnance was discharged to welcome them. As soon as they were landed, and in their lodgings, a gentleman was sent from the King's ma<sup>tie</sup>, willing me the lord warden, in the King's highness' behalf, to bid them welcome, and tell them that if they would aught, being signified, it should be provided; and so for that night left them." (Narrative of the council addressed to sir John Mason, the ambassador lieger in France, printed from Mason's letter-book in the State Paper office, by Tytler, i. 284.)

<sup>2</sup> "The next day being Saturday, early in the forenoon, we, the lord Paget and sir William Petre, went to visit them from the King's ma<sup>tie</sup>, to know as well what time they

25. The embassadours came to the court, where thei saw me take the oth for th'acceptation of the treaty,<sup>1</sup> and afterward dined with me; and after diner saw a pastime of tenne against tenne at the ring, wherof on th'on(e) sid(e) were the duke of Sowthfolk, the vice-dam, the lord Lisle, and seven other gentlemen, appareled in yelow; on the other, the lord Stra(nge), mons. Henadoy, and yeight other, in blew.

26. The embassadours saw the baiting of the bearis and bullis.<sup>2</sup>

27. The embassadours, after thei had hunted, sat with me at souper.<sup>3</sup>

28. The same went to see Hampton court, where thei did hunt,<sup>4</sup> and the same night retourne to Durasme place.

would gladliest take for their access to his highness, as also whether they wanted aught; which if they did, order should be given for the supply thereof. They thanked us, and required their time of access might be appointed the self afternoon, which was done; and, by water in barges, we, the lord viscount Hereford, the lord admiral, the lord Cobham, and sir William Petre, being sent to accompany the four in commission, having with us also other lords and gentlemen to entertain mons. d'Andelot, the Rhinegrave, and others, brought them to the court, where, in the chamber of presence, the King's ma<sup>tie</sup> was ready to receive them, and at their coming embraced them orderly, read their letters of credence, and in the rest used them with so good words and countenance as they rested very well satisfied." (Narrative addressed to sir John Mason, as before.)

<sup>1</sup> "The next day, being Whitsunday, assigned for the taking of the oath and ratification, we, the marquesses of Dorset and Northampton, the lord privy seal, and lord Paget, went again with barges to conduct them to the court, which then, what with our own nation and theirs, was very much replenished. The King's ma<sup>tie</sup>, after the communion and service in the chapel beneath, in the presence of mons. Chastillon, his colleagues, and us all of his highness' privy council, besides others standers-by, did read the oath and subscribe the same, with the circumstances thereto belonging; and that day the French commissioners, with their ambassador here resident, dined with the King, and were of his Ma<sup>tie</sup> most friendly entertained." (Narrative addressed to sir John Mason, as before.)

<sup>2</sup> "Monday last, we, the duke of Somerset and divers others of us, were invited by them to dinner, where they feasted us as the market would serve, very honourably; and that afternoon they saw the pastime of our bear-baiting and bull-baiting." (Ibid.)

<sup>3</sup> "Upon Tuesday the King's ma<sup>tie</sup> had them on hunting in Hyde park, and that night they supped with his highness in the privy chamber." (Ibid.)

<sup>4</sup> "Wednesday, they were conveyed by me, the marquess of Northampton, to Hampton court, where they dined, hunted, and that night returned." (Ibid.)

25. One that, by way have mariage,<sup>1</sup> had thought to assemble the peple, and so to make an insurrection in Kent, was taken by the gentlemene of the shier, and afterward punished.

29. The embassadours had a fair souper made them by the duke of Somerset, and afterward went into the tems (on the Thames) and saw both the beare hunted in the river, and also wilfier cast out of botis, and many prety conceites.

30. The embassadours toke ther leve,<sup>2</sup> and the next day departid.

### JUNE.

3. The King came to Schein, wher was a mariag mad(e) betwen the lord Lisle, th'erle of Warwic's sone, and the ladi Anne, daughter to the duke of Somerset,<sup>3</sup> wich don and a faire diner made, and

<sup>1</sup> So in the MS. Burnet printed it "of marriage," but without elucidating the sense.—  
"Maye xxij. Letters were receaved from mr. Culpepper, sheriff of Kent, declaring that a conspiracy was wrought amonge the commons as well of that shire as of Sussex, to assemble at Hethfield upon Whitson mondaye next. Wherefore severall lettres were addressed to the same mr. Culpepper, to the lord le Warre, and to mr. Pelham sherriff of Sussex, to assemble the gentlemen and to prevent the insurrection." (Council Book.)

<sup>2</sup> The ambassadors having spent the forenoon in riding about the town to see it, "in the afternoon were sent to them we, the lord Cobham, the lord Paget, mr. secretary Wotton, and sir Anthony St. Leger, to commune with them on certain matters, and afterwards to bring them to the King. . . . To the chief of them the King's highness caused rich and goodly presents and gifts to be sent ere they departed." (Narrative addressed to sir John Mason, as before.) The following passages in the council register relate to the presents:—

"Maye xxij. A warrant to (*blank*) to deliver unto sir Anthony Awcher knt. xvC li. in part towards the provision of the rewarde appoincted for mons<sup>r</sup> Chastillion and other Frenche ambassadors nowe arryved here for the confirmacion of the Peace.

"Maye xxvij. A warrant to sir Edmond Peckham to deliver unto sir Anthonye Awcher Cx oz. of gold towards the making of two cuppes provided for parte of the gifte to be made unto mouns<sup>r</sup> Rochepote and mouns<sup>r</sup> Chastillion, ambassadours for the French."

<sup>3</sup> On this occasion Dudley must have held out a brother's hand to Seymour, and hopes must have been entertained that the alliance would cement their future friendship, and secure the position of both parties. The result, as is well known, was otherwise. Little

daunsing finished, the King and the ladies went into tow chambers mad of bowis, wher first he saw six gentlemen of on(e) side and six of another rune the course of the field, twis over. Ther names hiere do folow :

The lord Edward.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Jhon Aplebey.

(*The rest omitted.*)

And afterward cam three mascers of one side and tow of another, wich rane fowre courses apece. Ther names be (*left blank*).

Last of al came the count of Ragonne,<sup>2</sup> with 3 Italians, who

is on record of the history, and less of the character, of the bridegroom. When earl of Warwick, he was condemned with his father the duke of Northumberland in 1553, and he died without children in 1554, within ten days after his release from the Tower. The bride—one of the “trois belles chanteresses” (as they were styled by the poet Ronsard) who under the guidance of their tutor Denisot celebrated in French verse the death and virtues of Marguerite de Valois, queen of Navarre—suffered severely from the miseries to which her high birth subjected her. After losing her father by decapitation in 1552, and having her husband condemned to the like fate in the following year,—after attending him in the Tower, and losing him (probably from the effects of his confinement),—the countess was remarried on the 29th April, 1555, to Edward Unton, a Berkshire squire, afterwards a knight of the Bath. By an inquisition taken many years after, it was found that she had been a lunatic from the year 1566. She was however the mother of seven children by sir Edward Unton, and the younger surviving son was the celebrated sir Henry Unton, ambassador in France, whose dispatches have been edited for the Roxburghe Club by Mr. Stevenson. For more minute particulars relative to the countess see the memoir of the Unton Family, by the present Editor, prefixed to the Unton Inventories, printed for the Berkshire Ashmolean Society in 1841.

<sup>1</sup> Lord Edward Seymour, the duke of Somerset's eldest son.

<sup>2</sup> On the 20th April, in the year before us, the council had issued a “warrant to (*blank*) to pay cxxvli. to the young conte Rangone for the half-yeres pension of one thousand crownes by the yere assigned to him during his abode in the King's majesties service, as well in respect of the young gentleman's good will and towardnesse, as for the love of his father, being a nobleman of Italie, and one that hath alwaies borne unto the King's majestie and his most noble father a singuler affection: for a token whereof he sent this his eldest sonne hither to serve his highnesse.” (Council Book.) This annuity of 250*l.* to Pallavicino Rangoni, during pleasure, was confirmed by letters patent dated the 20th Jan. 4 Edw. VI. 1550-1, printed in Rymer, xv. 252.



ran with al the gentlemen fowre courses, and afterward fought at tornay. And so, after souper, he (the King) returned to Whest-muster.

4. Sir Robert Dudeley, third sonne to th'erle of Warwic, married sir Jon Robsartes daughter,<sup>1</sup> after wich mariage ther were certain gentlemen that did strive who shuld first take away a gose's heade, wich was hanged alive on tow crose postes.

5. Ther was tilt and tornay on foot with as great staves as the(y) run withal on horsbake.

6. Removing to Grenwich.

8. The gestis<sup>2</sup> of my progres wer set fourth, wich were thes(e); from Grenwich to Westmuster, from Whestmuster to Hamp-ton court, from Hamp(ton court) to Windsore, from Wind(sor) to Guileford, from Guileford to Otland, from Otland to Riche-mond, et<sup>ce</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Whilst popular tradition, the ballad by Mickle, and Sir Walter Scott's romance of Kenilworth, had made the name of Amy Robsart exceedingly familiar, very little was formerly known of her actual history. That deficiency was in some measure supplied by a memoir of her, published in the Gentleman's Magazine for Dec. 1845, New Series, vol. xxiv. p. 595, to which was subsequently appended, in vol. xxxiv. p. 123, the account of her funeral at Oxford. Five letters relative to her mysterious death were also published in 1850,—nearly simultaneously in a new edition of Pepys's Diary, by Lord Braybrooke; and also in The Romance of the Peerage, by Mr. G. L. Craik (see the Gentleman's Magazine, New Series, vol. xxxiii. p. 255).

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Hanmer, in commenting on a passage in Shakspeare's Winter's Tale, defines the Gestes as "the roll or journal of the several days and stages prefixed in the progresses of our kings: many of them being still extant in the Heralds' office," and Johnson derives the word from the French *giste*. The practice of prearranging the gests was maintained in the reign of James the First; and several such tables will be found by reference to the index, p. 1128, of the Progresses, &c. of that monarch. On the 10th of June, 1550, in preparation for the progress, the council issued "a warrant to sir Philip Hobie, knight, m<sup>r</sup> of th'ordonaunce, and to his deputies, to deliver unto John Pers, clerk of the Checke, ccc livery bowes, ccc sheefs of arrows, with girdells and cases to the same, and also ccc halberds, for the furniture of ccc of the King's majesties yeomen extraordinarie to attend on his highness person during his pleasure." On the 6th September was issued "a warrant to sir Edmund Peckham for vjCxx li. to the yomen of the garde extraordinarye for wayting this progresse, for Julie and August."

Also the vicedam <sup>1</sup> made a great souper to the duke of Somerset and the marquis of Northampton, with divers masques and other conceites.

9. The duke of Somerset, marquis Northampton, lord tresorer (St. John, the earl of) Bedford, and the secretary Petre, went to the bishope of Winchester,<sup>2</sup> to know to what he wold stike. He mad(e) answer that he wold obey, and set furth al thinges set furth by me and my parliement; and if he were troubled in conscience he wold revele it to the counsel, and not reason openly against it.<sup>3</sup>

The first payment of the French was laid up in the Towr, for al chauncis.

10. The bokis of my proceedings <sup>4</sup> was sent to the bishop of Winchester, to see whether he wold set his hand to it, or promes to set it forth to the peple.

11. Order was gevin for fortifieng and vitailing Cales for 4 monthes; and also sir Hary Paulmer and sir (Richard) Alec were sent to the frontieres of Scoteland to take a veu of al the fortes there,<sup>5</sup> and to report to the councel where thei thought best to

<sup>1</sup> The vidame of Chartres seems to have signalised himself among the French visitors by his hospitality. On the 4th of June the council sent "a letter to the customers of London to suffer the visdame to take and lande xliij tonnes of Gascon wine for his own provision without custome-paying." Again on the 7th Jan. 1550-1, xxv or xxvj tonne.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner was now a prisoner in the Tower. The King paid great attention to the course of the proceedings directed by the council against the bishop, in relation to which several passages will occur in the succeeding pages. Foxe, in the first edition of his *Actes and Monuments*, inserted the record of these proceedings at very great length; which in subsequent editions was materially abridged, but in the last, by the Rev. S. R. Cattley, it is restored to its place, and occupies pp. 24-267 of the sixth volume. The depositions of many of the principal nobility and courtiers who had been present at Gardiner's trial sermon (already noticed in p. 59), contain many remarkable statements and biographical particulars.

<sup>3</sup> See the report made by the duke of Somerset and the rest, in Foxe, (edit. Cattley,) iv. 79, and Gardiner's own more particular account of this conference at p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> The book so designated by the King was the Book of Common Prayer. Gardiner was also required to give his opinion upon "another book, for the making of priests."

<sup>5</sup> The "Instructions for sir Richard Lee and sir Thomas Palmer, knights, being this

fortifie. Ther was also sent to Aldernay Rogers and Atwod to make fortifications there.<sup>1</sup>

12. The marquis de Means came from Scoteland, in post, and went his way into Fraunce.

13. Commissions were signed to sir Wiliam Herbert and 30 other, to intreat of certain matters in Wales,<sup>2</sup> and also instructions to the same how to behave himself in the presidentship.

14. The surveiour of Cales was sent to Cales,<sup>3</sup> first to rase the walls of Risbank toward the sandhilles, and after to make the wall massy again, and the round boulwerk to chang to a pointed on(e), wich should rone 26 foot into the see to beat the sandhilles, and

day (22 July) dispatched from the counsaill Northwards" will be found in the Council Book. (MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 14,035, p. 105.)

<sup>1</sup> This last sentence is erased. See the next page.

<sup>2</sup> The intention of sending sir William Herbert as President into Wales has been before mentioned by the King under the 8th of April (p. 256.) On the 20th of that month the subject was discussed in council, when "it was mocioned that for the more suretie, to prevente the inconstante disposition of the commons, it shoulde be well doon to dispatche th'erle of Bedforde [as] Lord President into the West parties with all diligence, and likewise sir William Herbert, master of the horse, into the marches of Wales, who for divers good respects was elected likewise to be President there. And it was agreed that as soon as the French mattiers shulde be dispatched they bothe shulde repaire downe togethir into Wiltshire, and there divide either of them toward his chardge." (Council Book.)

<sup>3</sup> "June xiiij. 1550. The commission given by the counsaill to the surveior of Calice tooching the fortifications there to be made.

"First, for the castell of Guisnez, he is appoincted to go in hand withall according to the plott reformed and remaining with the counsaill, and to begin with the barbican of the keepe, then next to fynish Purton bulwarke, and a peece of Whetel's bulwarke, for the furniture whereof he shall take down the iiij-cornered bulwark for his quarrey, preserving the leade and timber for other the King's buildings thereabouts.

"He shall also repaire to Hames, there to make a plott of the present astate of it, and then another plott, adding that is necessary to be doon of newe according to th'instructions given him from hense.

"At Newneham bridge he shall make a square towre of xl foote platforme, and to engrosse the walle to Fraunce-ward, to be xxiiij foote thick; the reste to be taken doune

to raise the mount. Secondly, to Newmanbrig<sup>1</sup> to make a hie bulwerk in the midst, with flankers to beat throw al the straight, and also four sluses to make Cales haven better. Afterward he was bid to goe to Guisnes, where first he shuld take away the iiij-cornered bulwerk, to mak the outward wall of the kepe, and to fill the space between the keep and the said outward wall with the foresaid bulwerk, and to raise the old kepe that it might (beat?) the town. Also he was bide to make Purton's bulwark wher it is now round without flankers both pointed, and also with 6 flankers to bete hard to the kepe.

Atwood and Lambert were sent to take view of Aldernay, Syllay, Jernsey, Gernsei, and th'il of Gitto.

The duke of Somerset, with 5 other of the counsel, went to the bishop of Winchester, to whom he made this answer:—"I, having deliberately seen the book of common praier, although I wold not have made it so my self, yet I find such thinges in it as satisfieth my conscience, and therefor both I wil execut it myself, and also see other my parishoners to doe it." This was subscribed by the foresaid counsaillours, that they herd him saing thies wordes.<sup>2</sup>

at his discrecion, the stone and bricke to be employed in those newe and other buildings, and the leade and timbre reserved to the King's majesties use in such other places as they shall neede.

"Further to make a skluse of iiij arches to let the sea in more largely for th'amending of the Haven, in such sorte as ij may serve for the continuall course of the water, and the other to serve for the surer staie or greater receiving of the water, as the case shall require.

"For Risebanke he is appointed to raise the walles of the same unto such height as shall surmount the grounds without, and further to fortifie it according to the counsaill's devise with all expedicion possible. And likewise to fortifie Sercheours Towre as the counsaill hath devised." (Council Book.)

<sup>1</sup> A fort out of Calais on the road to Boulogne; at this period usually called by the English Newnhambridge, but in earlier times Newlandbridge, and by the French Nieullet. See a note upon it in the introduction to *The Chronicle of Calais*, printed for the Camden Society, 1847, p. xxix.

<sup>2</sup> "Parish, in the dialect of a bishop, is notoriously known to be his diocese. Yet



16. The lord marquis, mr. Herbert, the vicedam, Henadoy, and divers other gentlemen went to th'erle of Warwike's,<sup>1</sup> wher thei wer honorable received, and the next day thei rane at the ring a great number of gentlemen.

19. I went to Detford, being bidden to supper by the lord Clinton, where before souper I saw certain stand upon th' end of a bote without hold of any thing, and rane one at another till one was cast into the water. At supper mons. vicedam and Henadoy supped with me. After supper was ther a fort made upon a great lighter on the Temps, wich had three walles and a watch towre in the middes, of wich mr. Winter<sup>2</sup> was captain, with forty or fifty other soul-diours in yelow and blake. To the fort also appertained a galey of yelow colour, with men and munition in it, for defence of the castel. Wherefor ther cam 4 pinessis with their men in wight ansomely dressed, wich entending to geve assault to the castel, first drove away the yelow piness, and after with cloddes, scuibes, canes of fire, dartes made for the nonce, and bombardes, assaulted the castel; and at lenght came with their pices, and burst the utter walles of the castill, beating them of the castil into the second ward, who after issued out and drove away the pinessis, sinking one of them, out of wich al the men in it, being more than twenty, leaped out, and swamme in the Temps. Then came th' admiral of the navy with three other pinessis and wanne the castil by assault, and burst the tope of it downe, and toke the captain and undercaptain. Then the admiral went forth to take the yelow ship, and at lenght clasped with her, toke her, and assautid also her toppe, and wane it by composition, and so returned home.

I deny not but that the numerous parishioners of St. Mary Overy's (wherein Winchester house) are herein particularly intended." Note on this passage of the Journal by Dr. Fuller, in his Church History.

<sup>1</sup> Probably at Syon.

<sup>2</sup> William Wynter, surveyor of the ships: see hereafter under August 23.

20. The mair of London caused the watchis to be increased every night becaus of the great frayes, and also one alderman to see good rule kept every night.

22. Ther was a privie serch made thorough al Sussex for al vagaboundes, egyptians, conspiratours, prophetes, il plaiers, and such like.

24. Ther were certain in Essex about Romford went about a conspiracy, wich were taken, and the matter staid.

25. Removing to Greenwich.

23. Sir Jhon Gatis, sherief of Essex,<sup>1</sup> went downe with lettres to see the bishop's of London injunctions performed, wich touched plucking downe of superaltaries, altars, and such like ceremonies and abuses.<sup>2</sup>

29. It was apointed that the Germaines shuld have the Austin frieres for ther church to have ther service in, for avoyding of al sectes of Anabaptistes and such like.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> " July xiiij. Upon enformacion of matter of great importance, sir John Gates, knight, was sent downe into Essex, and for his better furniture of service there appointed to be allowed th'enterteignment of xxx men in the King's majesties waige between this and Mighelmas. A lettre to sir Thomas Darcie, knight, vice-chamberlaine, to give credite to sir John Gates, and to conferre with him touching the matter that he was sent thither for." (Council Book.)

<sup>2</sup> Bishop Ridley's Injunctions, 1550, are in Burnet, Records No. 52, and in his Works (Parker Soc. edit. p. 319). In Foxe (edit. Cattley), vi. 5, are " Certain reasons why the reverend father Nicholas bishop of London, amongst other his injunctions given in his late visitation, did exhort those churches in his diocese where the altars as then did remain, to conform themselves to those other churches which had taken them down, and had set up, instead of the multitude of their altars, one decent table in every church." Foxe (p. 6) treats the bishop's injunctions and the " reasons " as consequent upon the letters of council dated 24 Nov. 4 Edw. VI. (and mentioned hereafter under that date); but it is clear that the bishop took the initiative, and that the council seconded him. The altar in St. Paul's cathedral was pulled down on the night of St. Barnabas day (June 11), a table being at the same time erected : see the Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, p. 75. On the 22d July the council sent " a letter to the college and town of Windsor to deface their altars out of hand."

<sup>3</sup> " Master John à Lasco arrived in England on the 13th of May. His coming was

17. The French quene was deliverid of a third sone, called mons. d'Angoulesme.<sup>1</sup>

13. Th' emperor departed from Argentin to Augusta.

30. Jhon Poynet made bishop of Rochester, and receivid his othe.<sup>2</sup>

### JULIE.

5. There was mony provided to be sent into Irland for paiment of

greatly to the delight of all godly persons. He has determined to remain in London, and establish a German church, of which he is appointed the superintendent." Letter of Martin Micronius to Henry Bullinger, from London, May 20, 1550, in Zurich Letters, 1847, iii. 560. The letters patent, dated on the 24th July, are printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, xv. 242, and in Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, iv. 308. The church was to be called "templum domini Jesu;" John à Lasco was constituted the first superintendent, and Gualter de Boemis, Martin Flandrus, Francis Riverius, and Rodolph Gallus, the four first ministers. See further on this subject in the General Index to the Parker Society's Works, under the heads of Confession, à Lasco, and London; also the General Index to Strype's Works.

<sup>1</sup> "The 27th day of this present, between three and five in the morning, the queen was delivered of a man-child, whom they call Monsieur d'Engoulesme. Here is divers talks who shall be godfathers. They that know much say that the queen is desirous to have the King our master to be one of them, and that for that purpose a gentleman shall be shortly sent from here to England." Letter from sir John Mason to the council, dated at Poissy June 29, 1550 (new style), in Tytler, i. 307.

<sup>2</sup> The letters patent nominating John Ponet to the see of Rochester, dated the 6th June, are printed by Rymer, xv. 237; followed by the letters of *Significavit* addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury, dated the 27th of the same month; and at p. 240 are letters patent dated the 4th July, authorising the bishop to hold *in commendam* until the feast of the Annunciation in 1555, the vicarage of Ashford in the diocese of Canterbury, the rectory of Townen in the diocese of Bangor, the rectory of St. Michael near Crooked-lane in the city of London, and a prebend of the church of Canterbury. "June xxvij. 1550, upon consideracion that mr. Poynett nowe elected busshope of Rochester hath no house to dwell in, and his lyving small, it was agreed he shulde enjoye his benefice in commendam; but from henseforth it is decreed that no busshope shall keepe other benefice than his busshopprick only." (Council Book.) Ponet was translated to Winchester on the 23d March, 1550-1. On the domestic scandal connected with Ponet's marriage, see Machyn's Diary, pp. 8, 320, and the Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, p. 70.

the souldiours there, and also ordre taken for the dispatch of the straungers in London.

7. The master of Erskin passed into Scoteland comming from Fraunce. Also the French embassadour<sup>1</sup> did come before me, first, after shewing the birth of mons. d'Engoulesme, afterward declaring that, wheras the French king had for my sake let goe the prisoners at Saint Andrew, who befor thei were taken had shamfully murdered the cardinal,<sup>2</sup> he desired that al Scottes that were prisoners, it was answerid that al were delivered. Then he moved for one called th' arbishop of Glasco,<sup>3</sup> who since the peax came disguised without pasport,<sup>4</sup> and so was taken; it was answerid that we had no

<sup>1</sup> "The French King hath appointed two ambassadors to go to the regent [queen Mary of Guise] for the pacifying the matters of Scotland, the one a Frenchman, brother to Aubespine, named Basse Fontaine; the other a Scottishman, which either shall be Erskine or Livingstone." Letter of sir John Mason to the council, dated from Poissy, 29th June, 1550, in Tytler, vol. i. p. 306. Claude de l'Aubespine was the French king's secretary.

<sup>2</sup> These prisoners were those which had been made at the taking of the town of St. Andrew's by Leo Strozzi, prior of Capua, in 1547. They were carried to France, and confined on board the galleys. Among them was the celebrated John Knox, besides Norman Lesley, William Kirkaldy of Grange, and others of the murderers of cardinal Beaton. The negociations for their release are described in sir John Mason's letters, in Tytler's *Edward VI. and Mary*, i. 295, 327.

<sup>3</sup> Alexander Gordon, brother to George fourth earl of Huntly, was in 1547 elected archbishop of Glasgow by the chapter, but the pope decided in favour of James Betoun, abbot of Aberbrothwick. Alexander Gordon was, in compensation, translated to the titular archbishopric of Athens; in 1553 he was consecrated bishop of the Isles, and in 1558 translated to Galloway. He embraced the Reformation, and died in 1576. See Keith's *Catalogue of the Bishops of Scotland*, pp. 166, 175; Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland* (edit. Wood), i. 646.

<sup>4</sup> At the council held on the 4th of July, "It was declared that the archbusshope of Glasco and of Caterns (Caithness), being brother to the earl of Hunteley, Scottishman, was come out of Fraunce without passeporte, and wolde have taken post hors to have rydden straight home into Scotlande. Whereupon it was debated wheather he was prisoner or not. And the treaties being examined, it appeared plaine that he rested good prisoner, both by the treaties and by the lawes of this realme. Wherefore sir Thomas Palmer was commaunded to keepe him in curteise warde for iiij or v daies till the counsaill's



peax with Scoteland such that thei might passe our countrie, and the master of Erskin affirmed the same.

8. It was agreed that the tow hundred that were with me, and 200 with mr. Herbert, shulde be sent into Irland. Also that the mint<sup>1</sup> shulde be set awork that it might wine<sup>2</sup> 24,000 pounds a yere, and so beare all my chargis and<sup>3</sup> Irland for this yere, and tene thousand pounds to my cofers.

9. The erle of Warwick, the lord treasurer, sir Wiliam Herbert, and the secretari Petre went to the bishop of Winchester with certain articles signed by me and the counsel, conteining the confessing of his faut, the supremici, the establissing of holy dayes, the abolishing of sixe articles, and divers other, wherof the copie is in

further order shoulde be knowen.—July xxij. A warraunt to sir John Williams to pay lx li. unto sir Thomas Palmer, in recompence of his chardges for the dyetts of th'arch-busshop of Glasco."

<sup>1</sup> "June xxvij. Upon divers good consideracions it was agreed that the Kinges majestie shulde erect a mynte in Irelande, and that Lexe and Ofale, being the cuntreys late Oconor's and Omore's (see before, p. 221), shulde be lett out to the King's subjects at convenient rents, to the intent it may both be inhabited, and also a more streingth for the Kinges majestie."

"July viij. Forasmuch as the King's majesties continuall chardges in Irelande did drawe the coyne of the realme awaie, considering moreover that without erecting a mynte there those chardges might ill be borne, it was not only agreed that the mynte shulde be sett up againe, but also that it shulde be lett out to ferme for xij moneths at these condicions following:—

"First. That the King's majestie shulde be at no manner of charge, great nor small.

"Item. That the King's highness shall have xiijs<sup>a</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> cleere of every pound wieght that shall be coyned.

"Item. That they shall coyne no manner of bullion, either of this realme or of Ireland, but to provide it in other cuntreys.

"Item. That they shall advance at the least by this meane the summe of xxiiijm<sup>1</sup> li. to the King's majestie within these xij moneths.

"Item. That the King shall appoint a master of the saies and a comptroller, to be paid at the fermors' chardges."

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* win, so much profit; not "coin," as printed by Burnet.

<sup>3</sup> So the MS., but probably an error for "in."

the counsel chest,<sup>1</sup> wherunto he put his hand, saving to the confession(sion).

10. Sir Wiliam Herbert and the secretary Petre were sent unto him, to tell him I marvailed that he wold not putt his hand to the confession: to whom he made answere that he wold not put his hand to the confession forbicaus he was innocent; and also the confession was but the preface of th'articles.

11. The bishop of London, the secretary Petre, mr. Cicel, and Goderik, wer commaundid to make certein articles according to the lawis, and put them in the submission.<sup>2</sup>

12. It was apointed that under the shadow of preparing for the sea matiers there should be sent 5,000 poundes to the protestauntes to get their good will.

14. The bishop of Winchestir did deny the articles that the bishop of London and the other had made.<sup>3</sup>

13. Sir Jhon Gatis sent into Essex to stope the going away of the ladie Marie, bicause it was credibly informed that Scipperus<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See "the copy of the articles, six in number," together with the King's letter that accompanied them, in Foxe (edit. Cattley), vi. 80. The confession (as the King terms it) which was dictated to Gardiner, and which he would not sign, is, by an error of Foxe, headed "The bishop of Winchester's answer to this article, in the margin." The original letter, bearing the autograph signatures of the King and council, is now among the Petyt MSS. in the Temple library, from whence Strype printed it, in his *Eccles. Memorials*, ii. 238. Mr. Cattley's note, in p. 81, that the proper date of these articles is not as Foxe stated the 9th July, 1550, but in the preceding November, is certainly a misapprehension: for which he quotes Burnet's *Reform.* ii. 278.

<sup>2</sup> See "the copy of the last articles sent to the bishop of Winchester," in Foxe (edit. Cattley), vi. 82.

<sup>3</sup> See the report of the master of the horses and master secretary Petre in Foxe (edit. Cattley), iv. 84; in p. 75, Gardiner's own account of the interview in his answer to the 14th article subsequently objected against him; and also, in p. 116, his further account in paragraph lxxiv. of his justificatory narrative.

<sup>4</sup> Scipperus (mentioned again by the King under the dates of the 27th July and 14th August) must have been a naval commander in the emperor's service. Sir John Hayward, misinterpreting the present passage, translates it, "Divers of her gentlemen departed

shuld stele her away to Antwerp, divers of her gentlemen were there, and Scipperus a litle befor came to see the landing placis.

16. It was apointed that the tow hundred with the duke of Somerset, and 200 with the lord prevy seal, and 400 with mr. Sentleiger, shuld be sent to the sea cost.

17. It was agreed that on Wensday next we shuld goe in one day to Windsore, and dine at Sion.

18. It was thought best that the lord Bowes should tary in his wardenship still, and the erl of Warwic shuld tary here and be recompensed.<sup>1</sup>

19. The bishop of Winchester was sequestred from his frutes for 3 monthes.<sup>2</sup>

20. Houper was made bishop of Gloucestre.<sup>3</sup> The marchauntes were commaundid to stay as much as thei could ther vent into

thither (to Antwerp) before, and *certain shippers* (as they are termed) were discovered to view the English coast." (Life and Reign of King Edward VI.) "The emperor privately sent to England in July a certain Scepper, one of his principal councillors, for the purpose of carrying away the King's eldest sister, Mary; but, by God's blessing, the thing was discovered and prevented. Unless God had watched over his people, it would have been all over with them." Martin Micronius to Henry Bullinger, from London, Aug. 18, 1550, in Zurich Letters, iii. 568.

<sup>1</sup> On the 2d May the council had sent "a lettre to sir Robert Bowes declaring the King's ma<sup>ties</sup> determination touching the placing of th'erle of Warwick in the North, and that in respect of his (sir Robert's) good service there his highness had appointed him a convenient pencion unto such time as he shulde finde occasion better to employ him." But now (on the 19th July, according to the Council Book), "forasmuch as it was not thought convenient that th'erle of Warrewick shulde according to the former order go into the Northe, but rather for many urgent consideracions attende on the Kinges persone, therefore his highness resolved by th'advise of the whole counsaill that sir Robert Bowes shulde remaigne Wardeigne of the th'East and Middle marches as he was before."

<sup>2</sup> This took place "at the time of even-song, in the chapel of the court of Westminster," whither the bishop was brought before the lords of the council: see his answer to the 15th article objected against him, in Foxe (edit. Cattley), iv. 75, and paragraph lxxvi. of his justificatory narrative, at p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> The letters patent nominating John Hoper, S. T. Prof., to the bishopric of Gloucester, dated the 3d July, are printed in Rymer, xv. 240.

Flaundres, bicaus th'emperour had made many straight lawes against them that professed the gospel.

21. A muster was made of the Boulenois,<sup>1</sup> who were (w)holly paid for al past, and a month to come.

Sir Jhon Wallop, Frauncis Hall, and doctor Coke were apointed commissioners to apoint the limites betwene me and the French king.

23. Removing to Windsore.

22. The secretary Petre and lord chauncelour were apointed to goe to the lady Mary to cause her to cume to Oking, or to the court.

25. It was apointed that halfe the French kinges first payment<sup>2</sup> shuld be bestowed on paing 10,000 pound at Callais, 9,000 pound

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the soldiers returned from Boulogne. On the 17th July, "It was determyned that the captaines, with their bands, which were yet enterteigned of the nombre that came from Bolloigne, shulde be immediately dispatched from London into divers partes, as hereafter followeth. And thereupon lettres to the chief rulers of those partes to se them well employed for service, if need shoulde so require, and besides to keep them in ordre, or ells to punishe them:—

|                     |                             |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| Dorsetshire . . . . | Captaine Heron . . . c.     |
| Hampshire . . . .   | Captaine Conyers . . . c.   |
| Sussex . . . . . {  | Captaine Otwoodde. } cc.    |
|                     | Captaine Cuffe . . . }      |
| Essex . . . . . {   | Captaine Lytton . . } c. c. |
|                     | Captaine Devenishe } c. c.  |
| Kent . . . . .      | Captaine Barry . . . c.     |
| Suffolk . . . . .   | Captaine Turnour . . . c.   |

"July xix. A warrant to mr. Peckham to deliver unto (*blank*) M<sup>vij</sup>Cxxvij<sup>i</sup> ij<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> to paie therewith captaine Devenishe and captaine Litton for their bandes till the viij of August, and captaines Cuffe, Heron, Coniers, Barrie, and Turnour, for their bandes till the xxvj of Julie, due unto them for their waiges unto those daies.

"July xxj. A warrant (*blank*) for M<sup>M</sup>Clxxvij<sup>ii</sup> ij<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> to be delivered to sir Richard Cotton to be paid over to captaines Litton, Devenishe, and the other captaines for iiij moneths paie, for them and their bandes, whereupon they were commaunded immediately to departe from London, and everie man to repaire to his charge."

A proclamation, July xx, "for the advoyding of capitaines out of the citie of London," is in Grafton's collection, 1550, 12mo.

<sup>2</sup> "At Windesore, the xxvij of Julie, 1550, (present) the duke of Somersett, the lord threasorer, the lord great chamberlaine, the lord Pagett, mr. comptroller, and mr. secretarie



in Irland, 15,000 pound in the North, 2,000 in th' amiralty, so that every crowne might goe for one of oure nobles. <sup>1</sup>

Wotton. Being this daye debated what extreame charges the King's majestie susteigned in th'enterteignment of a great nombre of men of warr, as well at Caley's and in the Northe as also of the Irishe: which contynewed still in waiges only because there wanted money to dispatche them, it was finally agreed that one hundreth thousande of the ij C.M<sup>l</sup>. Frenche crownes received for the first paie of the Frenche, shulde be taken and employed to that use immediately.

"Whereupon a warraunt was directed to the lord treasurer to take the said C.M<sup>l</sup>. crownes out of the King's majesties treasure in the Towre, and to delyver it unto sir Edmonde Peckham, to whom other warraunts were furthewith directed to disburse it and more in forme following:

"To sir Morrice Dennis, treasurer of Calais, x M<sup>l</sup>. li. towards the dispatche of the superfluous nombre of souldiers there, and the defrayment of other the King's present necessarie chardges.

"To sir Anthony Selleinger, lord deputie of Irelande, ix M<sup>l</sup>. li. to dispatche the kerne nowe remayning at Westchester, and towards other th'affaires of his chardge. And to the same deputie v C<sup>l</sup>. of the King's majesties gifte in waie of a rewarde for his better maintenaunce.

"To sir Richard Morisine v C marks in like rewarde, being now sent ambassador from his Majestie to th'emperor.

"To Gregorie Railton, treasurer in the North, xv M<sup>l</sup>. c. lxxvj<sup>l</sup>. xiiij<sup>s</sup>. iiij<sup>d</sup>. to dispatche the superfluouse nombre of souldiers and other chardges there.

"To sir Frauncis Flemmynge and Anthony Anthony ij M<sup>l</sup>. li. towards the payment of the chardges of th'ordonaunce already defraied.

"To (*blank*) one thousand pounds to be employed in the fortificacions and other payments at Alderney.

"To Benjamin Gonstone one thousande poundes, towards the payment of a more somme owing by the King's majestie divers waies for things had to the use of the Admiraltie.

"And forasmuch as, through the great decaye of our mooney, the golden coyne of this realme hath been of late, and yet is, wonderfully conveyed into straunge cuntreys, to th'entent wee shulde rather give cause to straungers to bringe in than these C.M<sup>l</sup>. crownes shuld be carried awaie as the rest, and for the King's majestie more advantage nowe in the setting foorth of them, it was agreed that proclaymacions shulde be made throughout all his highness' dominions, that all Frenche crownes of the just goodnesse and weight shulde be taken and paid current for vij<sup>s</sup> of our mooney; which proclamacions were made and sent foorth accordingly."

<sup>1</sup> As appears by the preceding extract, the council did more than this. Instead of 6s. 8d. every French crown was to pass for 7s.; and on the 4th August a proclamation was issued "for valuation of the French crown" at that price. On the 6th Dec. following

27. Because the rumour came so much of Scipperus comming, it was apointed that thei of th'amiralty shuld set my shippes in redines.<sup>1</sup>

26. The duke of Somerset went to set ordre in Oxfordshier, Sussex, Wiltshier, and Hampshier.<sup>2</sup>

28. The lady Mary after long communication was content to cume to Leis<sup>3</sup> to the lord chauncelour, and then to Hunsdon, but she utterly denied<sup>4</sup> to come to the court or Oking at that time.

31. Th'eryl of Southampton<sup>5</sup> died.

there was another proclamation for the abasing the French crown to vjs. iiij*d.* from the last day of December next ensuing, unless the crowns were brought to the mint, where vijs. would be given for them in current money. Both of these proclamations are in Grafton's collection, 1550, 12mo.

<sup>1</sup> Nearly a month later we read in the Council Book: "August xxij. A lettre to William Wynter, surveyor of the shippes, to repaire unto Portesmouth, there to take the charge of the King's shippes appointed to be removed to Gillingham water, and further to follow such order as the lorde admirall shall prescribe unto him. Three severall lettres to capitaines Cuffe, Conyers, and Barrey to repayre with their CCC. men to Portesmouth for the furniture of the shippes through the narrow sea, as they shall be there directed by the lorde admirall or his deputie, and that by the iiij<sup>th</sup> day of September next: which doon they shall retourne to the places wheare they be nowe, onlesse they have other order from hense the meane time. A lettre to the duke of Somerset declaring howe Cuffe and Conyers, with their bands, being now within his charge, are appointed to Portesmouth for the cause before rehearsed." (Council Book.)

<sup>2</sup> "July xxj. A warrant to th'officers of th'ordonaunce to deliver unto the duke of Somerset, towards his furniture in the lieutenantshippe committed unto him, these parcells following:—One fawconett of brasse, twoo fawcons of brasse, twoo sacres of brasse, xx dowble harquebutts with staies, vC weight of serpentine powder, one C<sup>th</sup> weight of fine corne powder, di. C<sup>th</sup> of matches or lunts, lx shott of yron for fawconet, CL<sup>th</sup> shott of yron for fawcons, Cxx shot of yron for sacres. All this is to be delivered into their office upon the retorne of the said duke of Somerset from his said charge after Mighelmas."—"Sept. xvii. A lettre to mr. Fleming for the fetching away of th'ordonaunce from Reding, which was delivered to the duke of Somersett." (Council Book.)

<sup>3</sup> Leeze in Essex, the house of the lord chancellor Rich.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* refused.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Wriothesley, formerly lord chancellor (see before, p. 211). See a description of his funeral in Machyn's Diary, p. 1; and the note, p. 313. Mr. J. Payne Collier has an old copy of his will, which was made 21 July, 4 Edw. VI. and proved 14 May, 1551, by Jane his widow and sir Edmund Peckham. In early life he had been clerk to Peckham, then cofferer of the household (21 Hen. VII.). Trevelyan Papers, p. 168.

14. Andrew Dory toke the cyti of Africa from the pirat Dranguntra,<sup>1</sup> who in the meane season burnt the country of Genoa.

8. Th'emperour came to Auspurg.

#### AUGUST.

4. Mr. Setlienger<sup>2</sup> was appointed by mi lettres patentes to be deputy there (in Ireland), and had his commission, instructions, and lettres to the nobles of Irland for the same purpose.

5. The same deputy departed from the castel of Windesore.

6. The duke of Somerset departid to Reding to take an ordre there.

7. It was appointed that of the mony delivered to me by the French king there shuld be takin on(e) 100,000 crounes, to pay 10,000 pound at Callais, .000<sup>3</sup> in the Northe, and 2000 in th'amiralty, and 8000 in Irland.

8. Mons. Henadoy toke his leave to depart to Callais, and so upon the paiment to be delivered home; and Tremouille, being sike, went in a horslitter to Dover.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This news was premature: the King mentions the siege again under the 27th of August and the 18th of September.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Anthony St. Leger, K.G. had been lord deputy of Ireland for several periods since the year 1540. He had been replaced by sir Edward Bellingham (see before, p. 221) by patent dated 22 April, 2 Edw. VI. (1548). Sir Edward was now dead, and sir Anthony was reappointed by patent 4 Aug. 4 Edw. VI. (1550). He was succeeded by sir James Croft on the 29th April following, but again became lord deputy after the accession of Mary. On the 28th June, 1550, the council had resolved, "That in consideration of the greate chardge the lorde deputie of Irelande doth and shall susteine in th'execucion of his office there, his fee shall be augmented CC marks, to make it up full a thousand pounds a yere." (Council Book.)

<sup>3</sup> The first figure is left blank.

<sup>4</sup> Hunaudaye, Tremouille, and the vidame of Chartres had been residing in England at perfect liberty from the 7th of May, on which day the council, "Being determined for divers good consideracions to take the faith of monsieur Tremouille and the other ij Frenche hostaiges, that they shulde be trewe hostaiges having their libertie within the realme, the

9. The French embassadour came to Windsore to sue for a pasport for the douagier of Scotteland; wich being graunted, so she came like a frend, he required 300 hors to passe, with 200 kepers, wich was not holly graunted, but only 200 hors with 150 kepers in on(e) companie, cumming into this realme as shuld be apointed, shuld without let passe into Fraunce, and not returne this way.<sup>1</sup>

11. The vidame of Chartres shewed his licence to tary here, and a lettre written to the same purpose.<sup>2</sup>

10. The embassadour of France departid, not a litle contented with his gentle answeris.

12. Removing to Guileford.

13. The parlement was prorogued to the 20 of February next folowing.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Cok(e) master of requestes and certain other

lorde pryve seale and the lorde Paget were appointed to go unto them to receave their faith and promise in that behalfe." (Council Book.) On the 7th Aug. the council addressed "A lettre to sir Maurice Denys to prepare lodgings for the French hostaiges now sent to Caleys for th'encounter of the second payment, and not onely to entretaine them well, but also to be sure of them that they escape not before the money received." (Ibid.)

<sup>1</sup> This plan was reversed. The queen sailed from Edinburgh (to visit her daughter Mary queen of Scots, who was then in France,) on the 7th Sept. 1550, and landed at Dieppe on the 19th. On her return she came through England, landing at Portsmouth on the 2d Nov. 1551: under which date we shall meet her again.

<sup>2</sup> In the following month the vidame proceeded to Scotland.—"Sept. viij. A pasporte for the Visdamme into Scotlande, and xxx<sup>li</sup> in his trayne, with commission to take up hierde horses. A lettre to the warden of the marches for to see him well and honorable used both going and coming, he and his said nombre. A lettre to Henry Dudley, signifyinge the Kinges majesties licence for his going with the saide Visedamme into Scotland. An ordre taken for the sending of Hussey, oon of the groomes of the chambre, to be furrer or harbenger to the saide Visdamme, with commission to prepare his lodgings in every place by the way, with chardge that he be obeyde. A warrant to (*blank*) to deliver xxli. unto Henry Duddley towards his chardges goinge with the Visdamme into Scotlande. A warrant to (*blank*) to deliver vli. unto Lawrence Hussey, groome of the chambre, towards his charges going as harbenger before the Visdamme into Scotlande." (Council Book.)

<sup>3</sup> At this date the parliament stood prorogued from the 2d May to the 13th October.



law(y)ers were apointed to make a short table of the lawis and actis that were not (w)holly unprofitable, and to present it to the bord.

1. The lord chauncellour fell sore sike, with 40 more of his house, so that the lady Mary came not thither at that time.

14. There came divers advertisments from Chamberlain, embasadour with the quene of Hungary,<sup>1</sup> that there very intent was to take away the lady Mary, and so to begin an outward warr, and an inward conspiracy; insomuch that the quene said Scipperus was but a coward, and, for feare of one gentleman that came downe, durst not goe furth with his entreprice to my lady Mary.

16. The erle of Maxfeild<sup>2</sup> came downe to the North borders with a good power to overthrow the Cremis,<sup>3</sup> who were a certein family that were yelden to me. But the lord Dacre<sup>4</sup> stode befor his face with a good band of men, and so put him frome his purpos, and the gentilmen called Cremis skirmished with the said erle, slaying certein of his men.

The above shows merely an intention of the council: to which the lord chancellor made some objection: for in a council held at Guildford on the 17th August, "Upon a letter received from the lord chancellor of his opinion that it were not convenient to proroge the parliament, another letter was addressed unto him, nevertheless to procede in making out the writtes and despatching of them according to the former order." See the final arrangement hereafter, p. 295.

<sup>1</sup> The emperor's sister, regent of the Netherlands.

<sup>2</sup> It appears from the Council Book (August 14) that this invasion of "the Debatable land" was made by the lord Maxwell (who was not an earl), on the plea of correcting Scotch fugitives. On the 21st the council addressed "a letter to the French ambassador, declaring the invasion made by the lord Maxwell with iiijC Frenchmen and a great nombre of Scotts upon the Debatable land: lamenting their folie to attempte the thinge that shulde be cause of their owne displeasure, the fault whereof beginneth of themselves." At the same time a letter was sent to lord Dacre directing him to comfort Sandie Armstronge with his associates to contynewe the Kinges faithfull subjects, and in other respects .. make the best defence he could. James fifth lord Maxwell had succeeded his father in 1546, and died Sept. 14, 1552.

<sup>3</sup> The Græmes, or Grahams.

<sup>4</sup> Warden of the West march (by patent 3 Edw. VI.)

17. The counsel apointed among themselfis that non of them shuld speak in any man's behalf for land to be gieven, revercion of offices, leasses of maners, or extraordinary annuites, except for certain capitains who served at Bolein, ther answe're being differred to Michelmas next.

18. A proclamacion that til Michelmas al straung(er)is that sued for pencions shuld go there way.

20. Removing to Oking.<sup>1</sup>

15. The second paiment of the French was paid, and Henadoy and Tremouille delivered.

21. Eight thousand pound of the last paiment was apointed to be paid to the dispache of Callais, and 5,000 at the North.

24. 10,000 was apointed to be occupied to wine (win) mony to pay the next yere the owtward pais, and it was promised that the mony shuld duple every month.

20. Removing to Oteland.

27. Andrea Doria gave a hote assault to the towne of Africa, kept by the pirat called Dragodrayes, but was repulsed by the townse-mene.

29. The pirat gave a hote assaulte to Andrea Doria by night, and slew the captain of Thunes (Tunis), with divers other notable men.

31. The duke Maurice made answe're to th' emperour, that if the council<sup>2</sup> were not fre he would not come at it.

#### SEPTEMBER.

2. Maclamore in Irland, before a rebel, by the meanes of mr. Babarson (Brabazon) surrendered himself and gave pledgis.

6. Mr. Wotton gave up his secretaryship, and mr. Cicil toke it.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Having remained at Guildford from the 12th of the month, as is shewn by the Council Book.

<sup>2</sup> The Catholic Council at Trent : see p. 294.

<sup>3</sup> "Sepr. v. This daye mr. William Sicile was sworne secretarye in stede of mr. Wotton, by the King's ordre appointed still to remaigne of the counsaill." (Council Book.)

SEPTEMBER A° D'NI 1550, 2<sup>A</sup> CHARTA.

8. Removing to Nonesuch.

15. Removing to Oteland.

22. A proclamation was set forth, by the wiche it was commandid, first that no kind of vituaille, no wax, talow candels, nor no such thing shuld be caried over except to Cales, putting in sureties to goe thither. Secondarilye, that no man shuld bie or sel the self-same thinges againe, except broggers (brokers), who shuld not have more then 10 quarters of graine at once. Thirdly, that al justices shuld devide themselves into hundredes, rapes, and wapentakes, to loke in their quarteirs what superfluous corne were in every barne, and apoint it to be sold at a reasonable price. Also that one of them must be in every market to see the corne brought. Furthermore, whosoever shipped over anything aforesaid, to the parties of beyond say, or Scoteland, after 8 dayes folowing the publication of the proclamation, shuld forfait his ship and the ware therein, haulf to the lord of the fraunches, and half to the finder thereof. Whoso bought to sel again after the day aforesaid shuld forfait al his goodes, fermes, and lesses to th' use, on(e) half of the finder, th' other of the King. Whoso brought not in corne to the market as he was apointed shuld forfait ten pound, except the pourviours <sup>1</sup> toke it up, or it was sold to his neighbours.<sup>2</sup>

25. Lettres sent out to the justices of peax for the due execution thereof.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* the purveyors for the King's household.

<sup>2</sup> This proclamation, dated xxiiij Sept. is preserved in Grafton's collection, 1550, 12mo.

<sup>3</sup> "Oct. ij. Lettres addressed to certain justices of peace within every countie to be diligent for the setting furthe of the Proclamacion for Victels."—"Oct. viij. A second lettre to certain justices of the peace within every countie to put in execution the Proclamacion for Victells in suche wise as it appereth by the mynute thereof."—"Oct. xiiij. Lettres of second charge to the justices of peace for th'excucion of the Proclamacion for Victells at th'especiall commaundement of the Kinges ma<sup>tie</sup>, as appeareth by the mynute." On the 23rd Oct. letters were sent to divers counties for the provisions of London, and other letters for provision of victuals to be made at Calais. (Council Book)

18. Andrea Doria had a repulse from the towne of Africa,<sup>1</sup> and lost many of his men, and the capitaine of Thunes (Tunis), and nevertheless left not yet the siedege.

24. Order was gevin for the vitailing of Cales.

26. The lord Willoughby,<sup>2</sup> deputy of Cales, departed, and toke his journey thitherward.

28. The lord treasaurour sent to London to geve order for the preservacion of the cite with th'elp of the mayor.

15. Wheras th'emperour required a counsel (council), thei<sup>3</sup> were content to receive it so it were free, and ordinary, requiring also that every man might be restored to his right and a general peax proclaimed. Thei desired also that in the meane season no man might be restrained to use his (the emperor's) faschion of religion.

18. Th'emperour made answer, that the counsel shuld be to the glorie of God, and maintenaunce of th'empire, at Trent. He knew no tittle to any of his territories. Peax he desiered, and in the meane season wold have them observe th'Interim,<sup>4</sup> and last council of Trent; he wold also, that they of Breame and Hamburoughe, with their adsociats, shuld leve ther seditions and obey his decrees.

<sup>1</sup> "Africa was taken by assault the 20th of September, with the loss of many men. In the town were slain above the number of four thousand, one and other." (See more in a letter of sir John Mason, in Tytler, i. 328.) The town of Africa, the ancient Aphrodisium, was on the coast of the kingdom of Tunis, seventy miles south-east of the capital; and has since been called Mahadia. It was one of the strongholds of the famous corsair, Dragut Rey. The expedition against it was commanded by Andrea Doria and Juan de Vega, viceroy of Sicily. On the capture an immense booty was taken.

<sup>2</sup> William lord Willoughby of Parham was appointed lieutenant of Calais by letters patent dated 13th Aug. 1550. (Rot. Pat. 4 Edw. III. pars 8.)

<sup>3</sup> We can only conjecture the parties whose sentiments the King is reporting. He seems to mean the Protestant princes of Germany. Charles V. was eagerly urging the re-assembling of the Council of Trent. (On the 6th Sept. sir John Mason writes, "the emperor is still hot about the council."—Tytler, i. 330.) It was re-assembled by Julius III. in a bull dated 4th Nov. 1550, the terms of which gave great offence to the Protestant princes.

<sup>4</sup> The Interim was a formulary of faith, consisting of twenty-six chapters, decreed at the diet held at Augsburg in 1548. (See Sarpi's *Histoire du Concile de Trente*, edit Courayer, 1751, i. 524.)



21. George duke of Mechelburg<sup>1</sup> cam(e) with 8,000 men of ware to the cite of Madeburg, being Protestant, against whom went furth the count of Mansfeld and his brother, with 6,000 men and 8 gunnes, to drive him from pillage. But the tother, abiding the battail, put the counte to flight, toke his brother prisoner, and slew 3,000 men as it is reported.

## OCTOBER.

4. Removing to Richemond.

5. The parlement prorogued to the twenty of January.<sup>2</sup>

6. The French king made his entrie into Roane.<sup>3</sup>

10. It was agreed that Yorke, master of one of the mintes at the Towre, should make this bargain with me, viz. To make the profit of silver rising of the bullion that he himself brought, should pay al mi dettes, to the some of 120,000<sup>4</sup> pound, or above, and remain accountable for the overpluse, paying no more but 6 s. and 6 pens the ounce, till the exchaung were equal in Flaundres, and after 6 s. and 2 d. Also that he shold declare al his bargains to any should be apointed for to oversee hime, and leve of (leave off) whan I wold. For wich I should give him 15,000 pound in prest, and leve to cari 8 thousand over sea to abase th'exchaung.

16. Removing to Whestmuster.

19. Prices were sett of all kind of graines, butter, chese, and pultry ware by a proclamacion.<sup>5</sup>

20. The Frenchmen came to Sangliefield and Fins-wood,<sup>6</sup> to the

<sup>1</sup> George younger brother of John-Albert I. duke of Mecklenburg.

<sup>2</sup> It was now judged advisable not to defer the next session of parliament as was before proposed (p. 290) It met for business on the ensuing 23d of January.

<sup>3</sup> "The first of October he made his entry, which was so brave and so rich, as the likes, by the common report of this court, hath not been seen." Sir John Mason proceeds to describe the pageants and the naval fights on the river: see Tytler, i. 326.

<sup>4</sup> In MS. 1200000.

<sup>5</sup> In Grafton's Collection, 1550, 12mo. "xx Oct."

<sup>6</sup> Sandingfield and Fines-wood, in the marches of Calais, towards Boulogne.

nombre of 800, and there on my ground did spoile my subjectes that were relieved by the wode.

26. The French embassadour came to excuse the foresaid men, saying thei thought it not mete that that wode shold be spoiled of us, being thought and claimed as thers, and therfor thei lay there.

24. There were 1,000 men embarked to goe to Cales, and so to Guines and Hammes, Risbanke, Neumanbridge, the Causie, and the bulwarkes, with vitail for the same.

#### NOVEMBER.

19. There were lettres sent to every bishope to pluke down th'aulters.<sup>1</sup>

20. There were lettres sent downe to the gentlemen of every shiere for th'observation of the last proclamacion touching corne, bicause there came none to the markets, commaunding them to punish th'offendours.

29. Upon the lettres written bake by the same the proclamacion was abolished.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See these letters, under the King's signet, and dated the 24th of November, printed in Foxe's Actes and Monuments.

<sup>2</sup> The attempt to fix prices by proclamation was, from the nature of things, unsuccessful. The true principles of political economy had not yet obtained a majority in the privy council, though there was one member at least—but he was absent—who had arrived at wiser conclusions. "I hear (writes sir John Mason to secretary Cecill) a great bruit of the discontentation of our people upon a late proclamation touching cheese and butter; of a little thing we make here a great matter. And surely, if there be no other thing than I do see in the thing, the matter might even as well have been spared. I have seen so many experiences of such ordinances; and ever the end is dearth, and lack of the thing that we seek to make 'good cheap.' Nature will have her course, *etiam si furca expellatur*, and never shall you drive her to consent that a penny-worth of new shall be sold for a farthing. If 'good cheap' follow this devise, then hereafter will I think it were good the like were still used; but this I am sure, the thing shall not be so plentiful as it was, and then I report me to you whether it will be better cheap. For who will keep a cow that may not sell the milk for so much as the merchant and he can agree

## DECEMBER.

15. Ther was lettres sent for the taking of certeine chapelins of the lady Mary for saing masse, wich she denied.<sup>1</sup>

19. Bortwike was sent to the king of Denmarck with prevy instructions for mariage of the lady Elizabeth to his sonne.<sup>2</sup>

upon? See what a babbling I make, being clean ignorant of the case! I doubt not but my lords saw what they did, and therefore I may hold my peace like a fool." (Letter dated from Bloys, Dec. 4, 1550, in Tytler, i. 341.)

<sup>1</sup> The lady Mary's denial, or explanation, respecting her chaplains was in the following words, in a letter dated from Beaulieu (otherwise called New-hall, in Essex) on the 4th Dec.:—"The one of them (Berkeley) was not in my house these four months; and dr. Mallet, having my license, is either at Windsor, or at his benefice; who, as I hear, was indicted for saying mass out of my house: which was not true. But indeed, the day before my removing from Woodham Walter, my whole household in effect being gone to New-hall, he said mass there by mine appointment." This letter, and that of the council mentioned in the text, in which the matter is argued at great length, will be found in Foxe; the latter was despatched on the 25th Dec.,—doubtless from Westminster, not "Winchester." The lady Mary's previous letter of the 23rd Nov., which does not occur in Foxe's series, has been published by Mr. Tytler, i. 346.

On the 22d March, 1550-1, "Mr. Rochester, comptroller to my ladie Marie's grace, was examined before the counsaill, how many ordinarie chaplens her grace had, who answered iiij., viz. doctor Mallet, Hopton, Barker (Berkeley), and Ricardes." (Council Book.)

<sup>2</sup> An ambassador from Denmark had recently been in this country, as appears by the following entry in the Council Book: "xxix. Nov. 1550. A warraunt to John Beaumont receivor-generall of the court of Wardes, etc., to paie xl.li. to doctor Knoppart, ambassador for the kinge of Dennmark, given him by waie of rewarde." On the 21st Dec. a warrant was issued "to sir William Cavendish to paie captain Borthewike for his dyetts for vj. monthes from the xvij<sup>th</sup> of December, 1550, to continewe from the time the said capteine contineweth the Kinges service in this journey, as by the Kinges warrant directed to the said sir William the xvij<sup>th</sup> of Decembre doth appeare, ccxxx. li." (Council Book.) A copy of the first draft of sir John Borthwick's "privy instructions" is preserved in the Cottonian collection; and, as this offer of Elizabeth in marriage has hitherto received no elucidation from historians, the reader may be glad to peruse its contents:—

"19 Decemb. 1550. Instructions given by the King's Majestie, with the advise of his Counsaill, to sir John Borthwick, knight, sent to the King of Denmarke.

"1. Speed in his journey, commendations to the King, and deliverie of his Majestie's lettres.

20. Ther was apointed a band of horsmen divided amongst the

"2. That the desire you had to see the said King, and your acquaintance, caused you to crave licence to depart, which not onelie was graunted, but also lettres for the declaration of his brotherlie affection to him delivered.

"The salutation ended, to seek occasion to commune of the King and his realmes, his forwardnes in learning, religion, and the reformation here used.

"Being entered into that, to discourse of the firme amitie betweene the realmes, concurring in one manner of religion, to recite the names of princes professed destroyers of the pope's tyrannie, and, unlesse the cause be made common, the continuance thereof cannot be great, where the contraries be so mighty and diligent.

"Then to descend to particularities of most moment, furthering the continuation of an amitie, the entercourse of merchandize, propinquitie of places, want of quarrell, their abilities to withstand or offend, the King's Majestie having the passages of the Narrows, and the King of Denmarke of all the Balticke and Danske seas, and that without compacte of such a friendship neether of their abilities is halfe that it would be.

"Having thus largelie discoursed, saie that in your opinion there can lacke no good will in the King's Majestie's behalfe, and that it greeveth you that, the opportunitie being so good, and never so great as it is now, to have a perpetuall fraternitie, the matter had not yet bene brought to passe; and, although you are unworthie to become a mynister therein, yet you will not refuse anie service tending thereunto.

"After you have thus debated of a bande betweene those two Kings, you maie make mention out of your own remembrance of the King's two sisters, especiallie the younger, reporting her age, personage, learning, education, profession, and the King's affection towards her, for the similitude both of learning and religion (—"her godlie profession, and besides how dearlie the Kinges ma<sup>tie</sup> loveth her, not onlie for his naturall affection but also for the similitude of learning and religion, in which two she excelleth, the one for knowledge, the other for godlines." MS. Harl. 353, fol. 39 b.)

"And that you, for the weall of both the realmes, would wish a marriage betwixt the prince and one of them, especiallie the younger, likening their yeares, learning, and profession together; and, although you often thought of it when you were here, yet durst you never presume to motion it, because our parte hath the woman, which side heareth offers, but maketh none; but if it maie content them to have it travelled in, you will refuse no labour to helpe the same forward.

"Generallie you shall endeavour yourselfe to nourish and encrease the societie betweene both the Kings, and so use your conference as it maie appear that you are not sent of purpose, for so shall the contraries suspect the lesse and proceed the plainlier.

"You shall give advertisement of the intelligences of that countrie.

"You shall learn out the practisinges of other nations with the said King, and especiallie of all such that meane hurt to the estate of this Realme, directlie or undirectlie."—



|                                                      |                         |
|------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| nobles, <sup>1</sup> an 100 to the duke of Somerset. | 50 to my lord marcus    |
| to th'erle of Warwic.                                | North(ampton).          |
| Lord prevy seal.                                     | Lord ma(rquess) Dorset. |
| Mr. Herbert.                                         | Erl of Wilt(shire).     |
| Mr. treasaurour.                                     | Lord Wentworth.         |
| (To the lord treasaurier, <i>erased</i> .)           | Lord admiral.           |
|                                                      | Lord Paget.             |
|                                                      | Mr. Sadelier.           |
|                                                      | Mr. Darcy.              |

21. Removing to Grenewich.

26. Peax concluded bitweene th'emperour and the Scottes.

#### JANUARY.

6. Th'erle of Arundel remitted of 8,000<sup>li</sup> wich he ought to have paid, for certein fautes he had committed, within 12 yeris.<sup>2</sup>

(MS. Cotton. Nero B. III. f. 144: a copy of the same instructions, more fully drawn, will be found in the MS. Harl. 353, fol. 38, and another in MS. Addit. 5935, fol. 87.) Frederick II., the proffered suitor of the lady Elizabeth, married on the 20th June, 1552, Louisa of Mecklenburg, who became the mother of Christiern IV. and of Anne the consort of James I. of England.

<sup>1</sup> On the 5th June following the council issued "a warraunt to (*blank*) to paie vC. li. to the duke of Somersett, the lord threasorer, the lord great master, the lord privie seale, the lord great chamberlayn, the lord wardein, and the master of t'horse, for the intertaynement of c. men at armes, due for one quarter's waieges at Midsomer next. And cc. li. a piece to th'erle of Huntington, th'erle of Rutlande, the lord admyrall, the lord chamberlayn, the lord Cobham, and the lord Pagett, for their quarter's entertaynement ended at Midsomer next. Whiche amounteth in th'ole to the some of vM<sup>l</sup>. li." So that the total cost of this "band of horsemen" was 20,000*l.* per annum.

<sup>2</sup> The earl's fine had been 12,000*l.* (see before, p. 245), of which two-thirds were now remitted. The portion not remitted was, it may be presumed, required to be paid, in like manner as the original sum, in yearly instalments within twelve years. From the ambiguous mode of expression used by the King, Mr. Tierney, in his memoir of the earl. (History of Arundel, 1834, p. 324,) imagines that "a series of ridiculous charges had been collected against him, from the last twelve years of his life,"—in this misapprehension following Strype, Eccles. Memorials, ii. (249); and in p. 325 he arrives at the conclusion that the earl had discharged 4,000*l.* of his fine: but how much he actually paid there is no evidence to show.

7. Ther was apointed, forbicause the Frenchemen did goe about practise in Irland, that their should be prepared 4 shippes, 4 barkes, 4 pinesses, and 12 viteilors, to take 3 havens, of which tow were on the south side toward Fraunce, and one in Jamays Cannes<sup>1</sup> the Scottes countrey, and also to send and breake the foresayd conspiracies.

10. Three shippes, being sent furth into the narow sees, toke certaine pirats and brought them into Englande, where the most parte was hanged.

27. Mons. de Lansac came from the French king<sup>2</sup> by way of

<sup>1</sup> So the MS.—perhaps James Carr or Kerr.

<sup>2</sup> “First of Februarie.—This daie there came to the counsaill the Frenche ambassador, with mons. de Lansake, newly sent from the King his maister with this messaige, that, foras-much as he had taken the protection of the Scottishe queene, considering that Scotlande was comprehended, he could no lesse do then to desire the King, his good brother, to restore Edrington, the fyshing in Tweede, and other like lymits, with the neutrall estate of the Debatable ground, in like manner as everything was before the beginning of the last warrs. Secondly, where certain Englishmen had bene prisoners in Scotland, and delivered upon raunsoms agreed before the conclusion of peace, did now denye the payments of their said raunsoms, which was against reason, so prayed order might be taken that thei should paie accordingly. Thirdely, being in peace with Scotland, &c. it was no reason wee shulde defend them the trafficque within this Realme, wherefore he prayed th’entercourse betweene bothe realmes might be open, and that restitution might be made of v. shippes of Scotlande staid there since the peace. Finallie, where certain ostages remaigned with us for divers of those prisoners that were taken at Solomosse, the French king desireth the King’s majestie to deliver them, like as at his request they of St. Andrewes have bene delivered in Fraunce. Of all which matter the counsaill determined to take deliberacion, praying the Frenche to have patience for a few daies, and thei shulde be answered accordingly.”

“iij<sup>d</sup>. of Februarie.—This daie a servant of lorde Maxwell in Scotlande presented certein lettres from mr. Mason, th’effect whereof consisted in the request of lord Maxwell, with xvj. of his folkes, and as many horses, to passe through into Scotlande, whiche being debated in counsaill seemed a matter of greate ymportance, that the Scotts and Frenche shulde pass to and fro through this realme, *Scotland being now made French*. And because it appeareth the libertie thereof shuld much advance the Frenche affaires and hinder our owne, therefore it was resolved and answerd that he shulde not passe this waie; whiche with fayre wordes was dissembled to him that came from lorde Maxwell, upon pretence

request to ask that Caumilles, the fisching of the Twede, Edrington, the ground batable, and the Scottische hostages that were put hiere in the kinges my father's dayes should be delivered to thei Scottes; that they might be suffered to traffique, as though they were in

that the realm had become so charged with the furnishing of those that syns the peace concluded had thus passed to and from, that wee coulde not convenyently any longer support it, wherefore he was prayed to have patience." (How the French king resented this may be seen in Tytler, *Hist. Scotland*, vi. 437.)

"xiiij<sup>th</sup> of Februarie.—This daie the Frenche ambassador and mons<sup>r</sup>. de Lansack had accesse to the counsaill for aunswere to the poinets proponed by the same Lansack, whiche were aunswere to this effect:—First, where he desyred full restitution of Edrington and other things belonging to the realme of Scotlande in like astate as thei were before the beginning of the last warrs, albeit that by the treatie last made it was lawfull for the King's majestie to enjoie and keepe not only Edrington, with other things that he keepeth, not within that realme; haveing had the same in his possession long before the last treatie. Yet his Majestie, for the more perficte declaracion of his desire to the contynuance of the amytie, wolde send a gentleman of his owne very shortly to the French king, with suche aunswere in that parte as of reason he oughte to be contented withall.

"To the seconde part, touching the debts of prisoners due before the treatye, it was agreed that what prisoner soever was free of prison before the treatye, and indebted for his raunsome, he shulde paie the debt, on condicion the like order might be taken withe the Scotts that were at that tyme in like case indebted to Englishmen.

"To the iij<sup>de</sup>, tooching the restitution of shippes, and the libertye of trafficque, the King's majestie, to gratifie his good brother the French king, was contented that those Scottish shippes whiche remaigne staid here shalbe sett at lybertie, except such as are piratts. And for the trafficque, his Majestie is pleased that all the Scottish shippes whiche are driven in by tempest or that come by necessitie shall have libertie to goo agayne, according to the treatie made betweene king Edward iiiij<sup>th</sup>. and king James the iij<sup>d</sup>., but as for further libertie of trafficque coulde not conveniently consent.

"Finallie, to the deliverie of the hostages, his Majestie's pleasure shulde be therein declared to the King his good brother by the said gentleman appoincted to goe from hense for that purpose.

"Moreover, wheare the Frenche ambassador desired his pacquetts of lettres might at all tymes passe to and fro without impeachment, it was agreed he shoulde so have them, and that therefore order shulde be taken as well for post horses to serve the bearers of his said lettres, to and fro, for their reasonable money; as also that the lorde wardeigne of the marches shulde, upon sigh. of the pacquetts, being either addressed to the Frenche king or to the said ambassador, to suffer them to pass to and fro."

peax, and that al interest of the foresaid houses (hostages?) should be delivered to the Scottes. Also that those prisoners wich were bound to pay there raunsolmes before the paix last concluded should not enjoy the benefite of the paix.

18. The lord Cobhame was apointed to bee generall lieutenant of Irland.<sup>1</sup>

30. Lettres written to mr. Setlinger<sup>2</sup> to repaire to the south partes of Irland with his force.

#### FEBRUARY.

3. Mr. Croftis<sup>3</sup> apointed to goe into Irlande, and there with Rogers and certain artificers to take the havens aforesaid, and begine some fortification.

<sup>1</sup> "Jan. xix. Upon consideracion that the French king maketh greate preparacion of warres by sea, specially in Brettagne, and that *he hath alreadie Scotland in possession*, being thought by great presumpcions he should meane some enterprise into Irelande, it was resolved preparacions should be made for his resistence both by sea and land: and by the King's owne eleccion the lorde Cobham appointed lieutenant for that purpose." On the 28th the council addressed "A letter to the deputie of Irelande, advertising him of the counsaill's determination touching the sending over of the lord Cobham with a power this next spring, with further circumstances as by the mynute appeareth." (Council Book.) This was afterwards found unnecessary: see the note in p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Anthony St. Leger, the lord deputy.

<sup>3</sup> "Feb. xxij. A lettre to the lorde deputie of Irelande, declareing the cause why sir James Crofte is presently sent thither, requireing him to credit him; and further instructions were given unto the said sir James, the mynutes whereof to remaigne with the secretaries.

"Feb. xxv. The King's majestie's lettre to the lorde deputie of Irelande, by sir James Crofte, haveing credit and commission thereby for certaine fortificacions at Corke and Kinsale, against the lorde Cobham's repaire thither with an armye for like purpose.

"Feb. xxvj. A warrant to sir Edmund Peckham to paie unto sir Thomas Challoner, treasurer of th'expedicion into Irelande, cc. li., to be paid over in trust to sir James Crofte."

This incident in the life of sir James Croft was overlooked in the memoir of him (compiled by the late Sir T. E. Croft and Sir Harris Nicolas,) published in the *Retrospective Review*, 1827. On the 23rd May following he became lord deputy of Ireland, in succession to sir Anthony St. Leger.



5. Divers merchauntes of London were spoken withal for provision of corne out of Danske, about 40,000 quarters.

10. Mountforde was commaundid to goe to provide for certain preparations of vitail for the shippes that shuld goe into Irland.

11. Also for provision to bee sent to Berwike and the North partes.

16. Whalley<sup>1</sup> was examined for perswading divers nobles of the realme to make the duke of Somerset protectour at the next parlement, and stode to the denial, th'erl of Rutlande affirming it manifestly.

13. The bishop of Winchester, after a longe triall, was deposed of his bishoprike.

20. Sir William Pikring, knight, was dispatched to the French king for answeere to mons. de Lansac, to declare that, although I hade right in the foresaid places,<sup>2</sup> yet I was content to forbear

<sup>1</sup> Richard Whalley, esquire, of Sreaton, co. Nottingham, receiver of Yorkshire. "Feb. xvj. This daie th'erle of Rutlande reported unto the counsaill certain ill practices and evil wordes used by mr. Whalley verie seditiouse and of greate importe; whereunto Whalley made deniall. But upon the debateing of the matter betweene them face to face, it appeared that mr. Whalley was culpable, for the whiche he was committed to the Fleete. Th'erle of Westmorelande and baron Hilton were comaunded to repaire into their countreys for the more strength thereof in all events."—"Feb. xvij. Sir Frauncis Leeke was this daie called before the counsaill tooching the witnessing of the matter betweene th'erle of Rutland and mr. Whalley, and examined upon ij. questions: First, wheather he reported to mr. Whalley a comunicacion of the lorde admyrall unto th'erle of Rutlande, in a question *Whether th'erle was a Somerset or a Warwicke, or a Lyncolneshire or Nottinghamshire.* And the seconde, wheather th'erle of Rutlande, imediatelye after his talke with Whalley, rereported to mr. Leeke that he misliked much Whalley's talk. To the first he utterly denyeth that ther was any such comunicacion tooching my lord admirall. And to the ij<sup>de</sup> he saithe that, at th'erle's house, the earle asked him of Whalley whan he sawe him, who tolde him he sawe him of late att his house. Marie, saith th'erle, he hathe beene here with me, and pratled very muche whiche I like not."—"April ij. Mr. Whalley bounden in M<sup>l</sup>. li. by recognisaunce t'appeare from daie to daie, and t'abide suche order as the lordes shall awarde. And thereupon discharged out of the Fleete." (Council Book.) He was sent to the Tower among Somerset's friends in the following October.

<sup>2</sup> The instructions given on this occasion to sir John Mason and sir William Pickering,

them, under conditions to be agreed on by commissioners on both sides; and for the last article I agreed without condicion.

25. The lord marcus Dorset apointed to be warden of the North borders, having three sub-wardens, the lord Ogley (Ogle in the Middle-march,) and sir (Michael Strelley) in the East; and the lord Coniers in the Weast.<sup>1</sup>

Also mr. Auger<sup>2</sup> had the charge for vitaylinge of Cales.

28. The lerned man Bucerus<sup>3</sup> died at Cambrige, who was tow

"to treat upon a peace propounded by the French king betwixt Scotland and us, whereby Roxborough, Aymouthe, Ederington, and the fisshinge of the water of Twede, are required to be rendered to the Scottes, and the prisoners to be discharged taken since the last warre," will be found in the MS. Harl. 353, fol. 86.

<sup>1</sup> On the 19th April following the council addressed "a lettre to the lorde marquess of Dorset to authorise, by his particular comissions, his deputies wardeignes, so as he doo constitute these whiche before his departure he did chose, viz<sup>t</sup>. for the West marches the lorde Conyers, the Middle marches the lorde Ogle, and th'Este sir Michael Stirley [or Strelley]." (Council Book.) "Informations given by sir Robert Bowes to the marquis of Dorset, touching the Marches, and all things requisite for a Lord Warden to know," are preserved in the MS. Cotton. Caligula B. viii. fol. 106; and a larger treatise, "A Booke of the State of the Frontiers and Marches betwixt England and Scotland, written by sir Robert Bowes knight, at the request of the lord marquess Dorset," in MS. Cotton. Titus F. xiii. has been printed partly in Hodgson's *Northumberland*, II. iii. 171, and partly in Raine's *North Durham*, pp. xxii. et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Anthony Aucher.

<sup>3</sup> Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, having been invited from Strasburgh by Cranmer, arrived in London on the 25th of April, 1549. They resided at Lambeth for a quarter of a year, and then proceeded to Cambridge, where Bucer became professor of Divinity, and Fagius of Hebrew. The climate of the English university soon affected them. Fagius died on the 13th Nov. 1550, "after having suffered most severely from a quartan fever since the 28th of August." (Letter of Bucer in the *Zurich Letters*, iii. 549.) Bucer almost immediately—in the month of August 1549—fell into ill health, suffering from a complication of disorders, from which he had a temporary reprieve at the time of the death of Fagius. (See his letter, dated May 18, 1550, *ibid.* p. 543.) There is a little book edited by Conrad Hubert entitled "*Historia vera de vita, obitu, sepultura, accusatione hæreseos, condemnatione, honorificaq' tandem restitutione beatorum atque doctiss. Theologorum, D. Martini Bucer et Pauli Fagii, quæ intra annos xii. in Angliæ regno accidit. Item historia Catharinæ Vermiliæ, D. Petri Martyris Vermilij castiss. atque*

daies after buried in Saint Maries church at Cambrige, al the hole universite with the hole towne bringing him to the grave, to the nombre 3,000 persons; also there was an oracion of mr. Haddon made verie eloquently at his death, and a sermon of (dr. Parker).<sup>1</sup> After that mr. Redman made a thirde sermon.<sup>2</sup> Wich three sermons made the peple wonderfully to lament his death. Last of al, alle the learned men of th'universite made ther epitaphes in his praise, laieng them on his grave.<sup>3</sup>

pijssimæ coniugis, exhumatæ, eiusdemq; ad honestam sepulturam restitutæ. Cum Orationibus, Concionib. Epitaphijs, uariisq; Encomiasticis carminibus, Lectu dignissimis. Omnia paucissimis hactenus uisa. 1562." (*Colophon*, Argentinæ, M.D. LI.) ff. 215. 12mo. Foxe gives the particulars of the barbarous exhumation and cremation of the bones of Bucer and Fagius which subsequently took place in the reign of queen Mary, accompanied by a curious engraving of the scene. The bones of the wife of Peter Martyr underwent the same ordeal at Oxford. Some interesting notices of King Edward from the pen of Bucer will be seen in the Biographical Memoir.

<sup>1</sup> Bucer left Matthew Parker and Walter Haddon his executors. See in the Zurich Letters, iii. 361, one addressed by them to the guardians of Bucer's children, accompanied by an inventory of his personal property. The Latin oration of Haddon, who officiated as university orator, occurs in Haddoni Lucubrationes, Lond. 1597; also in *Historia vera*, mentioned in the preceding note, and in Buceri Scripta Anglicana (see next note), pp. 882—892. Parker's sermon was preached in English, but *ex Anglico in Latinum versa* was published both in the *Historia vera* and in Buceri Scripta Anglicana, pp. 892—899.

<sup>2</sup> John Redman, master of Trinity college, preached on the day following the funeral. His sermon, which like Parker's was in English, does not appear to have been published. He died himself in the following November: see various documents relative to the "godly confession" he made on his death-bed printed by Foxe.

<sup>3</sup> The "epitaphs" or epigrams were published in a book bearing this title: "De obitu doctissimi et sanctissimi theologi doctoris Martini Bucer, Regij in celeberrima Cantabrigiensi Academia apud Anglos publice sacrarum literarum prælectoris, Epistolæ duæ. Item, Epigrammata varia cum Græcæ (*sic*) tum Latinè conscripta in eundem fidelissimū Divini uerbi ministrum. Londini, Anno Domini M.D.LI. (in officina Reginaldi Vuolfij *coloph.*)," 4to. 52 leaves. The copy now in the Grenville collection in the British Museum was that which belonged to the earl of Arundel, and has his autograph *ArundeL.* on the title-page. The book was edited by sir John Cheke; and the first of the two Epistolæ is addressed by him to Peter Martyr. It relates the proceedings on the day of the funeral,

## - MARCH.

3. The lord Wentworth,<sup>1</sup> lord chamberlaine, died aboute tenne of the cloke at night, leaving behind him 16 children.

and is dated *Westmonasterij, x Martij, M.D.LI.* The second letter is addressed to Cheke by Nicholas Carr *Novocastrensis* (who was Cheke's successor as reader of Greek): it is dated from Trinity college, Cambridge, *Anno Domini M.D.LI. Id. Mart.* and occupies the greater part of the book (27 leaves). Then follow the Epigrammata, which are by Henry duke of Suffolk, Charles Brandon his brother, John lord Sheffield (three young noblemen then at Cambridge), John Cheke, Anthony Cooke, Walter Haddon, Nicholas Carew (in Greek, the others in Latin), Robert Pember, Edward Bovington, Christopher Carlel (both in Latin and Greek), Miles Wilson, Henry Ailand (in Greek), John Tomson, John Frere (Latin and Greek), Thomas Gardiner, William Boyton (Greek), John Culpeper (Latin and Greek), Richard Kytchin, Peter Perusinus, Thomas Wilson, John Goodrich, Oswald Metcalfe, John Bacher (Baker?), William Harward, Henry Wright, John Seman, Thomas Lews, William Temple, Nicholas Karvill (or Carvill, afterwards bishop elect of Worcester), William Leche, Francis Newton, Alexander Nowell, William Lewis, John Herd, Peter Bellopoelius, Bartholomew Traheron, Nicholas Udall, William Buckley, and Martin Fargan. Cheke has added an epitaph in Latin hexameters by himself on sir Anthony Denny, and four Greek lines headed "*Mariæ Cicellæ Epitaphium i. c.*;" and the book concludes with a Latin letter addressed by him to Haddon, who was then seriously ill, shortly after the death of Bucer, dated 19 *Martij, Anno 1551.* Of this last a translation is given in Strype's Life of Cheke; but Strype never saw the book which has now been described. Its contents are all reprinted in the *Historia vera*, &c. already mentioned in the preceding notes, and again in *Martini Buceri Scripta Anglicana fere omnia*, also edited by Conrad Hubert, and printed *Basileæ, M.D.LXXVII. folio.* An English letter from Cheke to Parker, written from Westminster on the 9th of March, is published with Cheke's "Gospel according to Saint Matthew," edited by James Goodwin, B.D. 1843, p. 115. It begins: "I have delivered the universitee lettres to the King's M. [this letter will be found in Dr. Lamb's Cambridge Documents, p. 154], and spoken with the lords of the council, and with mi lord of Canturburie for m<sup>res</sup> Bucere. I dout not she schal be wel and worthili considered." As the result of this we find the following entries:—"March xxxi. A lettre to (*blank*) to paie to mistress Bucer her husbandes half-yeres

<sup>1</sup> Thomas first lord Wentworth of Nettlestead, so created in 21 Hen. VIII. 1529. He was nearly related to the King, his aunt Margery Wentworth having been the mother of queen Jane Seymour. He died in the King's palace at Westminster, on the 3rd of March, and was buried in the abbey on the 7th: see Machyn's Diary, pp. 3, 314.



8. Sir Jhon Yorke hade great losse, about 2,000 pounde weight of silver, by treason of English men, wich he brought for provision of the mintes. Also Judd<sup>1</sup> 1,500; also Tresham (Gresham<sup>2</sup>) 500: so the hole came to 4,000 pound.

## FEBRUARY.

20. The Frenchmen came with a navie of 160 sailes into Scotland laden with provision of graine, powder, and ordinaunce, of wich 16 great shippes perished on Irlaund cost, tow laden with artillery and 14 with corne. Also in this month the depute their sett at one certeine of the West lordes that were at variaunce.

## MARCH.

10. Certain new fortifications were devised to bee made at Cales, that at Gravelin the water should be lett in in my ground, and so shoud fett a compas by the sixe bulwarkes to Guisnes, Hammes, and Newmanbridge, and that their should bee a wall of 8 foot hie and 6 brood of earth to keap out the water, and to make a great marice about the territorie of Cales 37 mile long. Also for flankers at the kepe of Guisnes willed to be made, a thre-cornerde bulwark at the kepe, to kepe it. Furthermore, at Newmanbridg a massy wall to the French side there as was a greene. Besides, at the west gitie there should bee another gittie wich should defend the vitaylers of the towne alwayes frome shott from the sandhilles.<sup>3</sup>

pencion due to him at our Ladies daie last past, although he died before, and to allowe her reasonabelie for suche reparacions as shee bestowed about her howse.—A passport for the said mistress Bucer, and viij persones in her companye." (Council Book.) The university gave the widow a hundred crowns, and the King as many marks. (Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, ii. 54.)

<sup>1</sup> Sir Andrew Judde, an alderman of London, the founder of Tunbridge school.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Gresham, another alderman, uncle of the celebrated sir Thomas.

<sup>3</sup> "Maie xvij, 1551. Sir Mawrice Dennys threasorer of Callaice and the surveiour of the same were this daie before the lordes, with whom order was taken for the performance

5. Mr. Aucher had 2,000 lib. in mony, wherwith he provided out of Flaunders, for Calais, 2,000 quarters of barley and 500 of wheat.

18. The lady Mary my sister came to me to Whestmuster,<sup>1</sup> wheare after salutacions she was called with my counsel into a chambre, where was declared how long I had suffered her masse *against my will*<sup>2</sup> in hope of her reconciliation, and how now, being no hope, wich I perceived by her lettres, except I saw some short amendement, I could not beare it. She answerid that her soul was God('s), and her faith she wold not chaung, nor dissemble hir opinion with contrary doinges. It was said I constrained not her faith, but willed her (not as a king to rule, but<sup>3</sup>) as a subject to obey. And that her exauple might breed to much inconvenience.

19. Th'emperour's embassadour came with short messag frome his

of the woorkes at Guisnes, of the sluces at Newneham bridge, of making the ditches for the defense of the lowe country, and for the making of the new peere in the havin of Callaice, according to the particular platts of the same." The surveyor was Thomas Pettitt, as appears by another entry of the same date in the Council Book. One of the "platts" of Calais and its neighbourhood in the Cottonian volume Augustus I. ii. is a "Platt of the Lowe country at Calais," made in 37 Hen. VIII. "by me Thomas Pettyt:" see the memoir on "Calais in the hands of the English," in the Chronicle of Calais, printed for the Camden Society, 1846, p. xxviii.

<sup>1</sup> "The xv. day of March the lady Mary rode through London unto Saynt John's [at Clerkenwell], her place, with fifty knights and gentlemen in velvet coats and chains of gold afore her, and after her fourscore gentlemen and ladies, every one having a pair of beads of black. She rode through Chepeside and through Smithfield. The xvij. day [not 18 as in the King's Journal] my lady Mary rode from Saynt John's through Fleet-street unto the court at Westminster, with many noblemen, of lords and knights and gentlemen, and ladies and gentlewomen; and at the court-gate she alighted, and was received by mr. Wingfield, the comptroller of the King's house, and many lords and knights, and so she was brought through the hall into the chamber of presence, and so she tarried there, and had a goodly banquet, two hours. And soon after she took her horse and rode unto Saynt John's; and there she lay all night; and on the morrow her Grace rode to New hall in Essex; and there bided in grace, with honour, thanked be God and the King her brother."—Machyn's Diary, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> These words are struck through with the King's pen.

<sup>3</sup> These words are inserted above the line.

master of warre,<sup>1</sup> if I wold not suffre his cosin the princesse to use hir masse. To this was no aundswer given it this time.

20. The bis(hops) of Canterbury, London, Rochester, did conclude, to give licence to sinne was sinne; to suffre and winke at it<sup>2</sup> for a time might be borne, so al hast possible might bee used.

23. The counsel having the bishops' andsweris, seing my subjectes lakking their vent in Flaundres might put the whole realme in daungere, the Flemenges had cloth inoughe for a yere in their hand, and were kept far under, the daunger of the papistes, the 1,500 cingtales of powder I had in Flaundres,<sup>3</sup> the harnesse they had for preparacion for the gendarmery, the goodes my merchautes had their at the wolfleet,<sup>4</sup> decreed to send an embassadour to the emperour, mr. Wotton, to deny the matter (w)holly, and perswade the emperour in it, thinking by his going to winn some time for a preparacion of a mart, conveyance of powder, harnes, et<sup>c.</sup>, and for the surety of the realme. In meane season to punish th'offendours, first of my servautes that heard masse, next of hers.

22. Sir Antony Broune sent to the Flete for hering masse,<sup>5</sup> with

<sup>1</sup> The King appears in this as in the foregoing entry to be one day out of reckoning in his date, for in the Council Book we find: "xviij Marche. This daie th'emperor's ambassador had accesse to the counsaill."

<sup>2</sup> *i. e.* the mass, not sin in general. Sir John Hayward chose to read the passage in the latter sense, for which Strype calls him to account in his note, Kennett, ii. 315.

<sup>3</sup> Purchased on consideration of the debt being "put off;" see before, p. 267. It evidently still remained on the King's hands, because of the difficulty and danger of transport, although on the 5th Feb. a letter had been directed "to mr. Dansell att his discrecion either to convey over the King's majesties powder from Antwerpe, if he see any likelyhoode so to do, or else to sell it, signifying the price thereof to the counsaill or ever he conclude; but if he can convey it hither the King shall abide th'adventure."

<sup>4</sup> The ships that had not yet unladen their cargoes of wool; soon after seized by the French king: see under September 3.

<sup>5</sup> "March xix. This daie sergeant Morgan was before the counsaill for heareing masse att Saint Jones, in the ladie Maries house, ij. or iij. daies past; and not being able to excuse himselfe, bicause that being a learned man he shulde give so yll an example to others, he was comytted to the Fleete."—"March xxij. This daie sir Anthony Browne,

sergiaunt Morgan. Sir Clement Smith,<sup>1</sup> wich a yere before herde masse, chiden.

25. Th'embassadour of th'emperour came to have his andswere, but hade none, saving that one should goe to th'emperour within a month or tow to declare this matter.

22. Sir Wiliam Pikering came with great thankis frome the French king.

27. Removing to Grenewich.

31. A chaleng made by me that I, with 16 of my chaumbre, shuld runne at base, shote, and rune at ring with any 17 of my servauntes, gentlemen in the court.

Mr. Croftes arrived in Irland,<sup>2</sup> and came to Waterford to the deputy, consulting for fortification of the towne.

knight, was examined before the counsaill, wheather he had of late hearde any masse or not. Whereunto he answered that indeede twiese or thries at the New-hall and once at Rumforde, nowe as my ladie Marie was comeing hither about x. daies past, he had hearde masse: whiche being considered as a notable ill example, was thought requisite to be corrected. And therefore he was comitted to the Fleete." (Council Book.) "Item the xxij day of Marche was Palme sonday, and on that daye were put into the Fleete dyvers gentlemen, as sir Antoni Browne, mr. [Morgan] sargant of the lawe, wyth dyvers other, for herynge of masse in my lady Mary's curte at sent Jones [Clerkenwell]." (Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, p. 69.) "Maie iiij. This daie sir Anthony Browne, knight, and serjeant Morgan were brought before the counsaill, and upon their submission and knowledge of their offences, with warning to beware howe thei erred agayn, thei were dischardged, and set at libertie" (Council Book.) Sir Anthony Browne was afterwards made viscount Montague and a knight of the Garter by queen Mary: and the serjeant became a judge of the queen's bench. (See Machyn's Diary, p. 366.)

<sup>1</sup> Sir Clement Smith, who was treated with greater leniency, was sometimes called the King's uncle, having married Dorothy Seymour, sister to queen Jane. He died Aug. 22, 1552, at his house at Baddow, in Essex. (Machyn's Diary, p. 24.)

<sup>2</sup> "April xj. This daie it was debated wheather it were necessarie the lorde Cobham, with th'armie appoincted before, shulde goe into Irelande, whiche, after good deliberacion, was thought not requisite, considering the causes whereof those preparacions had beginning were nowe taken, and none enemie suspected. Whereupon it was resolved that sir James Crofte shulde remaine there still, and have iiijC footemen and C horsemen more than he hath nowe to be sent unto him. And further, upon good consideracions, it was deter-



## APRILE.

1. The first day of the chaleng at base, or running, the King wane.

3. Mons. de Lansac came againe from the Frenche king to goe to Scoteland for apointing of his commissionars on the Scottisch side,<sup>1</sup>

myned sir Anthony Seintleger, nowe deputie there, shulde be revoaked, and that sir James Croft shall supply the place."

"April xv. Lettres to the lorde chauncellor to make sir James Croftes lettres patents for the office of deputie in Irelande after the forme accustomed." (Council Book.)

<sup>1</sup> The commission of Mary queen of Scots, nominating Robert bishop of Orkney, Robert lord Maxwell, Thomas master of Erskine, Louis de St Gelais lord of Lansac, and Robert Carnegy of Kynnard clerk of her treasurer, to treat with the English commissioners on the boundaries of the marches and other matters, was dated at Edinburgh on the 8th of May. It is printed in Rymer, xv. 263. (See hereafter, under the 19th of July.)

"April v. The Frenche ambassador, with M. de Lansack, had accesse to the counsaill: First, th'ambassador declared that where the Frenche kinge was enformed the lord admyrall (of Scotland) and th'erle of Bothewell shoulde mainteine Edmondstone a pyratte att the sea, he being sufficientlie enformed of the case dothe well understande the contrarie, and esteemeth the lorde admyrall to be as he is an honorable man, for that it appeareth he hathe taken not onlie that Edmondstone, but alsoe divers other pirattes, whiche are punyshed and executed according to the lawes and reason; and so commendeth the diligence used in this behalfe there, the semblable whereof is promised of the Frenche part. Than spake moun<sup>r</sup>. de Lansack; who, afre comendations from his master the Frenche kinge, yeelded thanks to the lordes for theyr conformities in mayneteigneing th'amytie, whiche he hopeth shalbe perpetuall. Than he desired to knowe who shulde meet their comissioners on the borders, for the treatie of the limites against Scotlande. Furthermore he desired that the Scottishe hostages yet remayneing might be sett to their raumsome, or by some good meane delivered. Moreover that the comissioners might have power to treate of the moderacion for the entrecourse now prohibited betweene the Scotts and us. And further that all the rebels and banished men, bothe of th'one and th'other partie, might at all times be delivered enterchangeablye, as well presently as from hence-forthe. Whereunto aunswere was made, first, that the comendacions were acceptable, and for th'amytie the lordes were and wulde be continuallie so willing to the mayntenaunce thereof that there shoulde be noe cause of mistruste of their parte. Secondely, to the nominacion of the comissioners, forasmuch as moun<sup>r</sup>. de Lansack could not certainly declare who shulde be on the Scottish parte, therefore the counsaill coulde not declare presently who shulde be sent thither, but thei wolde determyne shortlye on suche personages

who were, the Frenche embassadour in Scoteland, the bishop<sup>1</sup> (of Orkney or of Rosse), the master of Erskin, and (*unfinished*).

5. Sir Thomas Darcy made lord Darcy of Chiche, and lord chamberlaine; for maintenaunce whereof he had given him a 100 marke to his heires general, and three hundred to his heires masles.

6. I lost the chaling of shoting at roundes, and wane at rovers.

7. Ther were apointed commissioners<sup>2</sup> on my side other the bishop of Lichefeld,<sup>3</sup> if he had no impediment, or Norwich,<sup>4</sup> mr. Bowes,<sup>5</sup> mr. Bekewith,<sup>6</sup> and sir Thomas Chaloner.<sup>7</sup>

8. Sir Jhon Gatis made vice-chamberlaine, and capitaine of the garde, and had 120 pound land.

9. Poinet bishop of Rochester received his othe for the bishopprice of Winchester,<sup>8</sup> having 2000 marce land apointed to him for his maintenaunce.

7. A certain Arrian of the straungers, a Dutche man, being excommunicated by the congregation of his contriemen, was, after long disputation, condemned to the fire.<sup>9</sup>

as shulde be meete for that purpose. The reste of all matters shulde be determined by those comissioners." (Council Book.)

<sup>1</sup> —"the bussshop of Orkney or of Rosse, the masters of Ruthven and Arskyn." (Council Book, under vj. April, where will be found further arrangements.)

<sup>2</sup> For the treaty on the Scottish boundaries. Various instructions to these commissioners, dated in May, are preserved in the MS. Cotton. Caligula B. vii.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Sampson.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Thirlby.

<sup>5</sup> Sir Robert Bowes.

<sup>6</sup> Sir Leonard Beckwith.

<sup>7</sup> —"and if any of them shulde be sicke, or absent by other occasion, then another to be put in his place. The meeting to be about the x<sup>th</sup> of Maie, upon the lymitts beyond Berwick, that divideth both realms."

<sup>8</sup> "viiij March. This daie, by the Kinges majesties owne appointment, doctor Poinet, bishop of Rochester, was appointed and admytted byshop of Winchester." (Council Book.) The letters patent for Poinet's translation are dated the 23d of March, and are printed in Rymer, xv. 253.

<sup>9</sup> "The 24 of Aprill, George of Paris, a Dutchman, was burnt in Smithfield for Arianism." (Stowe's Chronicle.) Of this case, upon which the martyrologist Foxe is wholly silent, the following particulars are derived from archbishop Cranmer's register:—"In Dei nomine Amen. Nos Thomas permiss. divina Cant. Archiepisc. Tibi Georgio Van

9. Th'erle of Wiltshiere had 50 more<sup>1</sup> in my lord marcus Dorset's place, (now become) warden of the Northe, and my lord of Rutland in my lord Wentworth's place other fifty.<sup>2</sup>

10. Mr. Wotton had his instructions<sup>3</sup> made to goe withal to th'emperour, to bee as embassadour legier in mr. Morison's place, and to declare this resolucion, that if th'emperour wold suffer mine embassadour with him to use his service, then I wold his; if he wold not suffer mine I wold not suffer his. Likewise that my sister was my subject, and should use my service apointed by act of parliement.

Also it was apointed to make twenty thousand pound weight for necessité sumwhat basser, to get gaines 160,000 pound clere, by wich the det of the realme might be paid, the countrie defended from any soudain attempt, and the coine amendid.<sup>4</sup>

Parris Teuthonico chirurgico, in civitate London. modo commoranti, nobis de et super heretica pravitate diffamato et detecto, objicimus articulum subsequentem videl. quod tu affirmasti et credidisti ac credis in presente, *Quod Christus non est verus Deus*. Qui quidem Georgius respondebat dicens, *that he beleveth that God the Father is only God, and that Christe is not very God, is noon heresy*. And it being declared unto him that this *is an heresy*, and being asked whether he will retracte and abjure the same opinion; he saith *no*. Sententia excommun. lata contra Georgium Van Parris Teutonicum ob hereticam pravitatem apud Lambeth die Lunæ 6 Apr. 1551. Certificatorium d'no Regi factum pro brachio seculari die 7 Apr. 1551." Regist. Cranmer, f. 79.

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* men at arms, or horsemen: see before, p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> The next day the council sent "a letter to mr. (sir Ralph) Sadlier signifying that the Kinges pleasure is to exonerate him of the chardge of l. men-at-armes ones appointed unto him." (Council Book.)

<sup>3</sup> A copy of them is preserved in the MS. Cotton. Galba B. XII. f. 225, and the latter portion, relating to the lady Mary, is printed by Strype, as a note to Hayward's Edward VI. (Kennett's History of England, ii. 317.) Dr. Nicholas Wotton succeeded sir Richard Morysine, who had been sent to the emperor in August 1550 (see his instructions in MS. Addit. 5935, fol. 84.)

<sup>4</sup> The amount intended to be coined was 160,000*l.*—afterwards altered to 80,000*l.* (see p. 319). "Absurd as it may seem to prepare for a future amendment of the coins, by abasing them in the present time, yet such was undoubtedly the intention of this plan, as may be seen in the Journal under the 30th of May." Ruding's Annals of the Coinage, 1817, 4to. iii. 107.

11. Mr. Pikering had his instructions and dispatch, to goe into Fraunce as embassadour legier there, in mr. Mason's place,<sup>1</sup> who desired very much to come home, and mr. Pikering had instructions to tel the French king of th'appointing of my commissionars in Scoteland aforesaid.

12. Thei of Maideburg, having in January last past taken in a conflict the duke of Mekelburg,<sup>2</sup> and three other earles, did give an onset on duke Maurice bi boates on the river, when it overflowed the countrey, and slew divers of his men, and came home safe, receiving a great porcion of vitail into the towne.

15. A conspiracy opened of the Essex men,<sup>3</sup> who within three dayes after minded to declare the comming of straungers, and so to bring peple together to Chemsford, and then to spoile the riche men's houses if they could. Wodcok.

16. Also of Londoners,<sup>4</sup> who thought to rise on May day against the straungers of the cité; and both the parties committed to warde.

23. This day the French king and lord Clinton chosen into the

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Pickering in the place of sir John Mason: see p. 327.

<sup>2</sup> This occurred in December 1550. "*Dux Georgius Mecle. dum innata virtute et juvenili ardore incautus in hostium dedisset insidias, saucius et equo deturbatus, denique captus est et deductus Magdeburgum, die xx Decembris.*" M. J. Beerh, *Rerum Mecleburgicarum* lib. v. cap. iii. fol. 1741, p. 751, quoting D. Chytræi *Saxonie*, lib. 17, p. 346. Who the "three other earles" were does not appear from these historians. Duke George was a younger brother of John-Albert at this time reigning duke of Mecklenburg. He was slain at the siege of Frankfort on Maine, July 13, 1552.

<sup>3</sup> This is not particularly noticed in the Council Book; but it probably gave rise to the letters issued the same day to the justices of peace in all shires "to putt in execucion the lawes against vacabounds, and for watches, unlawfull games, sedicious rumours, and such like, and have regarde to the quiett of the realme, and the repressing of lewde attemptes, with promise to sende shortly a commission of Oyer and Determyner, &c." (Council Book.)

<sup>4</sup> "April xix. This daie the recorder, with certain substanciall men of London, came before the counsaill, and, amongs other things, brought them certain bookes and billes of sklaunderouse devises agaynst the counsaill to move the people to rebellion." (Council Book.)



order of the Garter;<sup>1</sup> and appointed that the duke of Somerset, the marquis of Northampton, th'erl of Wilshier, and th'erl of Warwick, should peruse and amend th'ordre.<sup>2</sup>

PART OF APRIL, A° 1551°, 3<sup>a</sup> CHARTA, 5° REGNI E. 6<sup>i</sup>.

24. The lordes sat at London, and banketted on(e) another this day and three dayes after, for to shew agreement amongst them, wheras discord was bruted, and somewhat to loke to the punishment of talberers (tale-bearers), and apprehending of evill persons.

25. A bargain made with the Fulcare<sup>3</sup> for about 60,000 pounde, that in May and August shuld be paid, for the difforring<sup>4</sup> of it. First, that the Foulcare should put it of for ten in the hundred. Secondly, that I shul(d) by (buy) 12,000 marc weight at 6 shillinges th'ounce, to bee delivered at Antwarpe, and soe conveyed over. Thirdly, I should pay 100,000 crounes for a very faire juel of his, fower rubies marvelous bige, on(e) orient and great diamount, and one great pearle.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the proceedings of this election in Anstis, Register of the Garter, ii. 446.

<sup>2</sup> On this subject see the introductory remarks to the new Statutes of the Garter, printed in a subsequent part of this volume.

<sup>3</sup> Anthony Fugger and nephews, of Antwerp, in their day the wealthiest merchants in Christendom. See Jacob's Historical Inquiry into the Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals, ii. pp. 25 et seq.; Burgon's Life of Sir Thomas Gresham, i. 61; and a note in Dibdin's Library Companion. In the Atrium Heroicum of Dom. Custos, fol. 1600, are twelve portraits of the Fuggers; who have been styled the Medici of Germany.

<sup>4</sup> *i. e.* deferring the payment of the debt that should have been discharged in May and August: not "defraying," as printed by Burnet. An indenture with Christofer Hainzell, merchant stranger, agent to the Fuggers, relative to this transaction, and dated the 23rd March, is still preserved in the Chapter-house at Westminster.

<sup>5</sup> This mode of dealing had long been customary with the bankers, who were also goldsmiths and merchants. In 1546-7 Jasper Dowche, of Antwerp, offered to supply Henry VIII. for six months with 100,000 ducats a month, on reasonable interest, with the condition that the King purchased a jewel of diamonds, valued at 100,000 ducats. In a letter written from Antwerp on the 20th August, 1552, Thomas Gresham reminds the

27. Mallet,<sup>1</sup> the ladie Marie's chapelaine, apprehended and sent to the tower of London.

30. The lord marcus Northampton apointed to goe with the order and further commission of treaty, and that in post, having joined with him in commission the bishop of Ely,<sup>2</sup> sir Philip Hobby, sir William Pikering, and sir Jhon Mason, knightes, and tow other law(y)ers, Smith that was secretary, and (dr. John Oliver<sup>3</sup>).

### MAY.

2. Ther was apointed to goe with my lord marcus th'erls of Rutland, Worcester, and Ormonde, the lordes Lisle, Fizwater, and Bray, (Burgeiney, and Yvers,<sup>4</sup>) and divers other gentlemen, to the number of twenty (*altered to 30*) in all.<sup>5</sup>

duke of Northumberland, "As your grace dowth right well knowe, when the King's mat<sup>ies</sup> father dyd fyrst begynne here to take up monny upon interest, mr. Stephen Vaughan being his agent, a took *the fee penny* in merchandize, eyther in jewels, copper, gundepowder, or fustians. And soe the matter hayth passid ever since in taking of wares, when the King's mat<sup>ies</sup> made anny prolongacyone, until the charge thereof was commytted to me." In 1550 the fee penny had been bestowed on gunpowder (before, pp. 265, 309). At length, in 1552, the practice was firmly resisted by the council, who then refused to take either jewels or fustians; and, by the adroit management of Gresham, the negociation of loans was placed on a better footing, and the English credit restored.

<sup>1</sup> "April xxix. Doctor Mallet, being brought before the counsaill and examined what he meanes that after he had bene ones forgiven he wolde agayn wilfullie offende the Kinges majesties lawes in saieng of masse and other like matteres, coulede not denye but he had don evill in so doing. So that partely haveing confessed his faults, forasmuche as, besides his lewde doings, he alsoe had persisted and persuaded certein others of the King's subjects to embrace his naughtie opinions, he therefore was comitted to the Tower." (Council Book.) Dr. Francis Mallet was afterwards made dean of Lincoln by queen Mary.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Goodrich.

<sup>3</sup> Doctor of laws, and master of requests. His name is misprinted Uliber in Rymer, *Fœdera*, xv. 274.

<sup>4</sup> Added above the line.

<sup>5</sup> "May vj. A warraunt to sir Edmond Peckham to paie to mr. Cavendishe, threasorer of the chamber, M<sup>l</sup>.vjC.iiij<sup>xx</sup> li. to be by him employed on the gentlemen and noblemen going with the marques into Fraunce.

3. The chaleng at running at ringe performed, at the wich first came the Kinge, 16 footmen, and 10 horsmen, in blake silk cootes pulled out with white taveta;<sup>1</sup> then al lordes having three (their?) men likewise appareled, and al gentlemen, ther footmen in whit fustian, pulled out with blake taveta. The tother side came al in yelow tafta. At lenght the yelow band toke it twice in 120 courses, and my band tainted often, wich was counted as nothing, and toke never, wich seemed very straunge, and so the price was of my side lost. After that, turnay folowed, betwen 6 of my band and 6 of thers.

4. It was apointed that there shuld be but fower men to waite on every erle that went with my lord marcus Northampton, three on every lord, two on every knight or gentleman; also, that my lord marcus shuld in his diet be allowed for the losse in his exchange.

5. The muster of the gendarmery apointed to be the first of June, if it were possible; if not, the 8.

6. The testorne cried down from 12 d. to 10 d. and the grote from 4 d. to 3 d.<sup>2</sup>

\*A warraunt to mr. Cavendishe to paie over the saied M<sup>l</sup>.vjC.iiij<sup>xx</sup> li. receaved of sir Edmonde Pecham in forme following:—

“Erles—Worcester, Rutlande, Ormonde, CC li. a piece.

“Lordes—Fitzwater, Lisle, CC marks a piece.

“Lordes—Braye, Yvers, C li. a piece.

“Gentlemen of the Privy Chamb<sup>r</sup>.

“Knights—sir Harry Sidney, sir Nicholas Throgmorton, sir John Cuttes, sir John Perrott, sir George Howarde, sir Peter Carewe, sir William Cobham, L li. a piece.

“Thomas Hoggins, William Fitzwilliam, Henrie Knols, mr. Phelip [the lutinist; see p. 20], Nicholas Alexander, John Youngé, litle Guillam, XL li. a piece.”

<sup>1</sup> “The iij. day of May there was a great triumph at Greenwich. The King and all his company were all black and white, foot-men and trumpeters; hats, clokes, and banners black and white, and speres. And the other part was the earl of Hertford, and a great company of lords and knights, all young men, and trumpeters; their hats, banners, and footmen all in yellow. And so they ran at the ring, and at tornay with swords.” Machyn’s Diary, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> This measure was under the consideration of the council on the 30th of April, when

9. On(e) Stuard, a Scottishman, meaning to poison the young quene of Scoteland, thinking thereby to get favour hiere, was, after he had been awhile in the Toure and Newgat, delivered on my frontiers at Calais to the French, to have him punished there according to his desertes.

10. Divers lordes and knightes sent for to furnish the court at the coming of the French embassadoure that brought hither th'ordre of saint Michel.

12. A proclamacion proclaimed to give warning to al those that kepe many fermes, multitudes of shepe, above the numbres limited in the law, vid. 2000, decay tenements and townes, regratters, forstallers, men that sell diere, having plenty inough, and put plough ground to pasture, and cariers over sea of vitails, that if they leve not thies enormites, thei shal be straitly punished very shortly, so that they should fele the smart of it; and to commaund execution of lawes made for thies purposes before.

14. There mustered before me 100 archers, tow arowes apece, al of the garde, afterward shot together, and the(y) shot at an inche borde, wich some perced quite, and stoke in th'other bord; divers perced it quite thorough with the heddes of ther arowes, the bordes

a proclamation was "signed for the abasing of shillings to ix d., and grotes to iij d., upon respect of amendement of the coyne,—the proclamation to take effect the last of August." (Council Book.) There is an original copy of this proclamation in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, MSS. No. 116, and the substance of it will be found in Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, ii. 107. The markets were immediately affected, and the council soon found itself surrounded with embarrassments: "Maie x. This daie the lorde maior of London, with certein of the chiefe of the citie, came before the counsaill touching the misdemeanour of the merchaunts within the same: who even nowe upon a kinde of mallice or greedinesse of gayne, in contempt of the proclamacion made for the reforminge of the coyne, because the shilling shalbe abated to ix d., thei have sodainely raised the prises of all thinges to a mervailous reckoning. Wherefore the said lorde maior and his bretherne were comaunded to call the wardens of every companye, and the aldermen of everie ward, to see this matter amended by their good wisdomes and diligence, in suche sorte as this enormitie encrease not, but rather be reformed of all handes." (Council Book.) See further arrangements under the 9th of July.



being verey wel seasoned timber. So it was apointed there shuld bee ordinary 100 archers and 100 alberders, either good wrastlers or casters of the barre, or leapers, runners, or tal men of personage.

15. Sir Philip Hobbey departed toward Fraunce with ten gentlemen of his owne, in velvet cotes, and chaines of gold.

16. Likewise did the bishop of Ely depart with a band of men wel furnished.

20. A proclamacion made, that whosoever found a sedicious bill and did not teare and deface it, shuld be partaker of the bill, and punished as the maker.

21. My lord marcus Northampton had commission to deliver the ordre, and to treat of all thinges, and chiefly of mariage for me to the lady Elizabeth his daughter: <sup>1</sup> first, to have the dote 12,000 marcs a yere, and the dowrie at lest 800,000 crounes. The forfaic-ture 100,000 crounes at the most, if I performed not; and paing that to be delivered. And that this shuld not empeach the former covauntes with Scottlande; with many other braunches.

22. He departed himself in post.

24. An earthquake was at Croidon and Blechinglee, and in the most part of Surrey,<sup>2</sup> but no harme was donne.

30. Wheras before commaundment was given that 160,000 pound should be coined, of 3 ounces in the pound fine, for discharge of dettes, and to get some treasure to bee able to alter all, now was it stopped, saving only 80,000 li. to discharge my dettes, and 10,000 marc weight that the Foulcare delivered in the last exchaung at 4 ounces in the pound.<sup>3</sup>

31. The musters differred till after mydsomer.

<sup>1</sup> The eldest daughter of Henry II. of France, born in 1545, and married in 1559 to Philip II. of Spain. A transcript of the Instructions given to the commissioners, dated the 20th of May, will be found in the MS. Addit. (Brit. Mus.) 5935, fol. 100 (see under the 23d June, hereafter).

<sup>2</sup> Other notices of this earthquake will be found in Stowe's Chronicle, in the Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, p. 69, and in Machyn's Diary, pp. 6, 307.

<sup>3</sup> "According to this, a commission was granted to sir Edmund Peckham, (and to the

## JUNE.

2. It was apointed that I shuld receive the French men that came hither at Westmuster, where was made preparation for the purpose, and 4 garnish of new vessels prepared, taken out of church stuff,<sup>1</sup> as mitres and golden missals and primers, and crosses and reliques of plessay.<sup>2</sup>

4. Provision made in Flaundres for silver and gold plate and chaines to be given to thies straungiers.

7. A proclamacion set furth,<sup>3</sup> that exchaung or rechaung shuld

other officers who were joint commissioners with him in 1550 for the alteration of the gold coins,) by which the pound weight of silver, of three ounces fine and nine ounces allay, was coined into seventy-two shillings at twelve pence a-piece; and the merchant received for every ounce of fine silver which he should bring to the mint, ten shillings of such money, by which means twelve ounces of fine silver were exorbitantly raised to fourteen pounds eight shillings." Lowndes's Report on the Amendment of the Silver Coins, 1695, p. 47, and Ruding's Annals of the Coinage, 4to. 1817, ii. 108.

<sup>1</sup> On the 3d March preceding the council had "decreed that, forasmuch as the King's majestie had neede presentlie of a masse of money, therefore comissions shuld be addressed into all shires of Englande to take into the King's handes such Church plate as remaineth, to be employed unto his Highnes use." (Council Book.) On the 1st June a letter was sent "to (*blank*) to make provision for the King's majesties use, to be delivered to the Master of the Jewell-house before the xx<sup>th</sup> daie of this present, the parcells of plate followeing, of the best sort and guilte that can be founde, and to gete the same as goode chepe as he can. Vizt. ij. payre of potts, whereof th'one bigger than th'other, iiij. basons, iiij. ewers, two layers, one water pott with a spoute, xij bolles with ij. covers th'one neste greater than th'other, iiij. chaundelers, ij. paire of flaggons, iiij. saltes, twoo standing cupps with covers; the same plate to be well guilded, and of the vallue of MCC li. An other like couborde of the value of M li. An other cuppborde of viijC li. An other cuppborde of vijC li. And to paie the customes and dueties for the same, so as it may passe with oute lett." (Council Book.)

<sup>2</sup> So the MS. It is difficult to conjecture the meaning of the last word: unless among the "church stuff" were some that came from the college of Pleshey in Essex.

<sup>3</sup> A proclamation "for the publishyng of sundrey statutes and actes of parliament made for the prohibicion of the caryng out of the realme of gold or silver, and of eschaunge and re-eschaunge. Mense Julij 1551." The statutes which were inforced

be made,<sup>1</sup> under the punishment set forth in king Henry the 7. time, duely to be execut.

10. Mons. mareschal<sup>2</sup> departed from the (French) court to Bo-leingne in post, and so hither by water in his galees and foistes.

In this month and the month before was great busines for the cité of Parma, wich duc Horatio (Ottavio) had delivered to the French king.<sup>3</sup> For the pope ascited him, as holding it *in capite* of him, wherby he could not alienat it without the pope's will; but he came not at his day, for wich cause the pope and imperiallys raised 3,000 men, and toke a castle on the same river side. Also, the French king sent mons. de Termes, who had bene his general in

were of the 3d Hen. VII. and of Richard II. and respected the exportation of bullion as well as the exchanges. An original printed copy of this proclamation is in the 116th volume of the MSS. of the Society of Antiquaries, art. 24, together with various other proclamations relating to the coinage in this reign, of which the effect is related in Ruding's Annals of the Coinage.

<sup>1</sup> A letter of sir Thomas Chamberlayne, written to the council from Bruxelles on the same date as this entry, shows that since "the calling down of the money" in England, "the exchange is fallen from fifteen shillings to fourteen shillings for a pound of our money; which is far from thirty shillings of this money, that I have known delivered for twenty shillings of ours." He afterwards adds, "A merchant stranger here did ask me wherefore the exchange should be forbidden in England, [*i.e.* apparently, the foreign rate of exchange forbidden, whilst the arbitrary rate of the council was enforced, as in the text,] which he said he heard say that your lordships, jointly with the calling down of the money, took to be the remedy for dearth of things as well within the realm, as also of foreign commodities brought there." See more of this in continuation, in Tytler, Edward VI. and Mary, i. 380.

<sup>2</sup> The maréchal St. André; see under July 1, hereafter.

<sup>3</sup> Ottavio Farnese had succeeded to the duchies of Parma and Piacenza, with which his father had been invested by (his father) pope Paul III. It was known that the emperor coveted the possession of Parma, and pope Julius III. secretly advised Ottavio to throw himself and his principality into the hands of France; foreseeing, as it ultimately happened, that this bone of contention would accelerate the renewal of war between Charles and Henry. (See Tytler, i. 349, 356.) King Edward's error in the name arose from the circumstance that the duke Ottavio had a brother Horatio, to whom the French king gave his natural daughter Diana in marriage.

Scoteland,<sup>1</sup> with a great pece of his gendarmery into Italy to help due Horatio (Ottavio). Furthermore, the Turk made great preparacions for warre, wich some feared wold at length burst out.

3. I was elected of the companie of St. Michel in Fraunce, by the French king and his order.

13. Agreement made with the Scottis for the borders, between the commissionars aforesaid for both the parties.

In this month Dragutrais, a pirate, escaped Andrew Doria, who had closed him in a creke, by force of his galé-slaves, that diged another way into the sea, and toke tow of Andrew's galés, that ley far into the sea.

14. Pardon gieven to thos Irish lordes that wold com in before a certain day limited by the deputy, with advertisement to the deputy to make sharpe warre with thos that wold resist, and also shuld minister my lawes every wheare.

18. Bicause of my charges in fortifications at Calais and Berwike shuld be paid, it was agreed that besid the dette of the realme, 80,000 lib., ther shuld be 40,000 lib. coined, 3 ounces fin, 9 of alay, and 5,000 pound weight shuld be coined in a standard of 7 ounces fine, at the lest.

17. Superantio came as embassador from Venice in Daniel Barbaro's place.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As successor to d'Essé (see Tytler, i. 157). Paul de la Barthe, seigneur de Thermes: he was made a maréchal of France in 1555, after the taking of Calais, and died in 1562, aged 80. Anselme, *Histoire Geneal.* vii. 208.

<sup>2</sup> On the 12th Feb. preceding the council had directed a "warraunt to mr. Peckham, to prepare and deliver vi. c. demi souverains to sir Thomas Challoner, to be by him delivered over to Daniell Barbaro, late Venetian ambassadour, by waie of the King's majesties present and rewarde." Daniel Barbaro had been ambassador in England from Oct. 1548. He was an ecclesiastic, and in Dec. 1550 was elected coadjutor to the patriarch of Aquileia. Arms were granted to him by King Edward, by patent dated 12 Feb. 1550-1. His *Relation of England* is extant in various collections of MSS. as enumerated by the late John Holmes, esq. F.S.A. in the introduction to the *Venetian Relation of 1500* (printed for the Camden Society in 1847), and a few copies of it were privately printed by the Earl of Macartney in 1804, in quarto, pp. 36.



16. I accepted the ordre of monseigneur Michel by promiss to the French embassadour.<sup>1</sup>

17. My lord marcus North(ampton) cam to Nauntes with the commissionars and al the noblemen and gentlemen that came over sea with him.

20. Apon advertisement of Scipperus comming,<sup>2</sup> and rigging of certain shippes in Holland, also for to shew the Frenchmen pleasur at their coming, al the navy<sup>3</sup> that lay in Gilingam water was apointed to be rigged and furnished with ordinaunce, and lye in the river of Tamesis, to th'intent that if Scipperus came afterward he might be mett with, and at least the Frenchemen shuld see the force of my navie.

22. The lady Marie sent lettres to the counsel, marveiling at th'imprisonment of doctour Mallet her chapelain, for saying of masse befor her houshold, seing it was promised th'emperour's

<sup>1</sup> "June xiiij. This daye the French ambassador had accesse to the lordes, to whom he declared that the kinge his master and the company of the order of Saint Michael had appointed the Kinges ma<sup>tie</sup> to be of the same order, for which purpose the marshall St. Androwe was enjoyned to bringe the same order to his majestie, prainge his majestie that he woulde accepte the same accordinglye."—"June xxij. A letter of apparance to the deane of Windsore, that for asmuch as there shall arive here shortly a nobleman sente from the French kinge with the order of St. Michaell to bee presented to the Kinges ma<sup>tie</sup>, and to bringe with him such recordes as remayne in his custodie, as well for the acceptacion of the said order on his majesties behalfe, as for any other thinge or ceremony concerning the said order." (Council Book.)

<sup>2</sup> "Skyperius being lame, using two crutches, and skant able to go with the same, was three days past sent with diligence into Zealand; where, as still I do hear, are great preparations to be made to seaward, and in Holland and Flanders, but as secretly as may be, and about Bois le Duc, as I am informed, men are pressed and taken up. I pray God Skyperius have not [orders to make] a like voyage into England as he had this time twelve-months, when [in which case] I would wish him to speed no better than then he did." (see before, p. 284.) Letter from sir Thomas Chamberlayne to the council, from Bruxelles, 7 June. 1551, in Tytler, i. 382.

<sup>3</sup> A list of the royal navy in the first year of Edward's reign is printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. vi. p. 219. It consisted of the *Harry Grace à Dieu* of 1,000 tons, lying at Woolwich; twelve ships at Portsmouth, of from 140 to 700 tons; fourteen gallies at

embassadour she should not be molested in religion, but that she and her houshold shuld have the masse said befor them continually.

24. Thei answerid<sup>1</sup> that, bicause of their duties to their King, contrie, and frendes, thei were compelled to give her answer that thei wold see not only him, but also al other massayers and breakers of order straightly punished, and that as for promisse thei had nor wold give none, to make her free from the punishment of the law in that behalf.

18. Chastilion came to my lord marcus, and their banketted him by the way, at tow times, betwen Nantes and Chasteau Brian, where the king lay.<sup>2</sup>

15. Mendosse,<sup>3</sup> a gentleman of the kinges chaumbre, was sent to him to conduct him to the court.

19. My lord marcus came to Chasteu Brian, wher hauf a mile from the castel there met him (monsieur d'Enghien and the duc de Montpensier<sup>4</sup>), with 100 gentlemen, and brought him to the court, and soe, booted and spurred, to the French king.

Portsmouth, one of 450 tons, three of 300, and most of the rest above 200; five pinnaces, and eleven row-barges, also at Portsmouth; at Deptford Strond the Grande Maister of 450 tons, the galley Subtill of 200, and 4 small vessels; in Scotland, the Mary Hamborow of 400 tons, and three small vessels. Total of ships 53; of tons 6,255; of men 7,780, viz. soldiers 1,885, marines 5,136, gunners 759. No ships are mentioned as then lying in what was called Gillingham water in the Medway. The state of the King's ships in April, 1551, will be found in the Additional Notes.

<sup>1</sup> The lady Mary's letter, dated the 21st of June, and the council's answer, dated the 24th, are printed in Foxe (edit. Cattley), vi. 20.

<sup>2</sup> "Mons. Chastillon not only made us a great supper the night before our departure out of Nantes, but also feasted us all the way to the court." Letter of the ambassadors to the lords of the council, dated Chasteau Brian, 20 June, 1551, printed by Tytler, i. 385.

<sup>3</sup> Le sieur de Mandosse: the letter he brought in his hand, having the King's autograph signature HENRY and countersigned *DeLaubespine*, is preserved in the French correspondence at the State Paper Office.

<sup>4</sup> These names, omitted by the King, are supplied from the ambassadors' letter above mentioned. The comte d'Enghien has been already noticed in p. 253. The other was Louis de Bourbon, duc de Montpensier, son of Louis de Bourbon, prince of Roche sur Yon, who was

20. The French king was investid with the order of the Gartier in his bedchaumbre,<sup>1</sup> wher he gave a cheine to Gartier worth 200 pound, and his goune dressed with aglettes,<sup>2</sup> worth 25 li. The bishop of Ely making an oration, and the cardinall of Lorayne making him answeare.

At after noone the lord marcus moved the French king to the mariag of the Scotish quene to be consummat,<sup>3</sup> whos hering he apointed to commissioners.

21. The cardinall(s) of Loraine and of Chastilion, the constable,<sup>4</sup> the duke of Guise, were apointed commissioners on the part of Fraunce, who absolutly denied the first mocion for the Scotisch quene, saing both they had taken to moche pain and spent to many lives for her, also a conclusion was made for her mariage to the dolphine. Then was proponed the mariag of the lady Elizabeth the French king's eldest daughter, to wich thei did most cherefully assent. So after they agreed neither party to be bound in conscience nor honor, til she ware 12 yeres of age and upwardes. Then they came to the dote, wich was first asked 1,500,000 scutes of Fraunce, at wich they make a moke. After, for *donatio propter nuptias*, the(y) agreed that it shuld be as great as hath bine given by the king my father to any wif he had.<sup>5</sup>

22. Our commissioners came to 1,400,000 of crounes, wich they

the head of the second branch of Montpensier, by his marriage with Louise, sister to the famous constable Bourbon. He was born in 1513; was much distinguished as a warrior, made governor of Bretagne in 1568, and died in 1582. Anselme, Hist. Geneal. i. 354.

<sup>1</sup> The journal, or narrative, of this embassy, probably drawn up by Garter, will be found in the Additional Notes.

<sup>2</sup> The gown with which a new knight of the Garter entered the chapter was the accustomed fee of Garter king. At the investiture of Henry duke of Richmond and Somerset in 1535 it was described as a gown of black satin, with buttons and aglettes of gold, the sleeves furred with sables. See the memoir of that duke (in the Camden Miscellany, vol. iii.) pp. lxxxvi. lxxxix.

<sup>3</sup> *i. e.* with King Edward.

<sup>4</sup> The duc de Montmorency.

<sup>5</sup> The commissioners' narrative of this day's proceedings, relating the above particulars more at length, will be found in Tytler, i. 396.

(the French commissioners) refused; then to a million, wiche they denied; then to 800,000 crōnes, wiche they said they wold not agree to.<sup>1</sup>

23. Then our commissioners asked what they wold offer. First they offered 100,000 crōnes, then 200,000, wiche they said was the most, and more then ever was gevin. Then folowed great reason-

<sup>1</sup> So far the ambassadors had strictly followed their instructions: "Item, the said lord marques and his colleagues shall demand of the French for the dote 1,500,000 crowns; and in the next degree to descend to 1,200,000 crowns; and in the third to a million, and there to rest. And in the debating of this matter, amongst other reasons, the said lord marques shall remember to the French, that upon the treaty of matrimony between the duke of Orleans, the French king's brother, and the lady Mary, sister to the King's majesty, they demanded 1,100,000 crownes, he being but the second son of his father being then alive, and the second heir of a realm, besides many reasons that may be made for the setting forth the great moment and value of the King's majesties marriage, being a King settled in lawfull possession, his crown augmented over that it hath bin in ancient time, his first marriage, his godly personage, the succession of the crown to the children coming of this matrimony.

"Item, they shall provide that in case of the King's majesties death after the marriage (which God forbid), no restitution be made of the dote, if the whole be then payd; and if any parte shall be behind at that time unpaid, yet none thereof to be remitted if the sayd lady shall either have a child living by the King's majesty, or be with child; but if she shall not have child, then so much as shall be behind to be remitted.

"Item, upon demand of the French of a dowry or feofment for the marriage, the commissioners shall accord to grant as good a dowry as the wife of king Edward the 4th had, or the lady Katherine daughter to Ferdinando king of Castell, married to king Henry the 8th, had, or any other queens of England late wives to king Henry the 8th ever had. And if the French shall alledge that, the augmentation of the King's majesties crown considered, the King may give a greater endowment then accustomed, being 10,000 marks, the commissioners shall relent, upon some proceeding of talk, to grant the som of 12,000 marks. So that the dote be a million." MS. Addit. (Brit. Mus.) 5935, fol. 103, corrected by French corresp. 68 A. in the State-paper office.

On the 22d June additional instructions were despatched to the commissioners, directing them to drop from 800,000 to 700,000 crowns, and then (if necessary) to 600,000, and there to rest; "the Kinges right in France and Scotland not to be prejudiced, and not to be drawn into offensive warre or defensive." (MS. Harl. 353, f. 110, and MS. Addit. 5935.) On the 2d July the third and final instructions were forwarded, in which still further concessions were made, as will appear hereafter.



inges and shewinges of president (precedent), but no nearer they could come.

24. They went forward to the penalty if the parties misliked, after that the kinges daughter ware twelf and upwardes, wich they French offered 100,000, 50,000 crounes, or promes. Then, that she shuld be brought at her father's charge three monthes before she was twelf, sufficiently juelled and stuffed. Then bondes to be delivered alternatively at London and at Paris, and soe furth.<sup>1</sup>

26. The Frenchmen delivered the forsaid andswares written to my commissioners.<sup>2</sup>

#### JULY.

1. Wheras certain Flemisch shippes, 12 sail in al, six tall men of warre, loking for 18 more of men of warre, went to Diep as it was thought to take mons. le mareschal<sup>3</sup> by the way, order was geven that six shippes, being before prepared, with 4 pinesses and a brigantine, should goe both to conduit him, and also to defend if anything should be attempted against England, by carying over the lady Marie.

2. A brigandine sent to Diep to give knowledge to mons. le mareschal of the Flemminges comming, to whom al the Flemminges vailed their bonnet. Also the French embassadour was advertised; who answered that he thought him sure inough when he came into our streames,—terming it so.

2. Ther was a proclamacion signed for shortening of the fall of the

<sup>1</sup> In consequence of this report, there were "Instructions given by the Kinges ma<sup>tie</sup> to the lord marques of Northampton and the lord bishope of Elye and their colleagues. ambassadors in France, dated the ij day of July, an<sup>o</sup> 1551," of which a transcript is preserved in the MS. Harl. 353, fol. 112. They were directed to consent to the amount of 200,000 crowns as dowry, provided the charge of the lady Elizabeth's transportation was defrayed by France. Sir William Pickering was now appointed ambassador lieger in France, and sir John Mason recalled, according to instructions dated the 30th June, which are in the same volume, at fol. 113 b, and another copy in MS. Addit. 5935. fol. 107.

<sup>2</sup> This document, in French, is still extant in the State-paper office, under the 25th June, No. 78.

<sup>3</sup> The maréchal St. André (see p. 331).

mony to that day in wiche it should bee proclaimed, and devised that it should be in al placis of the realme within on(e) day proclaimed.<sup>1</sup>

3. The lords Clinton (and Cobham *erased*) wer apointed to meat the French at (Wulwich, *altered to*) Gravisend, and soe to convey him to Duraslm place, where he should lie.

4. I was bankettid by the lord Clinton at Detford, where I saw the Primrose and the Marie Willouby<sup>2</sup> launched.<sup>3</sup>

The Frenchmen landed at Rie, as some thought for feare of the Flemmings liing at the landes end, chiefly becaus they saw our shippes were let by the wind that they could not come out.

6. Sir Pe(ter) Meutas, at Dover, was commaundid to come to Rie to met mons. le mareschal; who soe did, and affter he had delivered his lettres, written with mine owne hand, and made my recommendations, he toke order for horses and cartes for mons le mareschal, in wiche he made such provision as was possible to be for the soudain.

7. Mons. le mareschal set furthe from Rie, and in his journey mr. Culpeper,<sup>4</sup> (*a blank*), and divers other gentlemen and their men, to

<sup>1</sup> This day circular letters under the King's signet (of which the draft copy remains in the State-paper office) were addressed to the sheriffs, directing them not to break the seal of the writs containing this order, until the 8th of the month. The proclamation was made on the 9th (see p. 329).

<sup>2</sup> The Mary Willoughby occurs (the last) in the list of the royal navy 1 Edw. VI. of which an abstract has been given in p. 323. It may have been added to the list. It was of 140 tons and 160 men, and carried 23 iron pieces of ordnance.

<sup>3</sup> Machyn describes the King's proceedings this day at greater length: "The vj [iiij] day of July the King's grace rode through Greenwich park unto Blackheath, and my lord of Derby, my lord of Warwick, my lord admiral Clinton, sir William Herbert, and other lords, knights, and gentlemen; and trumpeters playing; and all the guards in their doublets and their hose, with bows and arrows and halberts, ij and ij together; and the King's grace rode in the midst. And there the King's grace ran at the ring on Blackheath with lords and knights. The earl of Warwick met the King there with a hundred men of arms, and great horses, and gentlemen in cloth, and embroidered. And the same night the King supped at Deptford in a ship with my lord admiral, and the lords of the council, with many gentlemen." (Diary, p. 6.)

<sup>4</sup> Alexander Culpeper esquire, of Bedgbury in Goudhurst, near Cranbrook. He had

the nombre of 1,000 hors wel furnished, met him, and so brought him to Maideston that night.<sup>1</sup>

Removing to Westmuster.

8. Mons. le mareschal came to mr. Baker's, wher he was very well feasted, and banketted.

9. The same cam to my lord Cobham's to diner, and at night to Gravesend.

Proclamacion made that a testorn shuld goe at 9d. and a grot at 3d. in all placis of the realme att once.<sup>2</sup>

At this time cam the sweat into London, wich was more vehement then the old sweat. For if one toke cold he died within 3 houres,

succeeded his father sir Thomas (sheriff of Kent 3 Edw. VI.) May 12, 1550. He entertained queen Elizabeth at Bedgbury in 1573, and died in 1599. (Hasted's Kent, iii. 36.)

<sup>1</sup> Edward must have mistaken the stages made by the French embassy. Sir John Baker's was at Sisinghurst near Cranbrook, which they would reach the first night. The second day's journey would be to Maidstone; the third to Cobham and Gravesend.

<sup>2</sup> By the proclamation of the 30th April (see before, p. 318), this abasing of the coins had been fixed for the last day of August; but, in consequence of the great advance in the prices of all commodities which had followed its announcement (see pp. 318, 321), it was now determined to "shorten" the time, as the King has stated under the 2d of this month.— "The 9. of July, the base monies (coyned in the time of king Henry the eight and king Edward the sixt) was proclaimed—the shilling to goe for 9 pence, the groate for 3 pence, which toake effect immediately after the proclamation made." Stowe's Chronicle; the author of which presently remarks, when writing of the epidemic, "This was a terrible time in London, for many one lost sodainly his friends by the sweat, and their money by the proclamation." Sanders says, "On the 9. of July, the money was cried down one fourth part; and forty days after [see hereafter under Aug. 18,] another fourth part; so that the whole nation was thereby robbed of half of their stock." (English Schism, p. 319.) From the mode in which the change was effected, it was more seriously felt by individuals than if the nation had borne the expense in the charges of government: and the inequality and unfairness with which the burden fell is shown in a passage of bishop Cooper's Chronicle, in which he describes the sufferings of the poor, whereas "the richer sorte, partly by privately understanding the thing before hand, dyd put that kinde of money away, partly knowying the basenesse of the coyne, kept in store none but good plate and old sylver that woulde not bryng any losse." Several instances of individual losses to considerable amounts are collected in Ruding, ii. 111.

and if he skaped it held him but 9 houres, or 10 at the most.<sup>1</sup> Also if he slept the first 6 houres, as he should be very desirous to doe, then he raved, and should die raving.

11. It grue so much, for in London the 10. day ther died 70<sup>2</sup> in the liberties, and this day 120, and also one of my gentlemen, another of my gromes, fell sike and died, that I removed to Ampton court with very few with me.

The sam night cam the mareschal, who was saluted with al my ships being in the Temps, 50 and odd, al with shott wel furnished, and so with the ordinaunce of the Towre. He was met by the lord Clinton lord admirall, with 40 gentlemen, at Gravisend, and so brought to Duraslme place.

13. Bicause of th'infection at London, he came this day to Richmond, where he lay with a great band of gentlemen, at lest 400, as it was by divers esteamed, whear that night he hunted.

<sup>1</sup> The epidemic called the sweat had before visited England in the years 1486, 1507, 1517, and 1528. The last occasion was still in the recollection of survivors, and King Edward speaks of it as "the old sweat:" see some notices of it in my memoir of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset, p. liv. (Camden Miscellany, vol. iii.) The present incursion of the disease was critically observed by doctor Caius, who afterwards published "A boke or counsell against the disease commonly called the sweate, or sweating sicknesse. Made by John Caius, doctour in physicke:" printed by Richard Grafton, in black letter, 40 leaves 12mo. 1552. There is a later edition in Latin, "De Ephemera Britannica liber unus, summa cura recognitus. Lond. 1724." 8vo. The description of the disease in Hayward's Edward VI. is partly copied from the King's statements in the text. Another will be found in Stowe's Chronicle: see also some curious particulars in the notes to Machyn's Diary, p. 319, and the Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, p. 70. Hayward says, "few aged men, or women or children, died thereof;" and yet it took off (at the palace of the bishop of Lincoln at Buckden) the two noble youths, sons of the late duke of Suffolk, as related in the interesting narrative by sir Thomas Wilson, entitled "Epistola de vita et obitu duorum fratrum Suffolciensium, Henrici et Caroli Brandon," printed by R. Grafton, 1551, 4to. from which some extracts are given in the Gentleman's Magazine for Sept. 1825, vol. xcv. ii. 206. A circular letter under the King's signet, and the stamp of his signature, addressed to the bishops on the 18th July, on occasion of "this extreme and sudden plague," is printed in Tytler, i. 404.

<sup>2</sup> Not 100, as printed by Burnet.



14. He came to me at Ampton court, at 9 of the cloke, being mett by the duke of Somerset at the wal end, and so conveyed first to me, wher, after his master's recommendacions and lettres, he went to his chamber on the quene's side, al hanged with cloth of arrase, and so was the hal, and al my logeing. He dined with me also. After diner, being brought into an inner chaumber, he told me he was come not only for delivery of th'ordre, but also for to declare the great frendshipe the king his master bore me, wiche he desired I wold thinke to be such to me as a father beareth to his sonne or brother. And although ther were divers persuasions as he thought to dissuade me from the king his master's frendship, and witles men mad(e) divers rumours, yet he trusted I wold not beleve them. Furthermore that, as good ministers on the frontieres doe great good, soe do il much harme. For wiche cause he desired no innovation shuld be made, on thinges had bene so long in controversie, by handstrokes, but rather by commissioners' talke. I answerid him that I thanked him for his ordre, and also his love, et<sup>c</sup>, and I wold shew like love in all pointes. For rumours, they ware not alwais to be beleived; and that I did somtim provide for the worst, but never did any harme upon their hering. For ministers, I said I wold rather appease theis controversies with wordes then doe anything by force. So after he was conveyed to Richemond again.

16. He came to present the order of mons. Michael; wher, after with ceremonies accustomed <sup>1</sup> he had put on the garments, he <sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Two papers describing these ceremonies will be found in the Appendix to the King's Biography.

<sup>2</sup> Jacques d'Albon, marquis de Fronsac, seigneur de St. André, a knight of the order of St. Michael, made a maréchal of France in 1547. He was grand maître of France at the coronations of Henry II. and Charles IX. He was taken prisoner at the battle of St. Quintin in 1557, and again at the battle of Dreux, after which he was shot in cold blood by the seigneur de Mezieres in 1562. (Anselme, *Histoire Geneal.* vii. 193.) Anselme incorrectly calls him a knight of the Garter, and the same error is committed by Moreri, Roque, and other French writers, according to Anstis, i. 34. The error probably arose from his present visit to England.

mons. Gié,<sup>1</sup> likewise of th'ordre, came, on(e) at my right hand, th'other at my left, to the chapel, wher, after the communion celebrated, eich of them kissed my cheke. After they dined with me, and talked after diner, and saw some pastime, and so went home againe.

18. A proclamacion made against regratters and forstallers, and the wordes of the statute recited, with the punishement for th'offendours. Also lettres were sent to all officers and shrives for th'excuting thereof.<sup>2</sup>

19. Another proclamacion made for punishement of them that wold blow rumours of abassing and enhauncing of the coyne to make thinges deere withall.<sup>3</sup>

The sam night mons. le mareschal St. Andrew supped with me; after supper saw a douzein courses, and after came and made me ready.

20. The next morning he came to see mine arraying, and saw my bedchaumber, and went a hunting with hundes, and saw me shotte, and saw al my garde shot together. He dined with me, herd me

<sup>1</sup> François de Rohan, seigneur de Gyé, ambassador in Rome 1548, and lieutenant of Bretagne. (Anselme, *Hist. Geneal.* iv. 70.)

<sup>2</sup> This proclamation, dated July 17, is in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries, and a copy of the circular letter of the council, dated July 20, is preserved in the State-paper office. The statute recited was that of 35 Hen. VIII.

<sup>3</sup> This proclamation is the vol. 116 of the MSS. at the Society of Antiquaries; and its substance is given in Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, ii. 110. Offenders were to be liable to six months' imprisonment and such fine as the justices of the peace might think meet to inflict, or offenders not able to pay such fine were liable to lose one or both their ears. The severity of these measures is the more remarkable, considering that a further abasement was really contemplated, and carried into effect on the 18th of August. It was contrary to human nature that those who were made to suffer such repeated and unanticipated losses should not suspect their recurrence, and even communicate their fears to their neighbours. And yet again we find on the 7th Sept. the council writing "to th'erle of Shrewesbury of advertisement that th'office of keeping of the howse and parke of Shrifhutton is already by the King's majestie given to sir William Pickering; and, as tooching the furder fall of the shilling, there is no suche thing meant, and therfore to brute oute the spreaders thereof abroad, and to see them so punished as they may be a terror to others." (Council Book.)

play on the lute, ride, came to me in my study, supped with me, and soe departed to Richemond.

19. The Scottes sent an embassadour hither, for receiving the treaty,<sup>1</sup> sealed with the great seal of Englaund, wich was delivered him. Alsô I sent sir Thomas Chaloner, clerk of my councel,<sup>2</sup> to have the seall of them, for confirmacion of the last treaty at Norham.

This day my lord marcus and the commissionars, comming to treat of the mariage, offered by latter instructions<sup>3</sup> 600,000 crowns, after 400,000 s(cutis), and so departed for an houre. Then, seing

<sup>1</sup> The treaty concluded at Norham on the 10th of June was "for the better understanding, explanation, and declaration of the comprehension of the kingdom of Scotland" in the peace between France and England. It is printed in Rymer, *Fœdera*, xv. 265—271, followed by King Edward's ratification dated at Westminster, and queen Mary's commission for ratification of the same, under the great seal of Scotland, dated the last of June.

<sup>2</sup> "July xvij. This daie the dispatche was made bothe for the retorne of sir Thomas Challoner unto the borders, and for the ratificacion of the treatie, and alsoe for sending away of Carneige the Scottishe ambassador, with the confirmacion of the last treatie." (Council Book.)

<sup>3</sup> These Instructions were dated the 2d July, and commence as follows:—

"Imprimis, because it appeareth by the answer of the French to the articles of the sayd lord marques and his colleagues, that they do not agree to the dote of 800,000 crowns, the said lord marques and his colleagues shall descend to demand four hundred thousand crowns, and the charge of transportation. And in case that offer take not place, being politikely handled, then to descend by the protestation of the desire of friendship by the knott of this marriage to the summ of three hundred thousand crowns, besides the transportation; and to conclude the communicacion upon that somme, as tho' the sayd lord marques and his colleagues had no manner of authoritie to descend further, for the which purpose, if that offer be not received, the lords ambassadors shall rest one full day.

"Item, nevertheless, the sayd lord marques and his colleagues shall, rather then to break off and to leave these so good a beginning, conclude with the French for the dote of 200,000 crowns, besides the transportation, even as they have agreed already.

"Notwithstanding, the King's majesty hopeth the sayd lord marques and his colleagues shall conclude according to the next degree before. In all which covenants, besides the somme of money, the transportation shall be att the charge of the French king." MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 5935, fol. 106.—In the same volume at ff. 131, 133, are transcripts of two long despatches written by the commissioners from Chasteau Brian, others of which are extant in the State-paper office.

they could get no better, came to the French offer of 200,000 s(cutes), hauf to be paid at the mariag, haulf 6 monthes after that. Then the French agreed that her dote shuld be but 10,000 marc of lawful mony of England. Thirdly, it was agreid that if I dide (died) she shuld not have the dote, saijng they did that for frendship's sake, without president (precedent).

19. The lord marcus having received and delivered again the treaty sealed,<sup>1</sup> toke his leave, and so did al the rest.

At this time was ther a bickering at Parma, betwen the French and the papistes. For mons. de Termes, Petro Strossy, and Fontenello, with divers others gentlemen to the nombre of 30, with 1500 souldiards, entered Parma. Gonzaga<sup>2</sup> with th'emperour's and pope's band lay niere the toune. The French mad(e) salies, and overcame, slaying the prince of Macedony, and il signor Baptista the pope's neveu.

22. Mr. Sidney<sup>3</sup> mad(e) on(e) of the 4 chief gentlemen.

23. Mons. le mareschal came to me, declaring the king his master's wel taking my readines to this treaty, and also how much his master was bent that way. He presented mons. Boisdaulphin<sup>4</sup> to be embassadour hiere, as my lord marcus, the 19. day, did present mr. Pikering.

<sup>1</sup> The treaty, dated at Anjou on the 19th July, and sealed with the seals of the six French commissioners, was deposited in the treasury of the exchequer, and is still preserved (1856) in the Chapter-house at Westminster. It is printed in Rymer's collection, vol. xv. p. 273, and in MS. in sir Joseph Williamson's collection of Treaties, i. 167, ii. 84, in the State-paper office.

<sup>2</sup> Don Ferdinand di Gonzaga, the emperor's lieutenant in the Milanese territory, had taken all the Spaniards that were there in garrison to make an army in the field (see Chamberlayne's letter in Tytler, i. 377), but his soldiers became mutinous for want of pay, and were ineffective against the French.

<sup>3</sup> Son-in-law of the earl of Warwick, knighted on the 11th Oct. following.

<sup>4</sup> Claude de Laval, seigneur de Boisdaulphin et de Theligny, baron de Marsilly, captain and governor of Nantes, maistre d'hotel and afterwards gentleman of the chamber to the French king. He remained ambassador in England until May 1553, and was slain at the battle of St. Quintin in 1557. Anselme, Hist. Geneal. iii. 650.



26. Mons. le mareschal dined with me; after diner saw the strenght of the English archers. After he had so done, at his departure I gave him a dyamant from my fynger worth by estimacion 150 li., both for paines and also for my memory. Then he toke his leve.

27. He came to me a hunting to tell me the newes, and shew the lettre his master had sent him, and doubles of mons. Termes' lettre, and Marignac's lettres being embas(sadour) with th'emperour.<sup>1</sup>

28. Mons. le mareschal cam to diner to Hide parke, where ther was a fair hous<sup>2</sup> made for him, and he saw the cursing there.

30. He cam to th'erl of Warwik's,<sup>3</sup> lay there on(e) night, and was wel received.

29. He had his reward, being worth three thousand pound in gold of currant mony, mons. de Gié<sup>4</sup> 1000 pound, mons. Chenault<sup>5</sup> a 1000 li., mons. Morvillier<sup>6</sup> 500, the secretary 500, and the bishop Perigneux 500.

#### AUGUST.

3. Mons. le mareschal departed to Boleigne, and had certein of my shippes to conduct him thether.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The real name of the French ambassador with the emperor was Charles de Marillac (see Tytler, i. 414). He was an old diplomatist: having been first ambassador at Constantinople, and afterwards in England from 1538 to 1541. He was made bishop of Vannes, and about 1557 archbishop of Vienne. He died in 1560, aged 50. Anselme, Hist. Geneal. vi. 555.

<sup>2</sup> See in the Additional Notes some curious particulars of this "fair house."

<sup>3</sup> At Sheen.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 332.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 270.

<sup>6</sup> Jean de Morvillier, born in 1507, a maître des requêtes, made bishop of Orleans in 1552, chancellor of France in 1568. He died in 1577. Anselme, iii. 490.

<sup>7</sup> "July xxj. Lettres to the lorde admyrall (Clinton), advertising him that the marshal St. Androwe woll passe by lande to Dovor, and from thens cutt over to Bulloigne; requiring therefore him to prepare ij. roweng pinasses, and twoo other greate shippes, to wafte him. And alsoe ij. or iij. creyers for the transportacion of his baggiage. Whiche being made readie must departe towards Dovor upon the next warneing from hime. And for the rest of the King's shippes his lordship may take order for the dispatche of them

9. 24 lordes of the counsel met at Richemond,<sup>1</sup> to commune of my sister Marie's matter: who at length agreed that it was not meet to be suffered any longer, making thereof an instrument signed with their handes and sealed, to be of record.

11. The lord marcus with the most part of the band came home, and delivered the treaty sealed.

12. Lettres sent for Rochester, Inglefield, Walgrave, et<sup>c</sup>, to come the 17. day, but they came not til another lettre was sent to them the 13. day.<sup>2</sup>

for theaseng of his Majesties chardges, but not to be laied up in Gillingham till after the marshall's departure."—"July xxviij. Lettres to mr. Pickering, willing him that as soone as he may gete accesse to the Frenche kinge he shall declare the marshall's diligence and good behaviour here, giving him thanks for the newes that by his comaundement the saied marshall declared unto the King's majestie here tooching the successes of Itallie." (Council Book)

<sup>1</sup> In order to give weight to the strong measures now about to be adopted towards the lady Mary, the absent councillors were all summoned (on Sunday, the 2nd August) to this meeting on the following Sunday. Even the earls of Arundel and Derby, although in disgrace, were required to repair to Richmond, where they were again sworn of the council, but "to attend only when they or either of them should be called unto it, and none otherwise." The presence consisted of the duke of Somerset, the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, the lord great master, the lord privy seal, the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Derby, and Huntingdon, the lord admiral, the lord chamberlain, the lord Cobham, the lord Paget, mr. treasurer, mr. comptroller, the master of the horses, mr. secretary Petre, justice Montague, sir Ralph Sadler, sir John Gage, and sir John Baker—twenty-four in number, as the King states. The proceedings taken on this day with regard to the lady Mary are entered at full in the Council Book, but have not been published, the letters that passed being alone printed in Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*.

<sup>2</sup> "At Hampton Courte, the xiiij. August, 1551, Present, the duke of Somersett, the lorde threasorer, the lorde great master, the lorde pryvey seale, the lorde greate chamberlayn, the erle of Huntingdon, the lorde Cobham, mr. comptroller, mr. vice-chamberlayn, mr. secretarie Petre. This daie appeared before the lordes, Robert Rochester, comptroller of my ladie Maryes house, Edward Walgrave one of her counsell, and mr. Fraunces Englefeld her grace's servaunt, unto whom the decree taken by the whole counsaill at Richmonde the ix<sup>th</sup> of this present was redde; whereupon they were comaunded to call her grace's chapleins before them; and not only to inhibite them from sayeing of Masse

14. My lord marcus'<sup>1</sup> reward was delivered at Paris, worth 500 pound, my lord of Ely's 200, mr. Hobbie's 150, the rest al about on(e) scantling.

14. Rochester, et<sup>we</sup> had commaundement, neither to here nor to suffer any kind of service, but the communion and orders setfurth alar(ge?) by parlement, and had on(e) lettre to my ladies hous from my counsel for their credit, another to her self from me.<sup>2</sup> Also apointed that I shuld com to and sit at counsel whan greit matters wer in debating, or whan I wold.<sup>3</sup>

or other ministracion of any manner of ceremonies before her, or within her house, or in any other place, contrarye to th'order of the King's majesties lawes; but also to see that neyther they themselves nor any other of her familie presume to heare any Masse, or other suche forbidden rites or ceremonies, in any manner of wise contrarye to the King's majesties laws, nor to suffer any suche to be used or ministred, not only upon the paynes lymited by the same, but also of the King's high indignacion and displeasour. And forasmuche as the saied Rochester made many excuses to avoyde the reporte of this matter unto her grace, and th'execucion thereof in her house, he was finallie comaunded upon his allegeaunce to see it performed. And in case her grace shuld dismisse hym and the rest out of her service, upon the receipt of this messaige by their mouthes (as he pretended she wolde), then was he and the rest comaunded, on the King's majesties behalfe, neyther to avoyde her service nor to departe from her howse, but to see this order prescribed to them fulfilled, untill they shulde have further comaundement from hense.

"The saied sir Fraunces Englefelde is lymitted that uppon the declaracion of this matter made by them all three unto the ladie Marie's grace to the effect of the premisses, according to the mynute remayning with the secretaries." (Council Book.)

<sup>1</sup> King Henry II. assured sir William Pickering "that the presenter of my lord marquis's reward should be chastised, as he had well deserved, for he had failed in his duty therein." (Tytler, i. 418.) This was an apology for the present having been so disproportionate to that which the maréchal St. André had received in England (see p. 335).

<sup>2</sup> This letter is not one of the series published by Foxe, but is given by Strype in his notes to Hayward's Edward VI. in Kennett's collection of historians, ii. 316. Not regarding it as the King's own composition, the present Editor has not placed it among the Letters in the present volume. The lady Mary's reply, dated "From my poor house at Copped hall, the 19th of August," will be found in Foxe, and in Ellis's Letters, I. ii. 176.

<sup>3</sup> No such matter as this is noticed in the Council Book: but there are many documents extant showing the King's presence at the council-board, and particularly those printed in the latter part of this volume.

This last month mons. de Termes, with 500 French men, cam to Parma, and entered sauffy. Afterward certein issued out of the town and were overthrowen, as Scipiaro, Dandelot, Petro Corso, and others, wer taken, and som slain. After they gave a skirmish, entred the camp of Gonzaga, and spoiled a few tentes and retourned.

15. Sir Robart Dudley<sup>1</sup> and Barnabe<sup>2</sup> sworn tou of the six ordinary gentlemen.

The last month the Turkes navie wan a litle castel in Siceley.

17. Instructions sent to sir James Croftes<sup>3</sup> for divers purposes, whos copie is in the secretaries hands.

[18.] The testorne cried down from nine pence to six pence, the grote from three pence to tow pence, the tow pence to a peny, the peny to ane haufpeny, the haufpeny to a farding, et<sup>a</sup>c.<sup>4</sup>

1. Mons. Termes and Scipiaro overthrew three enseignes of horsmen at three times, toke on(e) dispach sent from domp Fernando<sup>5</sup> to the pope concerning this warre, and another from the

<sup>1</sup> Third son of the duke of Northumberland, and afterwards earl of Leicester, and the favourite of Queen Elizabeth.

<sup>2</sup> Barnaby Fitzpatrick : see p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> As deputy in Ireland.

<sup>4</sup> The draft copy of this proclamation is in the State-paper office, Domestic Edw. VI., vol. xiii.; accompanied by one of the circular letters under the signet, addressed to sheriffs, forbidding them to break open the writ sent to them respecting this change, "until it shalbe the xvjth daye in the morning of this present monethe." It is dated from Hampton Court the xijth of August, and has the autograph signatures of twelve councillors, the King's signature being prefixed from a stamp.

<sup>5</sup> *i. e.* Don Ferdinando de Gonzaga. The news here mentioned was thus told by Henry II. to sir William Pickering : "Now, monsieur Pickering (quoth he), for requital o<sup>r</sup> yours, my news of Parma be such, and report them for certain to the King my good brother,—Pietro Strozzi hath taken one Camillo Castilione, a gentleman sufficient to redeem any prisoner they have of mine, and a man of great credit and charge with them. He was expressly sent from don Fernando to the pope with instructions of importance for the order of their whole determination both of Parma and Mirandola. My men have also routed a band of Spaniards coming from Milan towards don Fernando's camp ; the captain taken, but his name he could not remember." See further in Tytler, i. 413.



pope to domp Fernando, discomfited four inseignes of footmen, and tok the conte Camillo of Castilion, and slew a captain of the Spaniardes.

22. Removing to Windsore.

23. Rochester, et<sup>æ</sup>. retourned, denying to do openly the charg of the lady Mar(y's) hous,<sup>1</sup> for displeasing her.

26. The lord chaunceller, mr. controller, (and) the secretary Petre sent to do the sam commission.<sup>2</sup>

27. Mr. Coverdal made bishop of Exciter.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* refusing to deliver openly to the lady Mary's household the message with which the council had charged them.

<sup>2</sup> The instructions they received are extant in the Council Book, but have not been published. Their highly interesting report, which gives a lively picture of the conduct of the princess on receiving their visit at Copped hall, is also entered in the register of the council, and printed in Ellis's Original Letters, First Series, ii. 179-182.

<sup>3</sup> The letters patent conferring the bishopric of Exeter on Miles Coverdale, S.T.P. dated the 14th August, are printed in Rymer, xv. 283. After reciting that by the 26 Hen. VIII. the see was taxed for tenths at 1566*l.* 14*s.* 6½*d.*, they state that its revenues had since been so greatly reduced that the King was pleased it should in future be taxed at 500*l.* only. By another document of the same date (Rymer, xv. 282) the retiring bishop, John Veysey, alias Harman, was permitted to enjoy various life-annuities which had been granted to him on alienating in fee-simple certain of his manors and episcopal rents: and from the enumeration of the remaining revenues of the see in the same document it appears that they amounted only, beyond allowances, to 485*l.* 9*s.* 3½*d.* (Burnet, Hist. of the Reformation, ii. 166, has mistaken this as the amount of the yearly pension reserved to Veysey.) Veysey was restored to the see by queen Mary, on Coverdale's deprivation, Sept. 28, 1553: he died at his manor of More place within the parish of Sutton Coldfield, co. Warwick, Oct. 23, 1554, at the great age of 103 as usually stated, but there is reason to believe that the figures of his age upon his monument at Sutton Coldfield have at some time been altered—probably from xciii. He was admitted at Magdalen college, Oxford, in 1482, elected probationer 1486, and actual fellow 1482. If fifteen at his admission, he would be 84 at his resignation, and 93 at his death. (With these data I am supplied by the Rev. G. C. Gorham, B.D.) There is further in Rymer, xv. 289, the *significavit* to the archbishop of Canterbury of Coverdale's nomination to the see: and in the same page a licence from the King to Miles bishop of Exeter, and Elizabeth his wife, to eat flesh in Lent with five or six at his table, dated the 10th Sept. 1551.

27. Rochester, et<sup>a</sup>ç. sent to the Flete.

The lord chauncelour, et<sup>a</sup>ç. did that they were commaundid to doe to my sister and her hous.<sup>1</sup>

21. Rochester, et<sup>a</sup>ç. committed to the Towre.

The duke of Somerset, taking certein that began a new conspiracy for destruction of the gentlemen at Okingam, tow days past, executed them with death for ther offence.

29. Certein pinessis were preparid to see that ther shuld be no conveiaunce over sea of the lady Marie secretly done. Also apointed that the lord chanc(ellor), the lord chamberlain, the vice-chamb(erlain), and the secretary Petre, shuld see by al meanes the(y) could, whether she used the mass, and if she did, that the lawes shuld be executed on her chapelains. Also that when I cam from this progress, to Ampton court, or Whestmuster, both my sisters shuld be with me till further order were taken for this purpose.

SEPTEMBER, A° D'NI 1551, 4 CHARTA, 5° REGNI E. 6<sup>i</sup>.

3. The French embassadour cam to declare, first, who (how) th'emperour wronged divers of his master's subjectis and vassals, arrested also his merchauntis, and did clokedly begine warre. For he besegid Mirandola<sup>2</sup> round about with fortes he had made in the French kinges countrie. Also he staid certaine shippes French going a fisching to the New found land. Furthermore, he sent a douzen shippes, wich bragged they wold take the dowager of Scotland, wich thing staid her so long at Diep. Wherupon, his master

<sup>1</sup> This odious duty was imposed upon the duke of Somerset in his capacity of lord lieutenant of the district where the disturbances took place.

<sup>2</sup> "Mirandola is very straightly assiged. Parma is also assiged, but nothing so straightly as is Mirandola. The hole army for th'emperor and the pope amounte to xxiiij M<sup>l</sup>. Captaynes of th'enterprise of Mirandola are S<sup>or</sup> Mario Orsino and Alexandro Vitello, and dom Fernando kepeth the siege before Parma. In Parma there be 3500 souldyours and 200 horses. In Mirandola 1200 warlycke souldyours and 200 horses. Mons. de Termes is capytaine." French correspondence, in State-paper office, No. 92.

had taken the hool (wool) flete<sup>1</sup> of Antwerp, conveying it to his countrey into his portes by a tenne shippes he had sent furth under baron de la Garde. Also minded to send more help to Piemont and Mirandola. For this cause he desired that on my coastes the dowager might have save passage, and might be soccourid with my servauntes at the sea cost if any chaunce shuld happen.<sup>2</sup> He was willed to put it in writing. He shewed how the Turkes navy, having spoiled a pece of Sicile, went to Malta, and there toke an ile adjacent called Gozo;<sup>3</sup> from thens they went to Tripoly. In Transilvany Rosto Bassa was leader of th'army, and had spoiled it (w)holly. In Hungary the Turkes had made a fort by the mines, to get them. Madeburg was freshly vitailed, and duke Maurice cam his way, being suspected he had conspired with them there.

4. It was aunsurid to the French embass(adour) that the dowagier shuld in al my portes be defended from enemies (and) tempest, and likewise also thankes were given for the newes.

5. Th'emperour's embassadour cam to requir that my sister Maries officers shuld be restored to ther libertie, and she should have her masse till th'emperour was certified therof. It was aunswerid, first, that I needed not to aunswer except I list, bicaus he spake without

<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 309 : not the "*whole* fleet," as printed by Burnet.

<sup>2</sup> A "saulf-conduct" had already been granted to the queen, dated the 12th of May : whereby leave had been given her to land at any English port, and stay for two or three days, during stress of weather, at any time before Michaelmas : see this in Rymer, xv. 264. It was now asked that she should not only land in England, but proceed through the country to Scotland : and a renewed safe-conduct, with a clause to that effect, and to be valid up to the ensuing Christmas, passed the great seal on the 17th of September : see this also printed in Rymer, xv. 290.

<sup>3</sup> So, at the same time, the French king himself, in his conference with sir W<sup>m</sup> Lam Pickering, entered into a long discourse of the Turks' army, "being in number one hundred and fifty gallies, which he said had been of late at Malta, where they were valiantly repulsed, notwithstanding that they had burnt a place called Augusta (Gozo); and that they had been likewise before Africa (see before, p. 294), and had reviewed the town, without further attempting the same." Tytler, i. 415.

commission, wich was sene by the shortnes of the time since the committing of the officers, of wich th'emperour could not be advertised. He was willed no more to move thes pikes (piques), in wich he had ben often aunswerid, without commission. He was aunswerid, that th'emperour was by this time advertised, although the matter pertained not to him. Also, that I had done nothing but according to a king's office herein, in observing the lawes that were so godly, and in punishing th'offendors. The promis to th'emperour was not so made as he pretendid, affirmed by sir Philip Hobbey, being at that (time) ther(e) embassadour.

6. Deliberacion touching the coyne.<sup>1</sup> Memôr. that ther were divers standards,—9 ounces fine a few; 8 ounces fine as ill as foore, bicaus althoug that that was fine, yet a shiling was rekened for tow shilings; 6 ounces, very many; 4 ounces, many also; 3 ounces 130,000 lib. now a late. Wherupon agreed that the testorne being called to six pence, 4 with help of 6 should make tenne fine, 8 fine with help of nine being fewer then thos of eight shuld make ten ounces fine; the tow ounces of alay shuld quit the charges of minting; and thos of three-pence, being but few, shuld be turned to the standard of 4, of fardings and hauppens and pence for to serve for the pour peple, bycaus the merchauntes made no exchaung of it, and the sum was not great; also to (bear the) charges, forbicaus it was thought that few or none were left of 9 ounces fine, 8 ounces were naught, and 6 ounces wer tow wayes divised, on(e) without any craft, th'other was not fully sixe, of wich kind was not a few.

9. A proclamacion set furth touching the prises of cattel, of hogges, pigges, befs, oxen, muttons, buttyr, and chese, after a reasonable price, not fully so good cheap as it was when the

<sup>1</sup> This "very obscure passage" of the Journal, as it is termed by Ruding, has given rise to several conjectural speculations in Martin Folkes's *Table of English Silver Coins*; but as they are not considered satisfactory by Mr. Ruding, who is still "unable to affix any precise meaning to this passage," it would be waste of space here to do more than to refer to the discussion in the *Annals of the Coinage*, vol. ii. pp. 112—114.



coyne was at the perfeictest, but within a fift part of it, or therabouts.<sup>1</sup>

10. I removed to Farneham.

12. A proclamation<sup>2</sup> setfurth touching the coyne: that wheras it was so that men for gain melted downe the 9d. testorne continually, and the sixpence also, ther shuld be no person in any wise melt it downe, upon peine to incurre the penalty of the lawes.

13. A lettre directed to the lord treasaurour, the lord great master, and the master of the hors, to met at London for the ordering of my coyne, and the payment of my dettes; wich don, to retourne and make reaport of thear proceedings.

11. Ware proclaimed in Bretaine betwen th'emperour and the French, by thes termes: "Charles Roy d'Espagne et Duc de Milan," leving out emperour.

10. Foure townes taken by the French soudiars that were th'emperour's in Piemont. Querra and Amiens. Also th'emperour's cuntry there was spoiled, and 120 castels or fortresses taken.

Proclamacion made in Paris touching the bullis, that no man shuld goe for them to Rome.

Other shippes taken by prior de Capua, merchauntes, to the number of a dozen. Prior Capua had 32 galeis.

19. The French embassadour sent theis newes, also that the Turke had taken Tripoly.

20. The secretary Cicell and sir Phelip Hobbey sent to London, to help the lord treasaurour, et<sup>c</sup>. in the matters of the bishops of Chichester, Worcester, and Duraslme,<sup>3</sup> and examination of my sister's men.

18. Removing to Windsour.

<sup>1</sup> "In equity the prices should have been raised one-third to have been equal to the depreciation of the money." Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, ii. 114.

<sup>2</sup> This proclamation is in vol. 116 of the MSS. of the Society of Antiquaries. On its contents see the remarks of Mr. Folkes, *Table of Silver Coins*, p. 40, and Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, ii. 114.

<sup>3</sup> Day, Heath, and Tunstall.

20. The lordes at London, having tried al kindes of stamping, both of the finesse of nine, eight, sixe, four, and three, proved that, without any losse but sufferable, the coyne might be brought to eleven ounces fine. For wheras it was thought before that the testorne was through ill officers and ministers corrupted, it was tried that it had the valuacion just, by eight sundrie kindes of melting; and fowre hundred poundes of sterling mony, a testorne being but sixpence, made foure hundred pound 11 ounces fine of mony sterling.

22. Wherupon thei reported the same, and then it was concluded that the testorne should be elevin ounces fine, the proporcion of the pecis according to the gold, so that 5s. of silver shuld be worth five of gold.

23. Removing to Otland.

24. Agreed that the stamp of the shiling and sixpence shold be,— of on(e) side a king painted to the shoulders, in parliement robes, with a cheine of th'ordre; five-shillings, of silver, and hauf-five-shillings, shuld be a king on horsbake armed, with a naked sworde hard to his brest. Also that York's minte,<sup>1</sup> and Throkmerton's mint in the Towre, should goe and worke the fine staunderd. In the cité of Yorke, and Caunterbury, shuld the smale mony be wrought of a baser state. Officers for the same weare apointed.

A pece of Berwike wall fell, bicaus the foundation was shaken by working of a bulwark.

28. The lord marcus Dorset, greved much with the disorder of the marches toward Scoteland, surrendred the wardenship therof to bestow wher I wold.

27. The wardenship of the North gieven to th'erl of Warwic.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the borough of Southwark.

<sup>2</sup> "Oct. xj. A lettre to the lorde chauncellour to make owte for the duke of Northumberlande a patent of the lord wardenshippe general in the Northe parties foranempst Scottlande, with as muche fee, preheminence, and autoritie as any of his predecessours in that office have had heretofore, with power also to substitute and make deputie wardeignes under hym, with such fees as any in that room heretofore have had, and farther the allowance of one hundreth light horsemen at x d. by the day." (Council Book.)

Removing to Ampton Court.

28. Commissioners<sup>1</sup> apointed for sitting on the bishop of Chichester<sup>2</sup> and Worcester,<sup>3</sup>—3 lawers and three civilians.

10. Th'imperials toke the suburbes of Heding, and burnt them.

26. The passeport of the dowagier of Scoteland<sup>4</sup> was made for a

<sup>1</sup> A document relative to the selection of these commissioners will be found among the political papers written by the King hereafter. They had been appointed some time before the date given in the text; and two of them, sir Richard Rede and dr. Richard Lyell, had addressed a letter to mr. secretary Cecill on the 26th September, desiring to know when and where they were to proceed, which is in the State-paper office, Domestic Edw. VI. vol. xiii. art. 49. The council now prepared an answer, of which the following is the minute: "Sept. xxviiij. A lettre to sir Roger Cholmeley knight, chiefe baron of th'exchequer, sir Richard Reade, Richard Goodriche, John Gosnall, John Oliver, and Richard Liel, commissioners appointed by the Kinges Majestie for the proceeding in the causes layd agaynst the bisshoppes of Worcester and Chichester, with comaundement to call the said bisshoppes before them at Whitehall, and begining with the busshop of Worcestre's cause to proceede also with Chichestre's, so as the judgement of th'one may succede th'other without any delay of tyme more than needeth, and when the acts of the counsell proceeded in those causes shalbe requesyte, the same uppon knowledge gyven hither shalbe sent them, and in the meane tyme to use for theyr instruccions the acts passed here upon Worcestre's cause, and those that mr. Rede hath alredy concerning Chichestre; with admonission, seing their contempts, so evident, not to give them any longer delay by graunting them any learned counsell, or otherwise by suche pretexts." (Council Book.) This letter gave rise to a difficulty with the chancellor, noticed hereafter, p. 347.

<sup>2</sup> George Day; see before, pp. 37, 255. In June, 1552, letters were sent by the council to Goodrich bishop of Ely, desiring him to receive bishop Day, "and to use him as in Christian charity should be most seemly:"—a treatment very different to that which the Protestant bishops experienced in the next reign. He was restored before April, 1554, and died in London August 6, 1556.

<sup>3</sup> Nicholas Heath, also restored by queen Mary, and promoted by her to the archbishopric of York and the chancellorship. After his second deprivation under Elizabeth, he was permitted to close his days in peace at his own manor of Chobham in Surrey.

<sup>4</sup> "Sept. xxv. A letter to the lorde chauncellor, requiring him to passe under the great seale a self-conduict graunted by the King's majestie to the dowager of Skotlande, and to retayne with him for a recorde the originall thereof sent him signed by his highnes." (Council Book.) See a previous note in p. 341.

longer time, til Christmas, and also, if she were driven, to passe by land quietly into Scotland.

20. Mons. d'Angoulesme<sup>1</sup> was borne, and the duke of Vandosme had a soone<sup>2</sup> by the princes of Navar his wife.

30. The fest of Michelmas was kept by me in the robes of th'ordre.<sup>3</sup>

#### OCTOBER.

1. The commission for the making of five-shilinges, hauf-five-shilinges, grotes,<sup>4</sup> and sixpences 11 ounces fine, and pence with haupence and fardinges foure ounces fine, was folowed and signed.

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards king Henri III.: see note in p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Henry de Bourbon, the eldest son of Antoine duc de Vendosme, was born on the 21st Sept. 1551, and styled duc de Beaumont au Maine. He died on the 20th Aug. 1553, less than four months before the birth of his brother, also named Henry, who became Henri IV. of France. Anselme, i. 144.

<sup>3</sup> *i. e.* of St. Michael. "King Edward the Sixth observed the anniversary of St. Michael after the same manner and order as [knights] strangers were long before obliged to do that of St. George; and caused his arms, surrounded with the order of St. Michael, to be set up in his chappel at Hampton court, each Michaelmas day after his acceptation of that order during his life." Ashmole's Institution of the Order of the Garter, p. 369.—The following account of the King's first observance of the anniversary was transmitted to France: "After our very hartie commendations, ye shall understand that the Kinges ma<sup>tie</sup>, for the more ample demonstration of his affection to the good amytie betwixt hym and his good brother the French kinge, hath at this Michaelmas kept the order of the French kinge, and for the same cause sent for the French embassadour, who came hither yesternight, and hath bene very well enterteyned both of the King and us also (as we think and perceve by hym, to his very good contentation). This daye he was present in the chappell at the whole service of the communion, where he sawe the Kinges ma<sup>tie</sup> reverently with us of his counsell communicate the sacrament, wherein as we perceve he seeth and understandeth grete difference betwixt our reverence in our religion and the slaunders thereof usually spredd by evill men. He dyned with the Kinges ma<sup>tie</sup> in his privie chamber, and sheweth hym self to like his ma<sup>ties</sup> knowledge, understanding, and good langage, even to very marvell." Letter of the council to sir William Pickering, from Hampton Court, Sept. 29, 1551, in State-paper office, French correspondence, No. 91.

<sup>4</sup> The term "grote" here means a shilling, as in Stowe, anno 1504, "a groat, which was



1. Ther was Riche lord chauncellour of England did send bake a lettre for th'execution of the commission for certein to sitte on the bishops of Chichester and Worcester, bicaus ther were but 8 handes to it.<sup>1</sup>

2. I wrot a lettre<sup>2</sup> that I marveled that he wold refuse to signe

in value xij d." There were no fourpenny pieces coined at this time. (Folkes's Table of Silver Coins, p. 43, note \*.) The commission mentioned by the King "is not known to exist, but it was probably for the appointment of the same persons as acted under an instrument of that kind in the year 1550." (Ruding's Annals of the Coinage.) Stowe has recorded the proclamation for the currency of these coins upon the 30th of October. He describes them as,—In fine gold, a whole Sovereigne of 30 shillings, an Angel of 10 shillings, an Angelet of 5 shillings. In crown gold, a Sovereigne of 20 shillings, the Half-Sovereigne of 10 shillings, the third piece of Five-shillings, and a fourth of Two-and-sixpence. In silver, the first piece of Five shillings sterling, the second piece of Two-shillings-and-sixpence sterling, the third piece a Shilling of twelve pence sterling, the fourth piece of Sixpence sterling. Of smaller money, a Penny of the double-rose, not sterling, but base; a Halfpenny of the single rose; and a third piece, a Farthing, with a port-close, or portcullis. This was the first currency of Five-shillings, Two-shillings-and-sixpence, and Sixpence.

<sup>1</sup> The letter of which the substance has been given in p. 345. Not having the letter itself, we cannot tell who the *eight* councillors were who signed it, but there were *ten* present in council at Hampton court on the 28th Sept. viz. the lord treasurer (Wiltshire), the lord great master (Warwick), the lord great chamberlain (Northampton), the lord marquess Dorset, the lord chamberlain (Darcy), the master of the horse (Herbert), mr. vice-chamberlain (Gates), mr. secretary Cecill, sir John Mason, and sir Robert Bowes. This was certainly a council formed chiefly of the strongest partisans of Warwick.

<sup>2</sup> A copy of this letter, which appears to have been the composition of mr. secretary Cecill, is preserved in the State-paper office, (Domestic, vol. xiii. art. 56,) as follows:—

"Right trusty and right welbeloved, Where of late we signed a commission for the hearing and determining of the causes and contempts of the bishopps of Worcester and Chichester, the which our counsellours here then presently attending upon our person as we perceive sent to you for the apposition of our great seale in your keeping, together with their letters directed to the commissioners appointed for the declaration of our pleasure in certain points touching the proceeding in the said commission, We perceive by your letter of yesterdayes writing to our right trusty and right welbeloved cousin and counsellour the earl of Warwick, great maister of our household, that ye with others of our counceill there at London have subscribed the said commission and yourself put-to our

that bill, or deliver that lettre, that I had willed any on(e) about me to write. Also that it should be a great impediment for me to send to al my counsell, and I shuld seme to be in bondage. But by oversight it chanced, and not thinking the more the better.<sup>1</sup>

great seal accordingly; but the letter of our counsell sent for the signification of our further pleasure in the manner of the execution ye have [sent back,] whereby we doubt the delaye of our said commission . . . . to note a lack . . . . that it hath not more hands of our counsellours, [although it] hath indeed [eight,] which construction, if [it should have] place and [precedent] in other cases not unknown [unto you, may lead to] much prejudice and beyond our governance; wherein we think our authority to be such that, whatsoever we shall doe by the advice of the number of our counsell attending upon our person, although they be much fewer than viij, without acception (*sic*) of any person, the same to have more strength and efficacie then to be put into question or doubt of the validity thereof; for indeed we think your lordship not ignorant hereof, that the number of our counsellours or any part of them maketh not our o<sup>r</sup> (*sic*) authority, although indeed their advice and good counsell necessarily becometh the same, wherunto also we ever incline our self. And therefore, if you or any other should be of other opinion, as in a sorte may be collected conjecturally by your lettre, the same is not convenient, but might be in sundry cases too hurtfull where often times our affaires for lack of speedy expedition, upon the expectation of other numbers of counsellours then chanceth sometime to be present with us, might take great detriment. And therefore thus much we thought necessary to signify unto you (*sic*) amendment of your lettre."

*Indorsed*, "My . . . . fr. the King's Ma<sup>ty</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> L. Ryche L. Chancell. [endorsem<sup>t</sup> in Sr W. Cecyll handwriting]."

This is a transcript made in the handwriting of the 17th century, from a document which appears to have been then in some decay: but I am not aware that it has been hitherto noticed by any historical writer. It is a remarkable paper, and very important in the history of the reign: since it shows that after the will of Henry the Eighth had by degrees been wholly departed from, after a protector had been appointed and deposed, after the great seal had been more than once removed in its custody, after several councillors had been dismissed and many new ones appointed, it was at last become a question whether the government should be carried on by the council at large, or by such a cabinet or cabal as the most powerful statesman (such as Warwick) chose to keep about the King's person. It was on perceiving that things had come to this pass that Rich shortly after resigned the seal in sheer dismay (see under Dec. 21).

<sup>1</sup> Both these entries relating to the chancellor are struck through by the King, and, being unnoticed by Burnet, have hitherto escaped observation. They are remarkable as intimating the first expression of uneasiness and dissatisfaction on the part of Rich: which

5. Jarnac<sup>1</sup> came in post for declaration of tow thinges, th'on that the quene had a third soone, of wich she was delivered, called le duc d'Angoulesme, of wich the king praied me to be godfather.<sup>2</sup> I answerid I was glad of the news, and that I thanked him for that I should be godfather, wich was a token of good wil he bare me. Also that I wold dispatch for th'accomplishment therof the lord Clinton, lord admiral of England.

He said he came also to tell me a second point of the good succes of his master's warres. He told how the last month in Campaigne, beside Sedam, 1000 hors imperiauls with divers Hongres, Martin Vanrossi being ther captain and leader, entred the countrey, and th'alarom came. The skirmish began so hot that the French hors, about tow or three hundred men of armes, came out and toke Vanrossy's brother, and slew divers. Also how in Piemont, since the taking of the last fowre townes three other ware taken, Montechio, Saluges, and the towne of Barges. The Turkis had come to Naples and spoiled the countrey, and taken Ostium, in the mouth of Tyberis. Also in Sicile he had taken a good haven and a towne.

6. Jarnac departed, having ben in the court under my logeing the night before. The bishops of Worcester<sup>3</sup> and Chichester<sup>4</sup> wer deposed for contemptes.

7. Ther was apointed to goe with the lord admiral mr. Nevil,<sup>5</sup> mr. Barnabie,<sup>6</sup> gentlemen of the chaumbre, sir William Stafford,

there was an attempt to pacify: and the King was doubtless requested to forget the occurrence, which led him to make the erasures.

<sup>1</sup> Guy Chabot, baron de Jarnac, governor of la Rochelle. Anselme, iv. 556.

<sup>2</sup> Of this intention King Edward had received intimation immediately after the child's birth: in sir John Mason's letter, quoted in p. 281.

<sup>3</sup> Nicholas Heath (see p. 345).

<sup>4</sup> George Day (see p. 345).

<sup>5</sup> "Nov. xiiij. A warraunt to the exchequer to pay unto sir Henry Neville in way of the King's majesties rewarde at his present going into Fraunce with the lorde admyrall the sume of i. C. poundes." (Council Book.) At the same time the sum of fifty marks was presented to Barnaby Fitzpatrick (see before, p. 91).

<sup>6</sup> Barnaby Fitzpatrick: see before, p. 64.

sir Adrian Poyninges, sir Jhon Norton, sir Jhon Teril, knyghtes, and mr. Broke.

8. Lettres directed to the capitaines of the gend'armerie, that they shuld muster the 8. of November, being the sonday after Alhoulen-day.

11. Harie marcus of Dorset created Duke of Suffolke,<sup>1</sup> Jhon erl

<sup>1</sup> "This daye the lord great chamberlen together w<sup>th</sup> the lord chamberlen, beinge sente from the Kinge to the lordes, declared on his majesties behalfe, that, for asmuch as the lord marques of Dorset hath lately opened to his highness the occasyones of his inhabilletie to serve in the place of generall warden of the marches towardes Scotlande, and therefore besought his majestie to call him from that place; his majestie, thinkinge the same lord marques' suite reasonable, and mindinge not to leave such a rowme of importance unfurnished of an able personage, hath resolved both to revoke the said marques from that offyce, and to appointe the erle of Warwicke in his steed, who for his greate experience, and namly in those partes, his highnes taketh to be moste meeteste for that rowme. And hath further determyned, as well to th'ende that the said earle of Warwicke may the rather be had in the estymacione he deserveth for his digneties sake, as for that also his majestie thinketh necessarye, the noble houses of this his realme being of late much decayed, to erect other in their stead by rewardinge such as have alreddie well served, and maye be therby the rather encowraged to contynewe the same, to call both his lordship and other noble personages to hier estates and digneties; and therfore hath appointed to advaunce firste the said earle of Warwicke to the degree of a duke; the lorde marques Dorsett, as well for his service sake as for that he is lyke by waye of maryage to have claime to the tytyle of Duke of Suffolke, his highnes is pleased to call to that degree; the lord treasurer now eark of Wiltesheir to the degree of a Marques; the master of the horse [sir William Herbert] to the degree of an Earle; which his majesties mynd and determenacion his highnes pleasure is shalbe gon through with all, and these personages to be created on Sondaye nexte; to the assistance whereof his majestie willeth that such of the lordes and nobles as shalbe thought needful, to be presente," &c. (Council Book.)

"The creacions of the duke of Suffolk, the duke of Northumbreland, the marques of Wynchester, and th'erle of Pembroke, on Sonday beinge the xj<sup>th</sup> of Octobre, at the King's Maties honnour of Hampton Court, A<sup>o</sup> D<sup>ni</sup> M<sup>i</sup>.D.lj. and A<sup>o</sup> v<sup>to</sup> E. vj<sup>th</sup>.

"Furst, servyce being done in the mornynge, all there robes of estate were brought to the Kinges closett, whether abowte ix. of the clocke the lordes hereafter namyd resourted, and put on theyre robes, and so proceeded thorowe the gallarye, which was strawed with grene russhes, and thorow the greate chambre, into the chambre of presence, where the Kinge stodde under his clothe of estate, with dyversse nobles of his realme.

"Furste proceeded the offyce at armes, in theyre cotes of armes; then Garter, bear-



of Warwike created Duke of Northumberland, Wiliam erle of Wiltshire created Marcus of Winchester, sir Wiliam Herbert created

yngre the pattent upright in his hande ; then sir George Broke, knyght of th'ordre, lorde Cobham, bearinge upright in his hande a verge of golde, in his robes, vidz. : furste, nexte his cote his kyrtle gyrde to hym, then his hode turned downe agayne about his necke, and the labell plucked owt over his mantell, then his mantell open on the right syde with his hande put forth at the same side, and over that his collar of the ordre of the garter. Then followed hym Henrye Manners erle of Rutland in his robes, bering the capp with crownall or coronett. And after hym sir John Russell erle of Bedford, and lorde pryvie sealle, in lyke manner bearinge the swerde, the pumell uppwarde, in the sheathe. Then sir Henrye Grey knyght of th'ordre, lorde marques Dorset, in his robes of estate, he ledde betweene sir Edward Seymer knyght of th'ordre and duke of Somersett on the ryght hand, and sir Will'm Parre knyght of th'ordre, lord marques of Northampton and greate chamberlayne of Englande, on his lefte hande. And so proceeded forwarde unto the(y) cam before the Kinges ma<sup>tie</sup> into the chambre of presence. And after iij. reverente obeysance done, the sayd lordes standinge, the sayd marques knealyng, Garter delyvered the lettres pattentes to the lorde chamberlayne, lord Darcie, who delyvered them to the Kinge, and he gave them to mr. secretarye Scycille to reade, who readde them openlye, and at the words of *gladii cincturam* the Kinge put the swerde abowte his necke in pale, bycause theyre was no mantles caried that day, but everye man hadde them afore upon theyre backes, which the(y) put on in the closett; and at *cape circuli possessionem* the Kinge put the coronall on his heade; and at *traditionem virge auree* the Kinge delyvered him the golden rodde in his right hande; and then the lettres pattents beinge fullye reade, the Kinge delyvered hit unto hym, which he helde in the right hande and the rodde in the lefte hande; and so after thanks geven he wente and stode on the Kinges right hande untill the reste were created. (With xlii fee yerelye duringe lyef.)

“ And then all the lordes and officers of armes returned backe agayne for th'other lordes to the closett, and then brought agayne afore the Kinge, in lyke manner, John Dudley erle of Warwick and greate master of the Kinges housse, and erle marshall of Englonde, who then in alle things as afore was created duke of Northumbreland (with xlii fee), and then after thanks geveng he stode on the Kinges other hande, and the duke of Somersett in lyke case staid there and stode by the Kinge.

“ Then all th'other lordes and other returned to the clossett for William Pawlett erle of Wiltshire and high threasorer of Englande, who was ledde by the marques of Northampton on his right hande and th'erle of Bedforde on his lefte hande, th'erle of Rutland beryng his coronet, and the lorde Cobham his swerde, and Garter hys pattent; and so proceded forthe in like manner as before, till they cam afore the Kinge; and so theyr pattents being reade owt and thanks geven, he stode on the Kinges other hande, and he

Erl of Penbroke and lord of Cardif. Mr. Sidney,<sup>1</sup> mr. Nevel,<sup>2</sup> mr. Cheke,<sup>3</sup> al three of the previe chaumber, made knightes. Also mr. Cicel, on(e) of the tow chief secretaries.

was created marques of Wynchestre (his swerde put bawdryckewyse). (With xl. markes yerelye.)

"Then all the lordes and other returned backe agayne for sir William Herbert, master of the Kinges horsse, who the nyght afore was made lorde Herberte and baron of Cardyffe, who was conducted in all thinges as afore, and in lyke case created erle of Pembroke; and after thankes geven (with xx<sup>li</sup> yerelye), Then all the seid lordes, after obeysance donne, returned in lyke manner as afore al together to the queenes greate chambre, the trumpettes soundinge before them, and there put of theyre robes, and so went to dynner; but the lords that were created sate in theyre syrcutes (onelye without mantle or coronett), the trumpettes goinge and blowinge before them, and they sate at dynner as followethe: fyrste on the benche sate the duke of Suffolke, nexte hym the duke of Northumbreland, then the marques of Wynchester, and laste th'erle of Pembroke. And then on th'other side a litle lower sate the duke of Somersett, the lorde pryvie sealle, the marques of Northampton, th'erle of Rutland, the lorde Cobham, the lorde Fitzwater, and the lorde Thomas Haward.

"Aftre the second course the heralds of armes proclamid the Kinges style, and aftre the styles of all the lordes that were newlie created.

"Betweene the creatinge of everye estate the trumpettes soundydd.

"Then these lordes beinge departed fro the Kinge, he made his secrettarye sir Will<sup>m</sup> Scycylle knyght; sir John Cheeke knyght, one of his gracis (secrettaries *erased*) scole-mastres; sir Henrye Sidney knyght, and sir Henrye Nevell knyght, too of the Kinges pryvie chambre." (Written by William Colborne, York herald, in the MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 6113, f. 129.)

<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry Sidney, son-in-law of the duke of Northumberland. "I have many times heard him say, and by occasion have seene the same written in his owne letters, that he was dubbed Knight (by that noble and virtuous prince King Edward) the self-same daie sir William Cecill (then principall secretarie, now lord treasurer of England) was; by meanes whereof, and that sir William Cecill was (yea, even in those days) esteemed a most rare man, both for sundry and singular giftes of nature, learning, wisdom, and integritie, and partlie by the friendlie good offices of that true paterne of humanitie and courtesie sir John Cheeke, then schoolmaster to the King (a choise deare friend to them both), that there began such an entiere of acquaintance, knowledge, love, mutual good will, and intire friendship betwixt them as continued alwaies stedfast, firme, and unvincible till his dieing daie." Eulogy of sir Henry Sidney, by Edward Molineux, in Holinshed's Chronicle.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Henry Neville.

<sup>3</sup> Sir John Cheke.

13. Proclamacion signed touching the calling in of testornes and grotes, that they that list might cum to the minte and have fine silver of twelve pence for tow testornes.

3. Prior de Capua<sup>1</sup> departed the French kinges service, and went to his ordre of knightes in Malta, partly for displeasur to the conte Villars, the conestable's brother in law, partly for that Malta was assayled often by the Turkis.

7. Sir Thomas Paulmer<sup>2</sup> came to th'erl of Warwike, since that time duke of Northumberland, to deliver him his cheine, being a very faire one, for every lince wayed ane ounce, to be delivered to Jarnac, and so to receive as much. Wherupon in my lord's gardein he declared a conspiracye. How, at St. George's day last, my lord of Somerset, (who then was going to the North, if the master of the hors, sir William Harbert, had not assured him on his honour that he shuld have no hurt,) went to rayse the peple, and the lord Grey before, to know who were his frendes. Afterward a devise was made to call th'erl of Warwike to a banket, with the marq(uess) of Northampton and divers other, and to cutte of there heades. Also if he found a bare company about them by the way, to set upon them.

11. He declared also that mr. Vane<sup>3</sup> had 2,000 men in readines. Sir Thomas Arrondel had ashuerid my lord, that the Towre was sauf. Mr. Partrige<sup>4</sup> shuld raise London, and take the great seale

<sup>1</sup> Leo Strozzi. "The prior of Capua is now thought to be parted in earnest from the French king's service, for that he hath written letters which do declare just causes of his going away; alleging this as one, that the constable of France hath sought many ways to have him killed." Sir Richard Morysine to the council, from Augsburg, Oct. 20, 1551, "There is one Lodovici depeched from hence to Maltha for the revocation of prior de Capua, but it is thought he wille not retourne hyther again." Sir W. Pickering to the council from Paris, 27th Oct.

<sup>2</sup> In the MS. Journal are here written above the line, in a contemporary hand, but not the King's, the words, "hating the duke [of Somerset], and hated of him." These words are scored through, but are perfectly legible.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Ralph Vane.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Miles Partridge.

with the printes (apprentices) of London. Seymour<sup>1</sup> and Hammon should wayt apou him, and al the hors of the gend'armory shuld be slayne.

15. Removing to Westmister, bicaus it was thought this matter might easlier and surelier be dispachid there, and likewise al other.

14. The duke sent for the secretary Cicel to tell him he suspected some ill. Mr. Cicel answerid that if he were not guilty he might be of good courage; if he were, he had nothing to say but to lament him. Wherupon the duke sent him a lettre of defiaunce, and called Paulmer, who after denial mad(e) of his declaracion was let goe.<sup>2</sup>

16. This morning non was at Westmister of the conspiratours. The first was the duke, who came, latter then he was wont, of himself. After diner he was apprehendid. Sir Thomas Paulmer on the tarrase walking there. Hammon,<sup>3</sup> passing by mr. vice-chamberlaines doore, was called in by Jhon Piers to make a match at shoting, and so taken. Nidegates<sup>4</sup> was called for as from my lord

<sup>1</sup> John Seymour. He was a kinsman of the duke of Somerset, but how nearly does not appear. He had been recently returned as a burgess to Parliament for the town of Reading in the place of William Grey deceased; on the 10th Jan. the sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire was ordered to return the indenture of his election to the mayor and burgesses, who were directed to proceed to a new choice. (Council Book.)

<sup>2</sup> This Judas afterwards suffered a merited fate together with the duke of Northumberland, after the accession of queen Mary. He had received a pardon for all treasons, &c. in Feb. 1551-2.

<sup>3</sup> Lawrence Hammond. But the King seems to have been misinformed about him, as the following passage from the Council Book shows that he was previously a prisoner in the Tower:—"Nov. xv. A lettre to sir Arthur Darcie, lieutenant of the Tower, to send hither Hamond to-morrowe in the morning by eight of the clock, and to cause hym to be brought as secretly as may be; and further to suffer suche as have byn heretofore appointed to th'examinacion of prisoners in the Tower to examine Newdigate."

<sup>4</sup> Francis Newdigate esquire, steward of the duke of Somerset's household, and who afterwards married the widowed duchess. See the memoir of Anne duchess of Somerset in the Gentleman's Magazine for April 1845, p. 374: in which memoir various documents are given relative to the duchess's imprisonment in the Tower at this time.



his master, and taken. Likewise wer Jhon Seymour and Davy Seimour. Arrondèl<sup>1</sup> also was taken, and the lord Grey,<sup>2</sup> comming out of the cuntry. Vanne<sup>3</sup> upon tow sendings of my lord in the morning fledd at the first sending; he said my lord<sup>4</sup> was not stout, and if he could get home, he cared for non of them all, he was so strong. But after he was found by Jhon Piers in a stable of his man's at Lambeth, under the straw. Thies went with the duke to the Toure this night, saving Paulmer, Arrondel, and Vane, who were kept in chambers here apart.

17. The duches, Crane<sup>5</sup> and his wife, with the chaumber keaper, were sent to the Towr for devising thies treasons; Jaymes Wingfeld also, for casting out of billes sediciouse. Also mr. Partrig<sup>6</sup> was attached, and sir Jaymes (Thomas) Holcroft.

18. Mr. Banister<sup>7</sup> and mr. Vaughan<sup>8</sup> were attached, and sent to the Towre, and so was mr. Stanhope.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Arundel.

<sup>2</sup> The lord Grey of Wilton was an experienced soldier whom the duke would have employed upon occasion, but probably there was not the least trace of Somerset having recently consulted him. On the 18th Feb. the council directed "a lettre to the lieutenant of the Tower to let the lady Grey lye with her husband, with such of her gentlewomen and servaunts as the lieutenaunt shall thinke mete, the place considered." Lord Grey was released and pardoned in June 1552, and in October "the duke of Northumberland, *for amendes*, caused the King to give him the captayneship over the towne and castell of Gwysnes." (Commentarie of the Life of William lord Grey of Wilton, printed for the Camden Society, p. 18.)

<sup>3</sup> Sir Ralph Vane.

<sup>4</sup> "My lord" is evidently Northumberland, and it may be conjectured that it was from "my lord's" own relation that the King accepted the materials of his story.

<sup>5</sup> John Crane and Barbara his wife. (MS. Harl. 249, fol. 40, b.)

<sup>6</sup> Sir Miles Partridge.

<sup>7</sup> John Bannister. On the 11th Feb. his sister mrs. Wingfield was allowed to have access to him in the Tower.

<sup>8</sup> George Vaughan.

<sup>9</sup> Sir Michael Stanhope, half-brother to the duchess of Somerset (see p. 58). The same day Richard Whalley esquire, who had been imprisoned in the spring (see p. 303) on suspicion of agitating Somerset's restoration to the protectorate, was also sent to the Tower. "Oct. xvij. Whalley this daie (was) committed to the Tower for being in confederacie with the duke of Somerset in the conspiracie intended against the King's majestie and the

19. Sir Thomas Paulmir confessed that the gendarmerie on the mustar day shuld be assaulted by 2000 footmen of mr. Vannis, and my lordes hundred hors, besides his frendes wich stood by and the idle peple wich toke his parte. If he were overthrowen, he wold rune through London,<sup>1</sup> and crie *Liberty, liberty*, to raise the pren-tises,<sup>2</sup> and if he could, he wold goe to th'isle of Wight, or to Poole.

22. The dowagier of Scoteland was by tempest driven to land at Portesmouth, and so she sent word she wold take the benefite of the save-counduit, to goe by land, and to see me.<sup>3</sup>

state of the realm. Myles the lorde Grey's man, Rowland Clarke, and Fisher, committed to the Marshalsey for the lyke cause."—"Oct. xxvj. A lettre to the erle of Shrewesbury to signifie hither what talke passed this last sommer betwixt mr. Whalley and hym, whereof he opened some parte unto the duke of Northumberland." (Council Book.) Mr. Tytler (Edward VI. and Mary, ii. 21) has printed a very remarkable letter of Whalley to Cecill, written on the 26th June, 1551, detailing his conversation in an interview with the earl of Warwick, during which the earl gave him at great length, and with much confidence, his opinion and advice upon his master the duke of Somerset's conduct. If not a traitor, like Palmer, Whalley seems at least to have been too fond of tattling. On this occasion he remained for some months in prison, and in the following year (as will appear hereafter) he was again in trouble and heavily mulcted. Mr. Tytler's remarks (pp. 24—26) on Whalley's letter are deserving of attentive perusal.

<sup>1</sup> The duke's popularity in London (where the Protestants were a numerous and zealous party) alarmed the council, and suggested strong measures of coercion and deception. "The xxij day of October were all the crafts commanded to go to their halls, and there it was showed them that the duke of Somerset would have taken the Tower, and have taken the broad seal, and destroyed the city, and then to go to the isle of Wight; and so every craft to ward at every gate in London, and to have a riding watch through the city." Diary of Henry Machyn (one of the Romanist party), p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Here Burnet reads, "to raise the apprentices and R; if he could," &c. The letter R does not occur in the original.

<sup>3</sup> "The xxij<sup>th</sup> of the last moneth the quene dowager of Scotland arryved at Portesmouth, being conducted thither by baron de la Garde, having tenne shippes of warr for the same purpose, of whose arryvall as sone as we had knowledge, order was given to sir Richard Wingfield, captain there, to understand hir grace's purpose ether of hir abode there or taking the seas ageyne, or further comming through the realme. And yet, because at the same instant it was most likely she wold come this waye by land, order

26. She came from Portesmouthe to mr. White's house.<sup>1</sup>

24. The lords sate in the starre-chambre, and their declared the matters and accusations layed against the duke, meaning to stay the mindes of the pepull.

25. Certain Germain princes,<sup>2</sup> in the beginning of this month, desired ayd in caus of relligion, of 400,000 dalers, if they shuld be driven to make shift by necessité, and offered the like also if I entred into any warre for them. Wherupon I callid the lordis, and considered, as apperith by a scrole in the board at Westmuster; and thcrupon apointed that the secretary Peter, and sir William Cicell, (and) another secretary (Wotton<sup>3</sup>), shuld talke with the messenger

also was given to sir Richard Cotton, mr. Paulett brother to me the marquis of Winchester, with the gentilmen of the cōuntry adjoyning, to repayre to the said quene, and to see hir grace and hir trayne furnished of all maner of necessities that did apperteine to the demonstration of the Kinges mat<sup>ies</sup> honour, and for the estate of the said quene. After whose direction she sent an expresse gentilman to the Kinges mat<sup>ie</sup> with lettres signefieng hir arryvall, who had answer with the Kinges mat<sup>ies</sup> frendly lettres to the said quene of gratulation for hir sauße arryvall, and declaration of the Kinges mat<sup>ies</sup> good will to accomplish in all poyntes hir mat<sup>ies</sup> salve conduct. This done, order was funder given that for hir comming hither she shuld be honorably accompanied and enterteigned, as in dede she was in such sorte as we think did well content her." Letter of the council to sir William Pickering, 5 Nov. 1551, in State-paper office, French Correspondence.

<sup>1</sup> Southwick priory, granted at the dissolution to John White esquire.

<sup>2</sup> These princes, whose names were as yet concealed from King Edward and his councillors, were the confederates of Maurice elector of Saxony, who, having hitherto fought with the emperor, was now forming a league against him. The same parties had already communicated privately with the king of France, who had eagerly met their advances. He sent Jean de Fressé, bishop of Bayonne, who concluded a treaty with them at Fredwald, in Hesse, in Oct. 1551, and it was ratified by the French king at Chambord on the 15th Jan. 1551-2. The German confederates were Maurice elector of Saxony, John margrave of Brandenburg, John Albert duke of Mecklenburg, and William landgrave of Hesse—which last, being the brother-in-law of duke Maurice, had been perfidiously detained in prison by the emperor from June 1547, up to this time. After due consideration, King Edward gave the answer, which he states hereafter, under the 14th November.

<sup>3</sup> The King has left a blank for this name. That Wotton was associated in the commission appears from a letter signed (only) "Legatus Principum Germaniæ, &c." and

to know the matter precisly, and the names of thos that wold entre the confederacy.

28. The dowagier came to sir Richard Cotton's house.<sup>1</sup>

29. She came from sir Richard Cotton's to th'erle of Arrondel('s) to diner, and (was) brought to mr. Browne's house,<sup>2</sup> wheare met her gentlemen of Sussex.

30. She came and was conveyed by the same gentlemen to Gilford, where the lord Wiliam Haward and the gentlemen of Surrey met her.

Al this month the Frenchmen continued spoiling of th'emperour's frountiers, and in a skirmish at Ast thei slew 100 Spaniardes.<sup>3</sup>

31. A lettre directed to sir Arthur Darcy to take the charge of the Towre, and to discharge sir Jhon Mercame (Markham), upon this, that, without making any of the counsel privey, he suffered the duke to walke abroad, and certain lettres to be sent and answerid, between Davy Seymour and mrs. Poings, with other divers suspicions.

17. There were lettres<sup>4</sup> sent to all emperours, kinges, embas-

addressed to all the three secretaries, preserved in the MS. Lansdowne 2, No. 56. It was written at London on the 31st Oct. and its purport is to urge his speedy dispatch.

<sup>1</sup> " Her journeye hitherward was thus. Furst from Portesmouth to Southwike, a house of one mr. White's, where hir grace remayned ij dayes; the next to Warblington, mr. Cotton's house, where she lodged; next daye to dynnar at the erle of Arundell's house called Stansted, and to hir lodging at Cowdraye sir Anthony Browne's house; the next daye to Guilford, to which severall places hir grace was conducted with the noblemen and gentilmen of the contries in grete nombre, and with costly fare and entertainment." Letter to sir W. Pickering, as before.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Anthony Browne's at Cowdray castle. In the following summer the King visited Cowdray and Warblington.

<sup>3</sup> " Monsieur l'ambassadeur (quoth he), as for news, we have no great store at this present, but that our men have given an overthrow to the Spaniards about Asta in Piedmont, and slain of them to the number of 200 at least." Report by sir William Pickering of an audience with the French king, in Tytler, Edward VI. and Mary, ii. 91.

<sup>4</sup> " It is to these letters, in which the council exaggerated the guilt of Somerset, that we must ascribe the inaccurate accounts of some foreign historians, De Thou, Sleidan, and



sadours, noblemen, and chief men in countreys, of the late conspiracy.

31. She came to Ampton court conveyed by the same lord and gentlemen aforesaid,<sup>1</sup> and tow mile and a haulfe from thence, in a valley, ther mete her the lord marcus of Northampton, accompanied with th'erl of Wiltshier soone and heir to the lord hie treasaurour marcus of Winchester, the lord Fizwater soone to th'erl of Sussex, the lord Yuers, the lord Bray, the lord Robart Dudley, the lord Garet, sir Nicolas Throckmerton, sir Edward Rogers, and divers other gentlemen, besides al the gentlemen pensionars, men of armes, and usshers, sewers and carvers, to the nombre of 120 gentlemen, and so she was brought to Ampton court. At the gate therof met her the lady marcus of Northampton, the countesse of Penbroke, and divers other ladies and gentlewomen to the nomber of threscore, and so she was brought to her lodging on the quene's side, wich was al hanged with arrase, and so was the hale, and al the other logings of mine in the house, very finely dressed. And for this night and the next day al was spent in dauncing and pastime, as though it were a court,<sup>2</sup> and great presence of gentlemen resorted thither.

26. Lettres were written for bicause of thies busines, to differ the mustars of the gendarmery, tile the (*blank*) day of December.

others." Tytler, ii. 6. The circular addressed to justices of the peace is printed by Tytler, p. 33, from the draft copy in the State-paper office.

<sup>1</sup> On the 25th a letter had been addressed by the council "to diveres noblemen and ladyes to attend upon the lord marques of Northampton and the ladie marques his wife, for the receavinge of the queene dowager of Scotlande at Hampton courte." They had also written "to the ladie Marye and the ladie Elizabeth signefyinge unto them the arrivall of the queene dowager of Scotlande at Portesmouth, and her cominge to the Kinges presence, and passage thorough the realme." (Council Book.)

"Octr. xxvij. A letter to mr. Cotton, mr. Wingfield, and other gentlemen appointed to attend upon the queene dowager of Scotland, to signify hether what they have done in the receavinge, and what tyme she intendeth to be here." (Council Book.)

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* such a court as usually assembled on the great feasts of the year.

## NOVEMBRE.

1. The dowagier perused the house of Ampton court,<sup>1</sup> and saw some coursing of dere.

2. She came to the bishop's palaice at London,<sup>2</sup> and there she lay, and al her traine lodged about her.

3. The duke of Southfolke, th'eryl of Warwicke, Wiltshier, and many other lordis and gentlemen, were sent to her to welcome her,<sup>3</sup> and to saye, on my behaulf, that if she lakid any thing she shuld have it, for her bettir furniture, and also I wold willingly see hir the day folowing.

<sup>1</sup> The house of Hampton court was then new as well as magnificent. Commenced by Wolsey some thirty years before, it had been completed about the time of King Edward's birth, as testified by his mother's arms in the approach to the chapel. Here Edward was born, and Hentzner, in 1598, was shown the bed in which queen Jane Seymour died. That traveller also especially mentions "several excessively rich tapestries, which are hung up when the queen gives audience to foreign ambassadors," probably the very "arras" which is mentioned on the present occasion.

<sup>2</sup> "She came to London by water accompanied with grete nombre of barges." (Letter to W. Pickering, as before.) On the queen's arrival at the palace of the bishop of London, "there were sent her many great gifts by the mayor and aldermen, as beeves, muttons, veales, swines, bread, wild fowl, wine, beer, spices and all things, and quails, sturgeon, wood and coals, and salmon by divers men." (Machyn's Diary, p. 11.) "At her departure out of Bishop's gate the queen received of the chamberlain of London a C. marks out of the chamber." (Ibid. p. 12.)

<sup>3</sup> The following list is from an original paper indorsed, "Dukes, Erles, Noblemen, and Ladies appointed to salute the Regent of Scotlande in her lodging at London.

"Lordes apoynted t'attend upon the duke of Suffolke to salute the Scottishe queene in her lodging: the duke of Suffolke, the erle of Warwick, the erle of Hontindon, the lorde Russell, the lorde Sturton, the lorde Willoughby, the lorde Wentworth.

"Ladies apoynted to salute the queene in her lodging: the ladie Margaret Dowglas, the ladie Fraunces duchesse of Suffolke, the duchesse of Northumbreland, the marquesse of Winchester, the ladie Jane, the ladie Mary Sidney, the countesse of Bedford, the ladie Russell, the ladie Riche and her doughter the ladie Dudley, justice Browne's wief, my ladie Newname, my ladie Cooke, my ladie Wentworth." (MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 4712.)

The 26. of October, Crane confessed the most part even as Paulmir did before, and more also; how that the place wher the nobles shuld have bene bankettid and there heddis striken of was the lord Pageit's house, and how th'erl of Arrondel knew of the mattier as wel as he, by Stanop,<sup>1</sup> who was a messinger betwene them. Also some part how he went to London to get friendes, once in August last, faining himself sike. Hammon also confessed the watch he kept in his chaumbre at night. Bren<sup>2</sup> also confessid much of this matter. The lord Straung<sup>3</sup> confessid how the duke willed him to sturre me to mary his third daughter the lady Jane,<sup>4</sup> and willed him to be his spie in al mattieres of my doynge and saynges, and to knowe when some of my counsel spake secretly with me. This he confessed of himself.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir Michael Stanhope.

<sup>2</sup> John Brend. He was in 1547-8 muster-master at Berwick, and was then employed as commissioner to treat with the earl of Argyle: see Tytler's History of Scotland, 1837, vi. 426.

<sup>3</sup> Henry lord Strange, afterwards fourth earl of Derby, was at this period a youth, and evidently an occasional companion of the King. On the 26th Oct. the council sent "a lettre to the earl of Derby to send hither the lorde Straunge his son, to gyve his attendaunce uppon the Kinges majestie,"—no doubt to examine him on the charge above stated. The lord Strange married in 1555 the King's cousin, the lady Margaret Clifford.

<sup>4</sup> The lady Jane Seymour was a child of ten years of age at this time, for she was only nineteen at her death in 1561; yet three years before, in June 1549, she had written a Latin epistle to the reformers Bucer and Fagius, which is printed in the Zurich Letters. (Of her French scholarship see before, p. 274.) She was afterwards maid of honour to queen Elizabeth; and was assistant to the clandestine marriage of her brother the earl of Hertford with the lady Katharine Grey, but died before its discovery. See notices of her death and funeral in Machyn's Diary, pp. 253, 254, 384; her monument remains in Westminster Abbey, and is represented in Dart's History of that edifice, vol. i. plate 12.

<sup>5</sup> The lord Strange was personally brought forward at the duke's trial, and there "avowed to his face, in the presence of judgment, that he the duke had divers times moved the said lord Straunge to practise with the King's majestie for the mariage of his daughter to the King: and indeed true it is the said lord Straunge had so done, and that

## NOVEMBRE.

4. The duke of Southfolke and lord Fizwater, the lord Bray, and divers other lordis and gentlemen, accompanied with his wife the ladie Fraunces,<sup>1</sup> the ladie Margaret,<sup>2</sup> the duchesses of Richmond and of Northumberland, the ladie Jane daughter to the duke of Southfolke, the marquessis of Northampton and Winchester, the countessis of Arrondel, Bedford, Huntingdon, and Rutland, with 100 other ladies and gentlewomen, went to her, and brought her through London to Westmyster.<sup>3</sup> At the gate their received her

since the last treaty for mariage with the French king, altho altogether in vain; and yet thereby the said duke both showed himself not only presumptuous, but also of little consideration of the King's maj<sup>ties</sup> honour, and good meaning towards the wealth of the realm." Letter of the marquess of Winchester to the lord admiral Clinton (referred to hereafter), in which the writer evidently aggravates this point in order that the lord admiral, then in France, might therein enlist the sentiments of the French against the unfortunate duke.

<sup>1</sup> The title of "the lady Frances," equivalent to the modern "princess," was given to this member of the blood royal in preference to her title of duchess of Suffolk.

<sup>2</sup> The lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of Margaret queen of Scots by Archibald earl of Angus, and wife of Matthew earl of Lennox.

<sup>3</sup> "*The ordre for the saluting and receving the Queene dowager of Skotland.*"

"The duke of Suffolke, the erle of Huntynghdon, the erle of Warwyck, with other lords and gentilmen, to salute hir on tewsdaye in the morning for the Kinges ma<sup>tie</sup>.

"The lady Margaret Dowglasse, the duchess of Suffolke, the duchess of Richmond, the duchess of Northumberland, the marquesse of Wynchester, the contesse of Bedford, the ladye Marye Dudley, the lady Riche, the lady Dudleye, the lady Cooke, justice Browne's wiffe, lady Yorke, lady Newnam, lady Constable, lady Mildmaye, to visitt hir the same day in the afternoone, and to attend the next morning upon hir at hir coming to the courte.

"The duke of Northumberland with the officers of the house and a company of lordes and gentilmen to receive hir at the gate.

"The Kinges ma<sup>tie</sup> in persone to mete and receive the quene in the hall, and to bring hir to hir chamber.

"The Kinges ma<sup>tie</sup> } to sitt at one table upon the quenes side, and to have severall  
The Queene } [*i. e.* distinct] servyses.

"Noblemen to conduct the quene to the courte from hir lodgeng,—the erle of Huntyngh-



the duke of Northumberland great master, and the treasurer and controller and th'erl of Penbroke, with al the sewers and carvers, and cupberears, to the nombre of thirty. In the hall I met her with al the rest of the lords of my counsell, as the lord treasourour, the marquis of Northampton, et<sup>ac</sup>, and from the utter gate up to the presence-chaumber, on both sides, stode the gard. The court, the hall, and the staires were full of servingmen, the presence-chambre, great chaumbre, and her presence-chaumbre of gentlemen; and so having brought her to her chaumbre, I retired to mine. I went to her to diner. She dined under the same cloth of estate, at my left hand. At her reward<sup>1</sup> dined my cousen Fraunces and my cousen Magret. At mine sate the French embassadour. We were served by tow services, tow sewers, cupberears, carvers and gentlemen. Her *maistre d'hostel* cam befor her service, and mine officers befor mine. There were tow cupboards, one of gold 4 stages heyght, another of massy silver 6 stages. In her great chaumbre dined at three bordes the ladies only. After diner, when she had hard soome musike, I brought her to the halle, and so she went away.

5. The duke of Northumberland, the lord treasourour, the lord marquis of Northampton, the lord prive seal, and divers other, went to see her, and to deliver a ring with a diamont and tow nagges,<sup>2</sup> as a token from me.

ton, th'erle of Rutland, th'erle of Wiltshyre, the lord Willoughbye, the lord William Haward, the lord Thomas Haward, the lord Fitzwater, the lord Sturton, the lord Evers, the lord Garrett, with knightes and gentilmen.

"Knightes, sir John Bridges, sir Edward Hastings, sir Jhon Harryngton, sir Anthony Hungerford.

*Indorsed*, "Ordre for the convaying and interteyning of the Scottish quene." (MS. Harl. 290, f. 6.)

<sup>1</sup> Halliwell explains this word, in connection with eating, as a dessert, and also as a course of roast meat: but its meaning here is evidently different. It probably signified the further end of the table.

<sup>2</sup> The MS. is obscure, and it is doubtful whether the King refers to the stones set in the ring, or to nags for the queen's riding, on her journey to Scotland.

6. The duke of Northumberland with his band of hundred, of wich 40 were in blacke velvet with wight and blacke sleeves, 60 in cloth; th'erl of Penbroke with his band and 50 more, th'erl of Wiltshier with 58 of his father's band, al the pensioners, men of armes, and the euyrey, with divers ladies, as my cousen Marget, the duchesses of Richmond and Northumberland, brought the quene to Shordech throw Chepeside and Cornehil, and there met her gentlemen of Midelsex 100 hors, and so she was conveyed out of the realme, met in every shere with gentlemen.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "For the conveying the Quene Northward.

Mr. Dudleye,

Mr. Shellye, to attend on the quene dowager from London to the borders.

(Blank.) To conducte hir out of London a myle of hir waye.

(The remainder of the document is in Cecill's handwriting.)

To [Waltham xij *erased*] Ware [12. *erased*] . 20

to Ro(y)ston at mr. Chester's . . . . . 13

to Huntynghton . . . . . 16

to Stamford (at the la. Suff. house in the Gr. frears) . 20

to Grantham . . . . . 16

to Newark . . . . . 10

to Tucksforthe . . . . . 10

to Dancaster . . . . . 18

to Ponfract . . . . . 12

<sup>b</sup> the Erle of  
Salopp hath the  
ordr.

. to the Erle of Shrewsbury.

to [Tadcaster L. Wharton's house . . . . . 18 *erased*]

Haselwoode at mr. Vavasour's house

the treyne at Wetherby . . . . . 14

to Yorke . . . . . 12

from thence to the lord president of the Northe—to Newcastell.

Maio<sup>r</sup> of Newcastell. From Newcastell to Morpethe . . 12

Shriff of Northubland. to Anwyke . . . . . 12

L. Ogle to f<sup>r</sup> Horton sir Thomas Grey's house, the trayne

Mr. Strelly abowght in the contrey.

So over at Norham into Scotland. (MS. Harl. 290, f. 7.)

"xxviij. Oct. Lettres to the sherifes of the shires and other gentlemen nere the partes wher the Scottish dowager shall passe, to prepare themselves to receave and con-

8. Th'erle of Arrondel committed to the Tower,<sup>1</sup> with sir (Thomas) Straodley<sup>2</sup> (Stradling) and S. Albon his men, bicaus Crane did more and more confess of him.<sup>3</sup>

ducte her thorough their limitts, as maye beste stand with the Kings ma<sup>tie</sup> honour and their owne estimacion, and to give order for the quiet behaviour of the Kinges ma<sup>tie</sup> subjectes towards the said dowager and her trayne, &c.

"Nov. j. A warraunt to sir William Petre knight, one of the Kinges majesties two principal secretaries, and treasurer of the first fruits and tenthes, to delyver unto mr. Edward Dudley and Richard Shelley, being sent presently with the dowager of Scotland into the Northe partes, the summe of Cxxxij. pounds, vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>.

"Nov. ij. A letter to the duches of Suffolke the dowagere, intreatyng her to lodge the queene dowager of Scotland at her howse at Stamforde. A letter to mr. Chester to lodge the queene dowager of Scotland at his howse [late the priory] at Royston. A letter to sir Ralfe Sadler to entertayne the queene dowager of Scotlande, and see her well accompanied and her trayne well used for their reasonable moneye at their passinge through Hertefordshire." "Nov. xvj. A letter to the lord Ogle, signefyinge unto him that the Kings ma<sup>tie</sup> hath written his letters aswell unto the governor and counsell of Scotlande as to the queene dowager there also, for redresse of injuries, willinge him at the said queenes passage by those borders at her goinge nowe into Scotlande, to open in like manner unto her by mouth the wante of justyce that hath happened thorough the defaulte of the Scottes mynesters, with also the heynous murder that was latelye comitted by the Scottes within the lord Connyeres charge." (Council Book.)

<sup>1</sup> "The viij. day of Novembre was cared to the Towre the good yerle of Arundel, and my lord Pagette." Machyn's Diary.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Stradling of St. Donat's, co Glamorgan, was a kinsman of the earl of Arundel, being the son and heir of sir Edward Stradling, who died in 1535, by Elizabeth, daughter of sir Thomas Arundel of Lanherne, the grandfather of sir Thomas Arundel, whose relationship to the earl has been stated in p. 247. Sir Thomas Stradling was sheriff of Glamorganshire 1548, knighted Feb. 17, 1549, M.P. for East Grinstead 1553, and for Arundel 1554. His sons Edward and David were together members for Arundel in 1557. Sir Thomas Stradling died in 1571. His sister Katharine was the wife of sir Thomas Palmer; but whether the sir Thomas of these pages or his nephew is not clear. See the Stradling Correspondence, edited by the Rev. J. M. Traherne, F.R.S. and S.A., 1840, 12mo. pp. ix. xxi.

<sup>3</sup> "Nov. xxij. A letter to (*blank*) to conferre together and devise such interrogatories as they shall thinke fyt for the erle of Arundell, the lorde Paget, and sir John Thynn, prisoners in the Tower, David Seymor, prysoner in hys house, and St. Albin in the Marshalsey, who have not yet byn examyned, and thereuppon to appoynt such tymes for their examynacion, as they may be with reasonable expedition examyned." (Council Book.)

7. A Frenchman was sent againe into Fraunce to be delivered againe to the Frenchmen at the borders, bicaus of a murder he did at Diep, and therupon he fled hither.

14. Aunswere was given to the Germaines,<sup>1</sup> wich did require 400,000 dalers, if nede so required, for maintenaunce of religion; first, that I was very well inclined to make peace, amity, or bargain with them I knew to be of mine religion (forbicause this messaunger was sent only to know my inclination and will to entre, and not with full resolution of any matters). Secondly, I wold know whither they could gette unto them any such strenght of other princes as were able to maintein the warre, and to doe the reciproke to me again, if nede should soe require. And therefore willed thos three princes, duke Maurice of Saxon, the duke of Mecelbrough, and the marquis Jhon of Brandenbourg, from wich he was sent, to open the matter to the duke of Prussia, and to al princes aboutght them, and somewhat to get the good will of Hamborough, Lubeke, Breme,

<sup>1</sup> The following is a copy of the answer as delivered to the ambassador:—

“Responsio R. Maj. ad Oratorem Ducis Mauritii Electoris, Joannis March. Brand. et Ducis Megalopolensis, missum ad R. Maj<sup>m</sup>. (*State-paper office, Germany, 19 Nov. Anno 5 Edwardi, 1551, in the handwriting of secretary Cecil.*)

“Regia Majestas optimè affecta est, quod causam hancce promovendi Evangelii libertatem susceptum est, quicquid bonâ cum ratione excogitari possit, ad tuendum liberam confessionem Evangelii, Romanique Pontificis tyrannidem propellendam, non solum e suis finibus, verum etiam à reliquâ Christianâ Republicâ.

“Verum quoniam Maj. sua intelligit, oratorem hunc legatum esse tantum à tribus Principibus, sciatque certò magnum esse numerum Principum in Germaniâ, qui antehâc protestationes ediderunt adversus cœcam illam et immanem tyrannidem R. Ecclesiæ, et adhuc, ut spes est, causam tam piam non deseruerunt, consultum esse duxit—ut priusquam fœdus aliquod ineatur, clarè, perspicuè, et certè intelligi possit qui reliqui Principes, sive Reges, sive Duces, sive Marchiones, sive Comites, sive Civitates et Respub. expectandi atque accessendi sint ad hanc communitatem, societatemque fœderis tam pii tamque magni momenti et ponderis, ut, quò causa sit gravior eò majore prudentiâ sit prosequendum; nam qui prudentiam serpentis simplicitati columbinæ miscuerit, is neque ex prudentia malignitatem, neque ex simplicitate stultitiam, sentiet. Multoque consilio salus inest, ut ait ille.”



et<sup>te</sup>, shewing them an inkling of the matter. Thirdly, I wold have the matter of religion made more plain, lest when warre shold be made for other querelles, they should say it were religion. Fourthly, he shuld come with more ample commission from the same states to talke of the summe of mony and other appurtenances. This aunswere was given lest if I assented (w)holly at the first, they wold declare mine entent to the stedes and hole senats, and so to cume abrode, wherby I shuld runne into daunger of breaking the leag with th'emperour.

16. The lord admiral toke his leave to goe into Fraunce, for christening of the French kinges soone.

18. Mr. Fossey,<sup>1</sup> secretarie to the duke Maurice, who was here for matter above specified (*unfinished*)

20. A proclamacion<sup>2</sup> apointed to goe furth, for that there went one before this time, that sett prices of beaf, oxen, and muttons, wich was ment to continew but to November, when as the parliement should have bene, to abrogate that, and to appointe certein commissionars to caus the grasiers to bring to the market, and to sell at prices reasonable. And that certein overseers shuld bee besides to certifie of the justices' doings.

23. The lord tresaurour apointed high stuard for th'arraignment of the duke of Somerset.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Apparently Jean de Fressé, really a Frenchman and emissary of the French king, as already stated in p. 357. "Nov. xix. A warraunt to the lorde treasurer to deliver unto Roger Elford the sume of five hundreth Frenche crownes, that is to say, four hundreth to be by hym delyvered to the messenger sent to the King's majestie from the princes of Germanie as of his highnesse rewarde, and i C. to Frances Alasco in lyke rewarde." (Council Book.)

<sup>2</sup> "Nov. xx. A lettre to the lorde chauncellor to cause the proclamacion sent hym, signed by the King's majestie, for the reformation of the former proclamacion, and for bringing victualls to the marketts, to passe the seale, be putt to print, and published with all possible diligence." (Council Book.)

<sup>3</sup> On the 16th, in preparation for the approaching trials, the council addressed "three lettres unto the sherriffs of Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent, to gyve ordre that good and

At this time duke Maurice began to shew himself frend to the Protestantes, who before that had apeired there enemy.

27. The foresaid proclamacion proclaimed.

17. Th'erl of Warwicke, mr. Harie Sidney, mr. Hary Nevel, and mr. Harie Gates did chaleng al commers at tilt the 3. of January, and at turnay the 6. of January, and this chaleng was proclaimed.<sup>1</sup>

28. Newes came that Maximilian<sup>2</sup> comming out of Spain, 9 of galees with his stuff, and 120 genettes and his threisor was taken by the French.<sup>3</sup>

substantiall full juries of knights and esquires of the best sorte within those counties may be returned agaynst Saturday next uppon suche precepts as shalbe directed unto them from the commissioners that shalbe appointed by the King's majestie for that purpose." (Council Book.) On the 21st an indictment against the duke was presented at Guildhall, and a true bill found by the jury of Middlesex, a copy of which, from Coke's Booke of Entries, is given in Howell's State Trials, i. 518. On the 22d the council sent a "lettre to the mayor of London to cause the watches within the citie to be doubled, and that twyse in the weeke, betweene this and Christmas, there be made thorowght the citie privie searche." (Council Book.) On the 24th a letter under the royal signet was addressed to the lord chancellor requiring him to cause sufficient commission of oyer and terminer to be made to the marquess of Winchester, lord treasurer, to be "our seneschall" on the duke of Somerset's trial, "in such sorte and manner as in the like causes of the last duke of Buckingham and the marquess of Excester, the commission to bear date the xxvijth; and other commission to the two chief justices and their associates for the trials of Michael Stanhope, Thomas Arundell, Rauff Fane, and Miles Partriche, knights, and John Newdigate and Jhon Semar." (Draft in State-paper office.)

<sup>1</sup> A warrant under the King's sign-manual, addressed to sir Thomas Carden master of the revels, and dated the 24th Nov., commands him "that of suche olde stuff remayning in your custodie within your office of the revells, ye deliver or cawse to be delivered to our right trustie and welbeloved the earle of Warwick, sir Henrie Sydney, sir Henrie Nevell, and sir Henry Gates knights, suche and so much of the said stuf, or as otherwyes shall be by them and you thought most meetest and suffioient for the furniture of their bases, and as shall appertaigne unto their horses accordingly." Loseley Manuscripts.

<sup>2</sup> Son of Ferdinand king of the Romans; he was now styled king of Bohemia, and afterwards became emperor in 1564. His queen was his cousin Mary, daughter of the emperor Charles V.

<sup>3</sup> "The French galleys at Marseilles, as it is said, have taken eight rich ships coming

24. The lord admiral entred Fraunce, and came to Bolleîn.

26. The capitan of Portesmouth had word and commaundement to bring the model of the castell and plate,<sup>1</sup> to th'intent it might be fortified, bicaus baron de la Garde hade seene it, having an ingenir with him, and, as it was thought, had the platte of it.

30. 22 pearis, az nobles, besides the councell,<sup>2</sup> hard sir Thomas

out of Spain towards Genoa, with the king and queen of Bohemia's treasure and stuff." (Sir Thomas Chamberlayne to the council, Nov. 16.) "The Frenche not longe agoo with xiiij. gallies entered into the haven of Villa Francha, and brought away with them xiiij. shippes, most Spaniardes, laden with muche treasour and rytchis of the king of Bohemia, and uppon the same shippes were 120 veray faire Spanishe horses."—(Sir W. Pickering to the council, Nov. 18.) Maximilian had been to Spain "to fetch home his wife," Mary, daughter of the emperor Charles V. (Letter of Roger Ascham, 12 Oct. 1551.)

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* its plot or plan. On the fortifications of Portsmouth see hereafter, when visited by the King in 1552.

<sup>2</sup> The documents relative to the duke of Somerset's final prosecution and trial are much fewer in number than those connected with his original disgrace enumerated in pp. 235—243. The narrative in Howell's "State Trials" is formed in great measure from the King's Journal before us. It includes a copy of one of the indictments,—that preferred in the county of Middlesex, preserved in Coke's Booke of Entries, fol. 1614, in the record of an action relating to the advowson of Corfe castle. Other extant documents are as follows:—

The substance of Crane's confessions, with comparative notes from those of some other prisoners. In the State-paper office, Domestic Edward VI., vol. xiii. art. 65; printed in Tytler, Edward VI. and Mary, ii. 38. Mr. Tytler has accidentally omitted the thirteenth paragraph: "And after the Duke told Crane that the erle of Arundelle wolde have the erle of Pembroke also in the apprehension, and declared causes why yt should so be."

Examination of the earl of Arundel in the Tower, by some of the privy council, and signed by Northumberland, Bedford, Northampton, Pembroke, and Hoby. In the State-paper office; printed in Tytler, ii. 43.

Another statement of the same examination, and having the same signatures, excepting Hoby. In the State-paper office; printed in Tytler, ii. 46.

Series of questions put to the duke of Somerset in the Tower, but not accompanied by his answers. Original in the Cottonian charters; printed by Sir Henry Ellis, Original Letters, Second Series, ii. 214, and by Tytler, ii. 48.

List of Prisoners for the conspiracy of the duke of Somerset and his adherents. In MS. Harl. 249, fol. 42; printed by Tytler, ii. 37.

Letter of the lord treasurer Winchester (who had acted as lord steward), describing

Paulmer, mr. Hammond, mr. Crane, and Neudigat sweare that their confessions was true, and thei did say that that was saied without any kind of compulsion, force, envy, or displeasure, but as favorably to the duke as they could sweare to with sauf consciense.

24. The lord admirall came to Paris.

DECEMBER, A° D'NI 1551°, 5° A° R<sup>i</sup> R<sup>s</sup> E. 6<sup>i</sup>. 5<sup>a</sup> CHARTA.

1. The duke of Somerset cam to his triall<sup>1</sup> at Westmyster halle.

the trial, written on the next day to the lord admiral Clinton then in France: printed in Tytler, ii. 63.

Mr. Tytler has devoted his best attention (pp. 51—75) to the question how far Somerset was actually guilty of those designs which were laid to his charge; and he differs from the historians Sharon Turner and Lingard, who were inclined to admit their reality. The evidence went no further than to prove that the duke had consulted with the earl of Arundel to arrest the earl of Warwick and some other lords, and to subject them to the like treatment which Arundel himself had already undergone. The King was induced to believe many exaggerated and false particulars.

Letters under the signet, dated 8 March, 5 Edw. VI. to "sir John Gate vice-chamberlain and sir Walter Mildmay one of the generall surveiors of the court of augmentations and revenues of the crown to take charge of the plate, juelles, apparrell, stuffes and other goods of the duke of Somerset remaining in his house of Sion at the time of his apprehension," are printed in Aungier's History of Syon House and Isleworth, 1840, 8vo. p. 93, from the records of the Duchy of Lancaster.

In MS. Harl. 606, is a survey of the duke of Somerset's lands.

In MS. Harl. 660, pp. 209—215, are inventories of plate belonging to sir Thomas Arundel and the duke of Somerset when attainted in 1550.

<sup>1</sup> As the duke of Somerset's trial approached, Northumberland was under some apprehension for the peace of the metropolis, and the day before a letter was sent to the lord mayor "to cause the citie to be well looked to and garded all day tomorrow and the next night." Also "a lettre to mr. Hobby, the lyeutenant of the Tower (sir Arthur Darcy), and the knight marshall (sir Ralph Hopton), signifying to them the ordre taken for the duke of Somerset's conduction to Westminster tomorrow in the morning." "The 30. and last of November, by commandement from the King's counsell, order was taken in London that every housholder should see to his family, and keepe his house, having in a readinesse that day a man in harnesse in every house, but not to goe abroad till they should bee called, if need were: and further that on the night following there should be kept a good and substantiall watch of housholders in every ward, which was done." Stowe's Chronicle.



The lord treasaurour sat as high stuard of England,<sup>1</sup> under the cloth of estate, on a benche betwene tow postes, 3 degrees high: al the lordes, to the nombre of 26,<sup>2</sup> videlicet:—

|                 |             |            |            |
|-----------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| DUKES.          | Huntington. | BARONS.    | Stafford.  |
| Southfolke.     | Rutland.    | Bargeiney. | Wentworth. |
| Northumberland. | Bath.       | Audley.    | Darcy.     |
| MARQUESE.       | Sussex.     | Wharton.   | Sturton.   |
| Northampton.    | Worcetour.  | Euers.     | Windsore.  |
|                 | Penbroke.   | Latimer.   | Crumwell.  |
| ERLIS.          |             | Bourough.  | Cobham.    |
| Derby.          | VISCOUNT.   | Souch.     | Bray.      |
| Bedford.        | Hereford.   |            |            |

<sup>1</sup> Lord Campbell remarks, in his *Lives of the Chancellors*: “For some reason, not explained to us, it was thought more convenient to bring Somerset to trial before his peers and a lord high steward than, according to the practice introduced by lord Cromwell and followed against himself, to call a parliament and proceed by bill of attainder, without hearing the accused in his defence. Perhaps alarm was taken at the sentiments of humanity and justice expressed by a very small minority of the Commons in the case of lord Seymour.” That Northumberland distrusted the parliament, which after the next session he dissolved, may be gathered from the following passage: “Oct. xxviiij. A lettre to the lorde chauncellor to cause searche to be made how manye of the parliament howse be dead syns the last sessions, to th'intent that grave and wyse men be elected to supply theyr places, for th'avoyding of the disordre that hath byn noted in sundrie young men, and others of small judgment; and to haste forthe the proclamacion for the coyne, for the satisfaccion of the people.” (Council Book.) Instances also occur in the same record of the council nominating members, even for counties, as sir Ralph Sadleir for Hertfordshire (Jan. 19, 1551-2), and sir Thomas Saunders for Surrey on the 1st Feb.

<sup>2</sup> The King mentions the number of twenty-six peers as present at the trial, both here and in his letter to Barnaby Fitzpatrick (p. 71), and so does the letter of the marquess of Winchester referred to in p. 369; but the names given by the King amount to twenty-seven. In the MS. Harl. 249 at fol. 44 is a list of thirty-three peers made with a view to this occasion: in which many of the names are pricked, and some marked with the letters A. B. C.; but it does not afford any certain information as to those present. It does not contain the name of lord chancellor Rich: but in the margin are these, in addition to the peers: “. The ch. Justice, . The ch. Justice of the co'en, . Thé tresoro<sup>r</sup> of the housh., . The cōtroll<sup>r</sup>” (all pricked).

This (these) sate a degree under, and hard the matter debated. First, after the inditements rede, 5 in number,<sup>1</sup> the lerned counceill laid to my lord of Somerset Paulmer's confession. To wich he answerid that he never minded to rayse the North, and declared al ill he could devise of Paulmer; but he was aferd for brutes (bruits), and that moved him to send to sir William Harbert. Replied it was again that the wors Paulmer was the more he servid his purpose. For the banket, first he sware it was untrue, and required more witnessis; when Cran(e)'s confession<sup>2</sup> was rede, he wold have had him cume face to face.<sup>3</sup> For London, he ment nothing for hurte of any lord, but for his owne defence. For the gend'armery it were but a made (mad) matter for him to enterprise, with his 100 against 900. For having men in his chaumbre at Grenwich, confessid by Partrege, it seemid he ment no harme, bicause when he could have

<sup>1</sup> "The record mentions only three, whether indictments or articles is not so clear: (1.) That he had designed to have seized the King's person, and to have governed all affairs; (2.) that he, with one hundred others, intended to have imprisoned the earl of Warwick, afterwards duke of Northumberland; and (3.) that he had designed to have raised an insurrection in the city of London. Now, by the act that passed in the last parliament, if twelve persons should have assembled together to have killed any privy counsellor, and upon proclamation they had not dispersed themselves, it was treason; or if such twelve had been by any malicious artifice brought together for any riot, and, being warned, did not disperse themselves, it was felony without benefit of clergy or sanctuary." Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, ii. 179. The indictment copied in the *State Trials* from Coke's *Booke of Entries* contains only the second of the above charges.

<sup>2</sup> See before, p. 361.

<sup>3</sup> "One attainder [that of lord Seymour of Sudeley] passed in Edward VI.th's reign, when, though the party was not heard, the witnesses were heard; but when the duke of Somerset came to be tried both for treason and felony, he had not the benefit of the accusers being brought face to face, but was proceeded against by depositions read in the court. He was acquitted of the treason, but cast for felony; and that occasioned the act which the commons grafted upon a bill sent down by the lords in the subsequent sessions, viz. 5 and 6 Edw. VI." (*State Tracts*, ii. 554.) By which act no person shall be indicted, arraigned, &c. unless the offender be accused by two lawful accusers; which accusers, at the time of the arraignment, shall be brought in person before the party so accused, &c. 1 Rastal, 102.

done harme, he did it not. My lord Straunges confession<sup>1</sup> he sware it was untrue, and the lord Straung toke his othe it was true. Nidegat's, Hammon's, and Alexander Seymour's confessions he denied, bicause they were his men.

The lawers rehersed how to raise men at his house for an ille entent, az to kill the duke of Northumberland, was treason by an Act 3<sup>o</sup> anno of my raigne against unlauffull assemblis; for to devise the death of the lordis was felony; to mind resisting his attachment<sup>2</sup> was felony; to raise London was treason; and to assault the lordis was felony. He answerid<sup>3</sup> he did not entend to raise London, and that sware the witness (who) were not their. His assembling of men was but for his owne defence. He did not determin to kill the duke of Northumberland, the marquis, et<sup>ac</sup>c, but spake of it and determined after the contrary; and yet seamid to confess he went about there death.<sup>4</sup> The lordis went together. The duke of Northumberland wold not agree that any searching of his death shuld bee treason.<sup>5</sup> So the lordis acquitted him of high treason, and condemned him of treason felonious, and so he was adjudged to be hangid. He gave thankis to the lordis for there open trial, and

<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 361.

<sup>2</sup> *i. e.* to intend resistance by force of arms to his arrest.

<sup>3</sup> "The duke of Somerset, being, it seems, little acquainted with law, did not desire council to plead, or assist him in point of law, but only answered to matters of fact. . . . Whether he made any defence in law, or not, does not appear: for the material defence is not mentioned in all the accounts I have seen of it; which was that these conspiracies and gatherings of the King's subjects were only treasonable and felonious after they had been required to disperse themselves, and had refused to give obedience. And in all this matter that is never so much as alleged, no, not in the indictment itself, to have been done. It is plain it was not done." Burnet, *Hist. of the Reformation*, ii. 180.

<sup>4</sup> This is a gratuitous addition insinuated by the party employed to work on the King's feelings: see the note<sup>1</sup> in p. 375.

<sup>5</sup> In mock humility, he would not have the crime dignified by the name of Treason. His purpose was fully answered if the conviction of Felony was equally fatal to his enemy: and it was upon this personal quarrel entirely that Somerset was actually convicted.

cried mercy of the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and th'erle of Penbroke for his ill meaning against them, and made suet for his (life *inserted above the line*), wife and children, servauntes and dettes, and so departed without the ax of the Toure. The peple, knowing not the matter, shouted hauf a douzen times, so loud that frome the halle dore it was hard at Chairing crosse plainly, and rumours went that he was quitte of all.<sup>1</sup>

2. The peax<sup>2</sup> concluded by the lord marcus was ratified by me before th'ambassadour, and delivered to him signed and sealed.

3. The duke told certain lordes that were in the Towre that he

<sup>1</sup> The people's joy when they supposed the duke was acquitted is mentioned by others. Stowe says the shouting was heard to a still greater distance: "The people in the hall supposed he had beene clearely quit when they saw the axe of the Tower put downe, and made such a shriek, casting up of caps, &c. that their cry was heard to the Long Acre beyond Charing-crosse; which made the lords astonied." Machyn also says that "they threw a C. caps on high for gladness," and many lost their caps in consequence. Too hasty tidings of the supposed good news went as far as Bath, where two days after the bells were set ringing by a zealous friend of the duke; conduct which was made, after some weeks had elapsed, a subject of complaint to the privy council: "Jan. xxiiij. Thomas Long of Bathe baker deposed before the lordes of the counsell, that Mathewe Colthurst made bonfyres in the citie of Bathe the iij. of December last in the rejoycing of the duke of Somerset's acquittall, and caused the bells to be rung tyll x. of the clock, and specially in Saint James parish, and gave money to the ringers, some churche xij d. some ij s. and had owte brede, drinke, and other thing's to make chere at the bonfyers; and the next day after his man went about the citie and gave ij d. dole to poore people, where he never gave j d. in hys life before. Further, Thomas Holland of Bathe that cam from London fortnight before Christmas, in the presence of mr. Cotton's wyef, and in the howse of the sayd Thomas Holland, shewed this deponent a shilling, and woold have perswaded hym it had a *ragged staff* in it, which this deponent could not perceyve to be other than a lyon, and so aunswered hym; whereunto the sayd Holland replied, 'Tushe, tushe, hold thy peace, foole! thou shalt se another world er Candlemas; the duke of Somerset shall come forth from the Tower, and the duke of Northumberland shall goo in.'" (Council Book.) Some other notices of the popular fancy of there being "a ragged staff" on the coin of the realm will be found in the Biographical Memoir.

<sup>2</sup> Rather the treaty of marriage.



had hired Barteville to kill them,<sup>1</sup> wich thing Bartivill examined on confessid, and so did Hammon, that he knew of itt.

7. I saw the musters<sup>2</sup> of the new band (of) men of armes, 100 of my lord treasaurour's, 100 of Northumberland, 100 Northampton, 50 Huntington, 50 Rutland, 120 of Penbroke, 50 Darcy, 50 Cobham, 100 sir Thomas Cheiney, and 180 of the pensioners and their bandes, with the old men of armis, al well armed men, some with fethers, staves, and pensils of their colours, some with sleves and hauf cotes, some with bardes<sup>3</sup> and staves, et<sup>c</sup>. The horses al feire and greate,

<sup>1</sup> So in his letter to Barnaby Fitzpatrick (p. 71) the King writes: "After, he asked pardon-of the duke of Northumberland, the marquis, &c. whom he confessid he ment to destroy, although before he sware vehemently to the contrary. The next day after, he confessid how he had promised Bartiville to deliver him out of prison if he wold kill the duke of Northumberland." Somerset's enemies had wholly failed to prove this charge on the trial; but they lost no time in renewing the impression of its reality on the King's mind. There must have been some very wicked person in the King's confidence, employed to distil these poisonous insinuations into his too credulous ear, in order to alienate his affections altogether from his unfortunate uncle, and make him assent more readily to that sacrifice of the kindlier feelings of his nature with which the reigning faction had now resolved to satiate their political vengeance. Bertiville was a French mercenary in the English pay, already noticed in p. 218 in regard to his services in Scotland. On what occasion he was suffering the imprisonment from which Somerset is said to have offered to release him, is not stated. Very probably it was for debt. But there are records of the wages he received from Northumberland for his evil testimony. "Feb. xxiiij. Warraunt to the receyvour of the Dutchie for xxli. to Gibbs and Streete of the garde for xij. weekes bourde of Berteville and Ribaulde. To the wardein of the Fleete to receyve Berteville, and to intreate hym curtesly." "Feb. xxvij. To the knight marshall to receyve Barteville, and to bestow him in an honest howse, where he may be well intreated, and his charges shalbe allowed." (Council Book.) His companion was Jean Ribaud, another French captain of the mercenaries (see before, p. 217)

<sup>2</sup> Other descriptions of these musters will be found in Stowe's Chronicle, and in Machyn's Diary, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> The horses were dressed with "bards," which were the clothing for their fore-parts, whilst those for their haunches were called "bases." These "houssings," as they were also termed, afforded a wide field for heraldic and pictorial display. See a long list of bards and bases, adorned with the royal cognisances, in Kempe's Loseley Manuscripts, p. 66.

the least wold not have bene given for less than 20 li. Ther was none under 14 handfull, and (14 and) a-hauf the most part, and almost all horses. With their guidon going before them, the(y) passed twis aboute saint Jaymis fild, and compassed it round, and so departed.

15. Their were certein devises for lawes delivered to my lerned counsaill to penne,<sup>1</sup> as by a scedule apperith.

18. It was apointed I shuld have 6 chapelins ordinary, of wich tow ever to be present, and foure alwayes absent in preaching;<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This was with a view to the approaching session of parliament.

<sup>2</sup> The progress of the doctrines of the Reformation was greatly retarded by the insufficient supply of such preachers as could be trusted; and it was deemed advisable to prohibit preaching except by persons duly licensed. "The pulpits (remarks Burnet) generally contending with one another, to restrain that clashing, the power of granting licenses to preach was taken from the bishops of each diocese, so that none might give them but the King and the archbishop of Canterbury." See in Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. ii. Records No. 24, and in *Cranmer's Works*, (Parker Soc.) ii. 512, a letter from the council to all licensed preachers, dated May 12, 1548. On the 23d September in the same year was issued a proclamation forbidding all preaching for a time, which is printed *ibid.* p. 512, in Wilkins's *Concilia*, iv. 30, and in Fuller's *Church History*. Licenses to preach were granted to some laymen, as to Richard Taverner, a clerk of the signet, who preached before King Edward wearing a damask gown, a velvet bonnet, and gold chain: another was William Holcot of Buckland in Berkshire esquire, high sheriff in 1569 (Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.* by Bliss, i. 420.) An interesting chapter on the itinerant preachers of the 16th century will be found in "Sketches of the Reformation and Elizabethan Age, taken from the Contemporary Pulpit. By the Rev. John Oliver Wilyams Haweis, M.A. 1844." 12mo. No official document appointing the royal chaplains or preachers, mentioned in the text, has been published, and all our ecclesiastical historians repeat the list as given by the King, or rather as printed in Burnet's edition of the *Journal*, thus—"Bill, Harley, Perne, Grindall, Bradford, . . . . (the last name dashed)," which is not exactly a true description of the state of the MS.; for two names are "dashed" or blotted, the third, and the sixth, which is Bradford. Strype has also misled other writers in stating (*Eccles. Memorials*, ii. 297) that the number of six was reduced to four, by the omission of Bradford and Knox: but there is a passage in the *Council Book* which shows that such was not the case; it also shows who the six appointed were, and further that it became their duty to superintend the admission of other preachers. It is as follows: "21st Oct. 1552. A lettre to mr. Harley, mr. Bill, mr. Horne, mr. Grindall, mr. Perne, and mr. Knox, to consyder certaine articles exhibited to the King's ma<sup>tie</sup> to be subscribed by all suche as shalbe admitted to be preachers or ministers in any partie of

one yeare 2 in Wales, tow in Lancashier and Derby; next yeare 2 in the marches of Scotland, 2 in Yorkshier; (the) 3. yere 2 in Devonshier, 2 in Hamshere; (the) 4. yere 2 in Norfolk, Soutfolk, and Essex, and tow in Kent, Sussex, et<sup>ca</sup>. Theis six to be Bil,<sup>1</sup> Harle(y),<sup>2</sup> Estcourt,<sup>3</sup> Perne,<sup>4</sup> Grindal,<sup>5</sup> Bradford.<sup>6</sup>

the realme, and to make report of theyr opinyons touching the same." Strype has noticed this passage in his *Life of Cranmer*, p. 273, giving his opinion that the "articles" mentioned were identical with the Articles of Religion: it is more probable, however, that they were some special articles for the regulation of the preachers in the execution of their duty. It is surprising that no historian has perceived that the passage supplies the names deficient in the King's list, the only one hitherto cited. It appears, however, that the four at first appointed were, Edmund Grindall, B.D., William Byll, D.D., John Harley, B.D., and Andrew Perne, D.D.: since to each of these four (only) as "chapleyne to the Kyng's matie in ordinarie," an annuity of xl li. during pleasure was granted by letters patent which passed the seal on the 13th March, 1551-2. (MS. Cotton. Julius, B. ix. f. 27.) The King's chaplains who were provided with mourning cloth to attend his funeral were Latymer, Byll, Perne, Buttell, and Rudde. (*Archæologia*, xii. 379.)

<sup>1</sup> William Bill, successively master of St. John's and Trinity college at Cambridge, provost of Eton, dean of Westminster, and almoner to queen Elizabeth.

<sup>2</sup> John Harley, afterwards bishop of Hereford: "of whom Dr. Humphreys (sometime his scholar, afterward his intimate friend) relateth that, under the reign of queen Mary, he instructed his flock in woods and secret places as a faithful and holy shepherd, preaching to them, and administering the sacraments, and for this purpose lurking up and down in England, at last died like an exile in his own country." *Errors in Burnet's History of the Reformation*, by Anthony Harmer (Henry Wharton), 1698, 8vo. p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> This name is blotted through in the King's MS. but it was apparently Estcourt. We do not meet with any eminent man of that name. However, the person appointed (before Oct. 1552) was Robert Horne, afterwards dean of Durham, and bishop of Winchester.

<sup>4</sup> Andrew Perne, afterwards dean of Ely.

<sup>5</sup> Edmund Grindal, afterwards bishop of London, and archbishop successively of York and of Canterbury.

<sup>6</sup> John Bradford the martyr. He is related to have exercised the office of an itinerant preacher with great success in Lancashire and Cheshire, as well as in Essex; and he was destined for a bishopric in the North, had the proposed division of the see of Durham been effected. His name, as well as the third, is blotted out in the King's MS.: consequently it is uncertain whether he ever received appointment to be one of the royal chaplains; and it is clear from the passage quoted in a former note that in October 1552 his place was filled by the famous Scot, John Knox, though I do not find that Mr. Tytler

20. The bishop (of) Duraslme<sup>1</sup> was for concealment of treason written to hime, and not disclosed at all til the party did open him, committed to the Towre.

21. Richard lord Rich, chauncellour of England, considering his sikenes,<sup>2</sup> did deliver his seal to the lord treasaurour, the lord great

is justified in his date (Edward the VI. and Mary, ii. 141), where he states of Knox, "in the month of Dec. 1551, he was made one of King Edward's chaplains." In Oct. 1552, Knox was pursuing his missionary labours in the North of England; for on the 27th of that month there was "a warraunt to the four gentlemen of the privie chambre to pay to mr. Knookes, preacher in the North, in way of the Kinges maties rewarde, the summe of xlii." In a letter written after the accession of Mary to the English throne Knox thus alludes to his English pension: "Ather the Queenes majestie, or sum thesaurer, will be 40 pounds rycher by me, sae meikle lack I of the dutie of my patentis; but that littil trubillis me." (Life of John Knox, by Thomas M'Crie, D.D. 1818, vol. i. p. 87.)

<sup>1</sup> "Dec. xx. Whereas the busshopp of Duresme, about July in anno 1550, was charged by Ninian Menvile [of Sledwich in the bishopric] to have consented and byn agreable to a conspiracie in the North for the makeing of a rebellion, as by the same accusation in writing, the busshopp's aunswere thereto, and Menvile's replication to the same, may at better length appeare, for as much as for want of a lettre wrytten by the sayd bysshopp to Menvile, whereupon depended a greate tryall of this matter, the determynacion thereof was hitherto stayed, and the bysshopp comaunded to keepe his house untill he should be called to further aunswere; which lettre being lately come to light, found in a casket of the duke of Somerset's after his last apprehension, the sayd bysshopp was now sent for, and this day made his appearance before the lords, by whom being eftsoons charged with this matter and by hys owne lettre produced agaynst hym, whiche he could not denye but to be of his owne hand, and unable to make any further aunswere thereto than he had done before by wryting, he was, for that the same seemed not a sufficient aunswere, committed by the King's majesties commaundement to warde to the Tower of London, to abyde there suche ordre as his doings, by the course of the lawe, shall appeare to have deserved; and the whole processe of th'accusation, aunsweres, and replication to be altogether packed upp in one bondle, by the whiche the lengthe of the matter shall and may more largely and fully appeare. The same day sir John Mason and mr. Armigell Wade were comaunded to repayre to the sayd bysshopp of Duresme's lodging in London, and to take an inventory of all hys goods there." (Council Book.) The King mentions bishop Tunstall's deprivation hereafter, in Oct. 1552.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Campbell, in his Lives of the Chancellors, has remarked that "Regularly, Rich, as lord chancellor, ought to have been created lord high steward to preside at the trial of



master, and the lord chamberlaine, sent to him for that purpose, during the time of his siknes, and chefully of the parlement.

the duke of Somerset; but he was not free from suspicion of being himself implicated in the conspiracy, and there was no knowing what disclosures might take place. He therefore feigned sickness; to give greater colour to the pretence, he issued a commission authorising the master of the rolls and others to hear causes for him in chancery [this commission however had been issued, it may be presumed from *real* sickness, a year before—in October 1550: Rymer, xv. 246]; he obtained Northumberland's consent that another lord high steward should be appointed; and he caused it to be privately intimated to Somerset that he absented himself from the trial out of tenderness to his ancient friend. . . . Rich saw that, whichever side prevailed, he himself, if he remained in office, must be exposed to the greatest peril, for, by his trimming policy, he had made himself odious to both. He shut himself up in his town-mansion, in Great St. Bartholomew's, and wrote to Northumberland that he was struck with a mortal disorder: that he was unable even to stir abroad to deliver up the great seal in person to the King, and praying that messengers might be sent to him to receive it, so that he might now devote all his thoughts to preparations for a better world. Accordingly on the 21st Dec. the duke of Northumberland himself, the marquess of Winchester, and others, authorised by letters of privy seal signed by the King, came to lord Rich's house between eight and nine in the morning, and received from him the great seal, which they forthwith carried and delivered to the King at Westminster."

"R. Rich, lord chancellor, then living in Great S. Bartholomew's, though outwardly concurring with the rest, began now secretly to favour the duke of Somerset, and sent him a letter, therein acquainting him with all passages at the councill-board, superscribing the same (either out of haste or familiarity) with no other direction save *To the duke*; enjoying his servant, a raw attendant, as newly entred into the family, safely to deliver it. The man made more haste than good speed; and his lord, wondring at his quick return, demanded of him where the duke was when he deliver'd him the letter? *In the Charter-house* (said his servant), *on the same token that he read it at the window, and smiled thereat*. But the lord Rich smiled not at his relation, as sadly sensible of the mistake, and delivery of the letter to the duke of Norfolk [Northumberland], no great friend of his, and an utter enemy to the duke of Somerset." This anecdote is related by Fuller in his Church History, as "attested to me by his great-grandchild the earl of Warwick." It concludes with relating that lord Rich hastened to the court the next morning, and "having gotten admittance into the bed-chamber before the King was risen up, fell down upon his knees, and desired that his old age might be eased of his burthensome office; pleading that there ought to be some preparatory interval in statesmen betwixt their temporall businesse and their death, in order to which he desired

5. The lord admirall came to the French king, and after was sent to the quene, and so conveyed to his chaumbre.

6. The lord admirall christenid the French kinges child, and called him by the kinges commaundement Edward Alexander. Al that day there was musike, dauncing, and plaiing, with trioumph in the court. But the lord admirall was sike of a duble quartaine. Yet he presentid Barnabe to the French king, who toke him to his chaumber.<sup>1</sup>

7. The treaty was delivered to the lord admirall ; and the French

to retire into Essex, there to attend his own devotions. Nor would he rise from the ground till the King had granted his request. And thus he saved himself from being stript by others by first putting off his own clothes, who otherwise had lost his cancellour's place for revealing the secrets of the counsell-board." (Fuller's Church History, 1665, i. 408.) This sequel to the story, so far as the personal visit to the King, must be pronounced inaccurate, and so is the mention of the name of the duke of Norfolk, then a prisoner in the Tower. The story is repeated by Lloyd, *State Worthies*, 1655, p. 206 (being at once appropriated from Fuller), and by Heylin, *History of the Reformation*, 1661, p. 119. Burnet (*History of the Reformation*, ii. 182) has retailed it, without naming his authority, but stating that the letter was sent to *the Tower*, the servant being previously cognisant of the familiarities that had passed between his master and the duke of Norfolk. These additions entirely spoil a story which is otherwise not improbable. The duke of Norfolk being in the Tower, nearly forgotten, and the duke of Suffolk a minor, Somerset had been virtually the only duke until recently, and the chancellor might well have acquired the habit of directing *To the Duke*. But the servant's thoughts not less naturally fell upon the last new-made dukes, and particularly that one, now the great duke, who resided so near at hand as the Charter-house. It is a fact recorded in the history of that edifice, that it was alienated for a time by lord North to the duke of Northumberland, though the former recovered it after Northumberland's attainder. This fact supports the probability of the family tradition related by the earl of Warwick, when Fuller's error of Norfolk for Northumberland, and Burnet's of the Tower for the Charter-house, are both corrected. In June, 1553, (shortly before the death of Edward the Sixth and his own destruction,) the duke of Northumberland assigned the Charter-house for the residence of the French ambassador, M. de Noailles, who writes:—"lequel [duc] me faict préparer la Chartreuse, l'une de ses maisons, qui est des [plus] belles et commodés qui soit en ceste ville." *Ambassades de Noailles*, ii. 41.

<sup>1</sup> King Henry terms him "gentilhomme de nostre chambre," in his letter, p. 90 *antea*.

king redd it in open audience at masse, with the ratification of it. The lord admirall toke his leave of the French king, and retourned to Paris very sike.

The same day the French king shewed the lord admirall lettres that came from Parma, how the French men had gotten tow castels of th'imperials, and in the defence of the one the prince of Macedony<sup>1</sup> was slain on the walles; and was buried with triumph at Parma.

22. The great seale of England delivered to the bishop of Ely,<sup>2</sup> to be keaper thereof during the lord Riches siknes.

The band of 100 men of armes wich my lord of Somerset late had, appointed to the duke of Southfolke.

23. Removing to Grenwich.

24. I began to kepe haule this Christmas,<sup>3</sup> and continewd till Twelftyde.

<sup>1</sup> The prince of Macedonie had visited England in 1540 in the company of don Francesco d'Esté, marchese of Massa and Padula, brother to the duke of Ferrara. (Holinshed.)

<sup>2</sup> A formal memorandum (in Latin) of the surrender of the great seal by Rich at his house in Great Saint Bartholomew's, on the morning of Monday the 20th December, between the hours of eight and nine; and of the King's delivery of it the next day, about eleven a.m., in his privy gallery at Westminster, into the custody of Thomas bishop of Ely, is prefixed to the register-book of chancellor Goodrich, now the MS. Cotton. Julius, B. ix. "Dec. xxvij. A lettre to mr. Pawle, comptroller of the hampier, to make owte the recorde to be enrolled of the office of Lorde Keeper of the Great Seale, dureing the King's majesties pleasure, to the bishop of Ely, and further to make owte a patent to hym for suche fees, dietts, and allowances for the same as the lorde treasurer had during his exercising that office; and that sayd Pawle be attendant uppon the sayd Lorde Keeper as he hath byn accustomed to be uppon the Lorde Chauncellor for the tyme being." (Council Book.)

<sup>3</sup> "The duke beyng condempned as is aforesaid, the people spake diversly and murmored against the duke of Northumberlande, and against some other of the lordes, for the condemnation of the sayd duke, and also, as the common fame went, the Kinges majestie tooke it not in good part: wherfore, as well to remoove fond talke out of mennes mouthes as also to recreate and refreshe the troubled spirites of the yong King who seemed to take the trouble of his uncle somewhat heavilie, it was devised that the feast of Christes Nativitie, commonly called Christmas, then at hand, should be solempnly kept at Greene-

## 26. Sir Anthony Setleinger, for matters laid against him by the

wiche with open houshold, and franke resorte to the Court, (which is called *keping of the Hall*,) what time of olde ordinarye course there is alwayes one appoynted to make sporte in the Courte, called commonly Lorde of Misrule, whose office is not unknowne to such as have bene brought up in noblemen's houses, and among great house-keepers, which use liberall feasting in that season. There was therefore by order of the counsaile a gentleman both wise and learned, whose name was George Ferrers, appoynted to that office for this yere: who, beyng of better calling then commonly his predecessors had bene before, receyved all his commissions and warrauntes by the name of the Maister of the Kinges Pastimes. Which gentleman so well supplied his office, both in shew of sundry sightes and devises of rare invention, and in act of divers enterludes and matters of pastime, played by persons [*i. e. personæ*], as not onely satisfied the common sorte, but also were very well liked and allowed by the counsaile and other of skill in the like pastimes: but best of al by the yong King himselve, as appered by his princely liberalitie in rewarding that service." These are the remarks of the chronicler Grafton introductory to his account of the Christmas festivities of this year: and though, from any positive evidence, we do not find that the King was so greatly concerned for his uncle's fate as the people of London were, it is evident that unusual pains were taken to divert the thoughts of both parties. The city revels are described at some length by the chroniclers and in Machyn's Diary. Regarding those at court many very curious documents were edited by the late Mr. Kempe in "The Loseley Manuscripts," 1835, 8vo. from the papers of sir Thomas Cawarden, master of the revels. The duke of Northumberland himself wrote an autograph letter (p. 23) to Cawarden, announcing that "the King's maties plessers ys, for his highnes' better recreation the tyme of thies hollydayes, to have a Lord of Misrule, and hathe apoynted this berer,"—the accomplished George Ferrers (already noticed in p. 217). Other letters (pp. 24, 26, 27, 29, 57), addressed to Cawarden regarding the furniture required by Ferrers, are signed by the duke and other members of the privy council. The lord of misrule was attended by a large train of officers and servants; and other gentlemen of rank and education did not disdain to take their parts in the mummary. He had eight councillors, among whom (p. 28) were sir Robert Stafford and sir Thomas Windsor, the eldest son of lord Windsor. So, the next year, mr. Windham was his admiral, and sir George Howard his master of the horses (p. 32). Some of the expenses of this year are given *ibid.* (pp. 85—89). The vice, disard, or fool attendant on the lord of misrule was named John Smyth, who was one of the players retained on the King's household in ordinary (see Collier's *Annals of the Stage*, i. 139) There was a masque of apes, another of the Greek worthyes, and a third of medyoxes, which were persons "double-visaged, th'one-syde lyke a man, th'other lyke death's," upon whom attended six torch-bearers, carrying targets with dead beasts' heads on them, and long darts. There were also eight



bishop of Dublin,<sup>1</sup> was banished my chaumber till he had made aunswere, and hade the articles delivered him.<sup>2</sup>

28. The lord admiral came to Grenwich.<sup>3</sup>

30. Commission was made out to the bishop of Ely, the lord preivi-seale, sir Jhon. Gates, sir Wiliam Petre, sir Robart Bowes, and sir Walter Mildmay, for calling in my dettes.<sup>4</sup>

dresses provided with arms like legs and legs like arms, to represent tumblers walking on their heads; a masque of bag-pipes; and a masque of cats. The lord of misrule had also "his justs and challenge at Greenwich," in imitation of those of the young nobility: they were performed "on foot with hobby horses" (pp. 86, 87). On the 4th Jan. he visited London (as fully described in Machyn's Diary), and delighted the merry citizens. From the minutes of the privy council of the 18th March it appears that George Ferrers received a present of fifty pounds for being Lord of Misrule, at the hands of the duke of Northumberland himself—an entry which confirms the belief that the duke took a political interest in the arrangement of these festivities. In the King's biographical memoir I shall add some further notices of the revels, as exhibited in the following Christmas of 1552.

<sup>1</sup> The archbishop of Dublin was George Brown. Neither in Ware's *Lives of the archbishops*, nor in the volume on the same subject by John D'Alton, esq. 1838, 8vo. is the present incident in his history noticed.

<sup>2</sup> "Jan. xxix. A lettre to the lord deputie of Ireland, requiring him to cause sir Niccolas Bagnell, sir John Allen, Olyver Sutton, and Patrick Doodall, or as many of them as may be spared owt of that realme, to be addressed hither for the better understanding of the matter informed agaynst sir Anthony St. Ligier by the archbushopp of Dubblin. Fower lettres of apparence to the sayd mr. Bagnall, mr. Allen, Sutton, and Patrick." (Council Book.) No further particulars on the matter have been discovered; but sir Anthony's restoration to favour is noticed by the King hereafter, under the 22d April.

<sup>3</sup> "Dec. xxx. This day the lord admyrall being returned owt of Fraunce, delyvered to the lordes the ratification of the marriage betweene the King's majestie and the lady Elizabeth the Frenche king's daughter, under the greate seale of Fraunce; and it was accorded that the same treatie should be delyvered to the lorde treasurer to be by hym reposed in the treasury of th'eschequier to remayne there of recorde in salfe keeping"—where it still remains, as already mentioned in p. 334.

<sup>4</sup> This commission, "to call before them the hedd and inferior officers of the courtes of th'eschequier and duchie of Lancaster, of Wards, of Augmentation, etc. to take order with them for the leveing of the Kyng's ma<sup>tes</sup> detts, &c." was dated and sealed the 2d Jan. (Goodrich's register, MS. Cotton. Julius, B. ix. f. 5.) See further on this subject in p. 389.

## JANUARY.

1. Orders was taken with the chandelours of London<sup>1</sup> for selling there talow candels, wich before some denied<sup>2</sup> to doe; and some were punished with imprisonment.

3. The chaleng that was made in the last month was fulfilled. The Chalengours were—

|                      |                 |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| The erle of Warwick. | Sir Hary Nevel. |
| Sir Hary Sidney.     | Sir Hary Gates. |

## Defendauntes.

|                                  |                    |                   |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| The lord Wiliam. <sup>3</sup>    | Sir Wil. Stafford. | Mr. Knolls.       |
| The lord Fizyvatre. <sup>4</sup> | Sir Jhon Parrat.   | The lord Bray.    |
| The lord Ambros. <sup>5</sup>    | Mr. Norice.        | Mr. Paston.       |
| The lord Robart. <sup>6</sup>    | Mr. Dygby.         | Mr. Cary.         |
| The lord Fizwarren. <sup>7</sup> | Mr. Warcop.        | Sir Antony Brown. |
| Sir G. Howard.                   | Mr. Courtney.      | Mr. Drury.        |

Thies, 18 in all, ranne six courses apece at tilt against the chalengers, and accomplished ther courses right well, and so departed againe.

<sup>1</sup> "Dec. xxx. A lettre to the mayor of London to cause suche as have candells and tallow in theyr hands to dystribute and sell the same amongst the people of the citie accordingly; and farther to examine how William Stephens hath bestowed xl. way of tallow that he had in his howse the iiij<sup>th</sup> of November, and ix. way that he hath receyved every weeke sence." (Council Book.)

<sup>2</sup> *i. e.* refused.

<sup>3</sup> Lord William Howard, half-brother to the duke of Norfolk, afterwards lord admiral and the first lord Howard of Effingham.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Ratcliffe, son and heir of the earl of Sussex; to which dignity he succeeded in 1556, and died in 1583.

<sup>5</sup> Lord Ambrose Dudley, afterwards earl of Warwick.

<sup>6</sup> Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards earl of Leicester.

<sup>7</sup> John Bouchier, son of the earl of Bath (see before, p. 253).

5. There were sent to Guysnes sir Richard Cotton and mr. Bray, to take vieu of Cales, Guysnes, and the merchies,<sup>1</sup> and with advice of the capitaines and ingenours to devise some amendment, and there-upon to make me certificate, and upon mine aunswere to go further to the matter.

4. It was apointed that if mr. Stanhop<sup>2</sup> lost Hull, then that I shuld no more be chargid therewith ; but that the towne shuld take it, and shuld have 40 li. a yere for the repaying of the castell.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A copy of the instructions given to sir Richard Cotton and sir Edward Bray for the viewing of Calais exists (much injured by fire) in MS. Cotton. Calig. E. iv. f. 276, following two other imperfect papers of similar instructions which both bear King Edward's autograph, and several others of about this period signed by the council. In the MS. Harl. 353 is a copy of the instructions to sir Richard Cotton and sir Edward Bray. On the 22nd Feb. letters were addressed "to sir Richard Cotton knight, and John Rogers esquire, to make their repayre unto the lordes after they shall have consydered the present state of Guysnes, and brought with them a platt thereof, and as they com by Dovor to consyder the piere there, that ys decayed by the rage of the last tempest, and to bring with them also a platt thereof." (Council Book.) John Rogers had been surveyor of Boulogne before its surrender. Another copy of the instructions to sir Richard Cotton and sir Edward Bray is in the State-paper office. The commissioners were subsequently more than once changed: see the subject again noticed by the King under the 10th June, 1552.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Michael Stanhope.

<sup>3</sup> In pursuance of this arrangement, an indenture between the King and the mayor and burgesses of Kingston-upon-Hull, dated the 20 Feb. 6 Edw. VI., granted to the town for ever "the offices of the custody and governaunce and chardge of his Highnes' castell and two blockhouses standing uppon Drypole side;" and the mayor and burgesses agreed to repair and maintain the same at their own charges, and to keep all such municions, ordynaunces, &c. as the King should commit to their charge. The castle, &c. were in future to be deemed part of the town, distinct from the county of York; the mayor, &c. were to have the nomination of all officers for their safe keeping, and to receive the annual sum of fifty (not forty) pounds from his Majesty's manor of Myton. By the same indenture the King also granted to the mayor and burgesses the advowson of the hospital of the Holy Trinity, near the town; its revenues to be devoted to the relief of the poor. A copy of this indenture is in the Lansdowne MSS. 2, No. 80. In vol. 3 of the small collection, No. 20, is a rough copy of the same. Other indentures were, however, found necessary, as appears from the following minute in the Council Book: "April xx. A

2. I received lettres out of Irland wich appeare in the secretaries hand. And thereupon th'erldome of Thommound was by me geven from O'Brine's heires, whos father was ded, and had it for terme of life, to Donnas baron of Ebrecan, and his heires males.<sup>1</sup> Also lettres

lettre to sir Robert Constable, sir William Babthorp, sir William Knolls, knights, and John Enlesfeld, esq. touching the comitting the castle and blockhouses at Kingston-upon-Hull to the charge of the mayor and inhabitants of the same, upon condicions conveyed in indentures betweene the Kinges majestie and them, signifying that they shall receyve of the receyvor of Yorkshiere money for the discharge of those that serve in them, and to take inventorie of the munition in the same castle and blockhouses, &c. according to the minute; with a *post scripta*, that the indenture to be sealed by the towne is sent them, and also the olde indenture already sealed, which must be cancelled uppon the sealing of the new." An abstract of the indenture as recorded in the records of the town will be found in Tickell's History of Hull, 1798, 4to. p. 213.

<sup>1</sup> Connor O'Bryen, who is reckoned as twentieth in succession of the native kings of Thomond, died in the year 1540, leaving his son Donough a minor. According to the ancient custom of tanistry, which assigned the inheritance to the eldest and worthiest man of the blood and name, and which had for ages been usual in this family, the principality was assumed by Murrough, brother to the deceased; and he, making terms with the English authorities, repaired to the court of Henry VIII., where he arrived on the 3rd June, 1543, and his claims were recognised and confirmed in accordance with the custom of his tribe. On the 1st July, 1543, by letters patent dated at Greenwich, he was created Earl of Thomond *for life*, and Baron of Inchiquin with remainder to the heirs male of his body: whilst by other letters patent, bearing the same date, his nephew Donough was created Baron of Ibrachan with remainder to the heirs male of his body, and Earl of Thomond *for life*, after the death of his uncle. Earl Murrough died on the 7th Nov. 1551; and Donogh succeeded, according to the arrangement made in 1543: but, not content with his life-tenure of the dignity of earl, he immediately requested, and with success, to have it commuted for the usual remainder. He therefore surrendered the letters patent of Henry VIII., and received from king Edward others, which were dated at Dublin, 7th Nov. 1551 (the day of his uncle's death), whereby he was confirmed in the earldom, with the ordinary remainder to the heirs male of his body. (See Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, by Archdall, 1789, vol. ii. pp. 27, 29, 42.) This earldom continued until 1741, when it became extinct on the death of Henry the eighth earl; whose heir, Percy Wyndham O'Brien, esq. was created Earl of Thomond in 1756, but died without issue in 1774. In 1800 the title was again conferred on the lineal descendant of the first earl, Murrough the fifth earl of Inchiquin (by creation of 1654), who was made Marquess



were written of thankes to th'erls of Desmond<sup>1</sup> and Clanrikard,<sup>2</sup> and to the baron of Dunganon.<sup>3</sup>

3. Th'emperour's embassadour moved me severally that my sister Mary might have masse, wich, with no litle reasoning with him, was denied him.

6. The forsaid chalengers came in to the turney, and the forsaid defendauntes entred in after with tow more with them, Mr. Terill and mr. Robart Hopton, and fought right wel, and so the chaleng was accomplished. The same night was first a play;<sup>4</sup> after a talk between one that was called Riches, and th'other Youth,<sup>5</sup> wither of

of Thomond; but with his nephew James the third marquess the title again became dormant in the year 1856, whereupon sir Edward O'Bryen, of Drumoland, baronet, succeeded to the barony of Inchiquin, now the only remaining of the three dignities conferred in 1543.

<sup>1</sup> James FitzGerald, fifteenth earl of Desmond, lord treasurer of Ireland from 1542 until his death in 1558.

<sup>2</sup> Richard de Burgh, second earl of Clanricarde.

<sup>3</sup> The lord of Dungannon was the son and heir apparent of the O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, the barony having been conferred on that tenure by patent dated Oct. 1, 1542.

<sup>4</sup> For this play the council had on Christmas day issued their warrant to sir Thomas Cawarden, requiring him "to delyver to the bringer hereof, one of the King's maties pleyers, oute of the store in your charge, soche apparell and other fornyture as theye shall have nede of for their playeing before the King's matie this Christmas." See it in Kempe's Loseley Manuscripts, p. 57. The name of the play we do not learn.

<sup>5</sup> After the play followed an interlude. On Twelfth-even the lord-chamberlain Darcy had signified the King's pleasure to sir Thomas Cawarden that he should "deliver unto John Birche and John Browne the King's entrelude players, bringers herof, suche garments as you shall thinke mete and necessarye for them and ther fellowses to playe an entrelude in before his Highnes to-morowe at night." (The King retained eight "players of interludes," each of whom received an annual fee of five marks, and five nobles for livery.) This request was backed by an order from the council, who sat the same day at the manor of the Rose in St. Lawrence Pountney: they sent it by sir Thomas Chaloner, who "shall declare unto you the rest of the matter, how they are to be trymmed." (Kempe's Loseley Manuscripts, p. 58.) This seems to imply, pretty clearly, that sir Thomas Chaloner was the author of the interlude of "Youth and Riches," a man of well-known literary taste and poetic talent.

them was bettir. After some prety reasoning ther came in six champions of either side—

On Youth's side came—

|                   |                     |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| My lord Fizwater. | Sir William Cobham. |
| My lord Ambros.   | Mr. Carie.          |
| Sir Antony Brown. | Warcop.             |

On Riches' side—

|                      |              |
|----------------------|--------------|
| Milord Fizwarren.    | Digbi.       |
| Sir Robert Stafford. | Hopton.      |
| Mr. Courtney.        | Hungerforth. |

Al thes fought tow to tow at barrieries, in the hall. Then cam in tow apparelled like Almaines, th'erle of Ormond and Jaques Granado; and tow cam in like friers; but the Almaines wold not suffer them to pase til they had fought. The friers were mr. Drury and Thomas Cobham. After this folowed tow maskes, on(e) of men, another of women. Then a banket of 120 dishes. This was th'end of Christmas.

7. I went to Detford to dine there, and brake up the halle.<sup>1</sup>

8. Upon a certein contention between lord Willoughby<sup>2</sup> and sir Andrew Dudley, capitain of Guysnes, for their jurisdicción, the lord Willoughby was sent for to cum over, to th'intent the controversie might cease, and order might be taken.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* of the Christmas court. (See the extract from Grafton, p. 381.)

<sup>2</sup> Deputy of Calais.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Andrew Dudley had the advantage of being backed by his all-powerful brother, the duke of Northumberland, who on this very day wrote thus from Ely-place to secretary Cecill: "For as motche as the lorde deputye of Calleys hathe wylfully procedyd in the matter in varyaunce betwene hym and my brother, contrary to my lordes of the councelles late lettres, and to the renewinge of more unquietnes betwene theym and theyre retynewes, which ys to be escuyd and removyd lest farder displesser might ryse and growe betweene theym, my thinketh now my lordes have good cause upon thys newe matter of inq. . . . which he hathe made, notwithstanding theyre lettres wrytten in the Kynges ma<sup>t</sup> name, and also hys devyse for demaundyng the rerages of the rentes

12. Ther was a commission graunted to th'erle of Bedford, to mr. vicechamberlain, and certein other, to call in my dettis that were owing me, and the dayes past, and also to cal in thos that be past when the dayes be come.<sup>1</sup>

17. Ther was a match runne between six gentlemen of a side at tilt.

Of one side.

The erle of Warwike.

The lord Robart.

Mr. Sidney.

Mr. Nevel.

Mr. Gatis.

Antony Digby.

Theis wane by 4 taintes.

Of the other side.

The lord Ambrose.

The lord Fizwater.

Sir Fraunces Knolis.

Sir Antony Browne.

Sir Jhon Parrat.

Mr. Courtney.

18. The French embassadour moved that we should destroy the Scotishe part of the debatable ground, as they had done ours. It was aunswered, first, the lord Coniers, that made the agreament, made it non otherwis but as it shuld stand with his superiour's pleasour. Whereupon, the same agreement being misliked, bicause the Scotishe part was much harder to overcome, word was sent to stay the matter: nevertheles the lord Maxwell did upon malice to the English debatables overrun them. Whereupon (it) was (now)

durringe the tyme of the warres past without fyrst makinge my lordes of the counsell privye therunto, theyre lordships hathe nowe in myne opynyon juste cause to loke upon sotehe indiscrete deallynge rather then to suffer the man's wyllfullnes to be occasion of more greater inconvaynence, which I pray you to sett forthe as shall seme good to your wisdomes." (State-paper office, Domestic Edw. VI. vol. xiv. No. 1.)

<sup>1</sup> From the seal-book of Goodrich this does not appear to have been a new commission; but several duplicates of the commission described in p. 383 were sealed: on the 7th Jan. two in "the same forme verbatim," on the 8th "ij. oother commissions as before;" and on the 11th "ij. oother commissions as before for the levieng of the Kyng's Ma<sup>tes</sup> dettes; whereof oo dd. the said day to m<sup>r</sup> Walter Milmay servaunt. (MS. Cotton. Julius, B. ix. ff. 5 b, 6 b.)

concluded that, if the Scottis will agree (to) it, the ground shalbe divided; if not, then shal the Scottis wast their debatablers, and we ours, commaunding them by proclamacion to depart.

This day the stiliard put in their aunswere to a certein complaint that they merchauntis adventurers laid against them.

19. The bishop of Ely, *custos sigilli*, was made chauncelour,<sup>1</sup> bicause as *custos sigilli* he culd execut nothing in the parliement that should be done, but only to seale ordinary thinges.

21. Removing to Westmister.

22. The duke of Somerset had his head cut of apon Towre hill betwene eight and nine a cloke in the morning.<sup>2</sup>

16. Sir Wiliam Pikering delivered a token to the lady Elizabeth,<sup>3</sup> a faire diamount.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From the entry on the Close Roll, quoted by Lord Campbell (*Lives of the Chancellors*, ii. 29), it appears that the ceremony of redelivering the great seal to Goodrich as chancellor took place in an inner gallery at Greenwich, between the hours of 2 and 3 p.m. Some writs were sealed in the King's presence; and then the chancellor put the seal again in his bag, and caused it to be made safe with his own seal.

<sup>2</sup> Thus laconically and coldly does the King "chronicle" his uncle's judicial murder. Some memoranda for the council printed in the sequel show that he took part in the arrangements for it. His "letters of warrauntie, signed with our hand," directing the lord chancellor to issue writs to the lieutenant of the Tower and to the sheriffs for the execution, are printed in Rymer, xv. 295, from the Rot. Claus. 6 Edw. VI. p. 7. m. 16. There are descriptions of the duke's execution in Machyn's Diary, p. 14, in Stowe's Chronicle, and still more fully in the Actes and Monuments of Foxe, who introduces an account of the duke's behaviour and speeches written by "a certaine noble personage who was not only present, but in a manner next unto him upon the scaffold."

<sup>3</sup> *i. e.* a token from King Edward to his affianced bride. No despatch of sir William Pickering describing his performance of this commission happens to be preserved: but some previous letters show that it was accomplished at Blois, after having been for some time deferred in consequence of the ambassador's lack of French crowns to pay his travelling expenses. The lord admiral Clinton had left the diamond in Pickering's charge, being prevented from presenting it himself by his attack of ague.

<sup>4</sup> Among the "Quenes juelles and other stuffe which came from the late admyralles howse of Sudeley, in the countie of Gloucestre," were "nyne rynges of golde sett with nyne diamountes of dyvers sizes, whereof vij. ar table diamountes, and two ar lozenged:—



18. The duke of Northumberland, having under him 100 men of armis, and 100 light horse, gave up the keping of 50 men at armes to his sonne th'erle of Warwike.

23. The sessions of parlement began.

24. Jhon Gresham<sup>1</sup> was sent over into Flaundres to shew to the Fulkar, to whom I ought mony, that I wold differ (defer) it, or, if I paid it, pay it in Englishe, to make them kepe up their French crownes with wich I minded to pay them.

25. The aunswere of the stiliard<sup>2</sup> was delivered to certein of my lerned counsell to loke on and oversea.

27. Sir Rafe Vanne was condemned of felony in treason, aunswering like a ruffian.<sup>3</sup>

(*Sidenote.*) One of these ix. ringes, sett w<sup>th</sup> a longe diamounte cutt full of squares, was gyven by the King to the ladie Elizabeth, doughter of Fraunce; and one other of the same ringes, sett w<sup>th</sup> a fayer table diamounte, was given by the King to the Skotish quene at hir being here, as appereth by his highnes' warraunt, dated xxiiij<sup>to</sup> Martii, anno vij<sup>o</sup>. R. E. vj<sup>th</sup>," (Inventory, MSS. Soc. Ant. cxxix.)

<sup>1</sup> Probably Thomas Gresham, afterwards the celebrated sir Thomas, as the King on the 11th of the following month again gives him the christian name of his uncle sir John. At this period the younger Gresham's voyages on money matters were very frequent.

<sup>2</sup> The merchants of the Steel-yard in London: see hereafter, p. 401.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Ralph Vane stood upon his innocence: "his bold answers (writes sir John Hayward,) termed rude and ruffian-like, falling into ears apt to take offence, either only caused, or much furthered, his condemnation. For, besides his natural fierceness, inflamed by his present disgrace, he was the more free by reason of his great services in the field. 'The time hath been (said he) when I was of some esteem: but now we are at peace, which reputeth the coward and courageous alike,' [sir John Hayward, it is to be remembered, is one of those historians who have thought it necessary to embellish their narrative by imaginary speeches:] and so with an obstinate resolution he made choice rather not to regard death than by any submission to intreat for life. Indeed it was well known he had been famous for service, but therewith it was well known by whose favour he had been famous." He had been knighted at the siege of Boulogne in 1544, and made a banneret at Musselburgh (see before, p. 219). He was of the same family as the Fanes earls of Westmerland (from which also the duke of Cleveland is descended), and was the son and heir of Henry Fane or Vane of Hadloe, sheriff of Kent 23 Hen. VII. and 17 Hen. VIII. Sir Ralph possessed various estates in that county, and among others that of Penshurst,

Paris arrived with horses, and shewed how the French king had sent me 6 cortalles, tou Turkes, a barbary, tou genettes, a sturring horse, and tow litle moyles, and shewd them to me.<sup>1</sup>

which he purchased in 2 Edw. VI. of sir George Harper alderman of London, and which was granted after his attainder to sir William Sidney. He left no issue, but a widow, "the good lady Vane" of Foxe, and "the faithful and Christian-hearted lady" to whom the letters of John Philpot are addressed, and of whom see also the Index to the Works of the Parker Society, and that to the Works of Strype. Heylin has an anecdote of Vane's execution, (for which he gives no authority,) as follows: "at what time they severally protested (taking God to witness) that they never practised treason against the King or against the lives of any of the lords of the council; Vane adding after all the rest, That his blood would make Northumberland's pillow uneasie to him." (Hist. of the Reformation, 1674, p. 117.)

<sup>1</sup> A present of English horses had been sent to France in the previous autumn, respecting which several documents are preserved in the French correspondence at the State-paper office, viz.:—

"Instructions to sir Jaques Granado knight, one of the esquieres of the stable, being sent from his Ma<sup>tie</sup> to his good brother the French king and the dolphin of Fraunce and the constable of Fraunce with certen geldinges, as tokens and presentes from his Ma<sup>tie</sup> to every of them." (No. 94 B.)

"26 October. Copie to be signed by the counsaill of the *K<sup>e</sup> Ma<sup>te</sup> l're sent to the French kyng by s<sup>r</sup> Jacq. Granado*" (these words in Cecill's hand). The letter is as follows, in a French hand: "Treshault et tresexcellent prince, trescher et tresamé bon pere frere et cousin, tant et si affecteusement que pouvons à vous nous recommandons, Ayant tousjours en memoire la bonne et parfaite amitie et confederacion qui est entre nous, Et oultre ce desirant par tout moyen vous donner à congnoistre l'entire amour que vous portons, et le grand desir qu'avons de vous faire plaisir, Nous vous envoyons presentement par nostre bien aymé et feal servante messire Jacques Granado chevalier, ung des escuiers de nostre escuyerie, porteur de cestes, alcunes hacquenees lesquelles (trescher et tresamé bon pere frere et cousin) vous prions d'accepter en bonne part, soubhaitant de tout nostre coeur qu'elles soyent telles que vous vous en puissiez servir, et y prendre non moindre plaisir que de nostre part desirons vous complaire et gratifier de telles et toutes aultres nos commoditez que nous entendrons vous pouvoir estre agreables. Prions Dieu, treshault et trespuissant prince, trescher et tresamé bon pere frere et cousin, vous avoir en sa tressaincte et digne garde. Escript à nostre palace de Westm<sup>r</sup> le xxvj<sup>me</sup> jour d'Octobre, 1551."

Sir William Pickering, in his despatch to the council from Paris on the 18th Nov.

## 29. Sir Thomas Arrundel was likewise cast of felony in treason,

reports the reception of the geldings by the French king. When their arrival was first announced to him by the English ambassador, on the 13th Nov. "he seemed right gladde and willingly accepted suche kindenes and frendsship, and said that his good brother had somewhat prevented him, for he hadde longe agoo appointed a lyke present and of the same commodities his contrye bare, which he wolde also shortely sende unto his highnes." On the morning of Tuesday the 17th, sir William Pickering presented to the King sir Jacques Granado, who then delivered his letters. The king, "because he was then redly to leepe on horsebacke to goo à l'assemblée, differred the sight of the present whiles his comming from hunting again, which was the same daie aboute vj. of the clocke at night, accompanied with the conestable and monsr de Guyse; and as sone as thei were discended oute of a coche, wherin thei retorned, the king, having knowlege that the horses were brought according to his commandment, and of my being there with mr. Granado for the delyverye of the same, he came straighte to the place where we were, and commanded them to be broughte forth, and vewed them one by one, aswelle those that were sent to him self as the others sent unto monsr le daulphin and to the conestable, alle in verey good plighte and lyking, and so faire that he said in his lief tyme he never sawe fayrer. The lyke affirmed the hole company. And at our leave-taking he said his good brother and sonne hadde made him muche his debter, and that therefore it behoved him to study the meanes howe to requyte suche cortesy, whiche he wille (forasmuche as I canne learne) with a present to the Kinges ma<sup>tie</sup> of vj. cortalles and vj. greate horses, wherof I thincke two shalbe Spanishe. I assure your lordshipps theis presentes have bene taken moste thanckefully on alle partes, and mr. Granado withoute faile hathe done his part righte welle to them bothe upon the waye and in their delyverye lykewise. The next daie after they were presented, being St. Genovefes daie, the king mounted upon one of the fairest amonges them, and with his presence honored the generalle procession accompanied with suche a sorte of shrynes and idolles as I never sawe the lyke nombre before that tyme. The procession was (they saye) to have good lucke and prosperous succes in the entrye of these warres, and to showe them selves obedient children to mother holly church, tho they cannot yet agre with Goddes greate vycar."

The French king, on dismissing Granado, entrusted him with the following answer to King Edward:—Treshault et trespuissant prince Nostre trescher et tresamé bon frere filz et cousin salut. Par le s<sup>r</sup> de Grenadde, escuyer de vostre escuyrie, present porteur, nous avons agreablement recue le beau et honneste present de hacquenees que vous avez envoyé, et entendu ce qu'il nous a dict de vostre part, Chose qui nous a donné autant de contantement et plaisir que nous en scaurons souhaicter Pour la grande et parfaite assurance que voz continuelz bons effects et demonstrations d'amytie en nostre endroict nous donnent de vostre singuliere affection envers nous Qui mectrons peine de nous en

after long controversie; for the matter was brought in trial bie seven of the cloke in the morning 28. day; at none the quest went together; they sate shut up together in a house, without meat or drinke, bicause they could not agree, al that day and all night; this 29. day in the morning they did cast him.<sup>1</sup>

revancher, et vous faire congnoistre que la nostre est mutuelle et correspondante, Ne desirons riens tant que l'augmentacion et fortifficacion d'icelle pour la faire durer perpetuellement, ainsi que nous esperons quelle fera a nostre commun bien repoz et contantement. Priant a tant Dieu, Treshault et trespuissant prince, Nostre trescher et tresamé bon frere filz et cousin, vous avoir en sa sainte et digne garde. Escript a Fontainebleau le iiiij<sup>e</sup> jour de Decembre 1551.

(Signed in the King's autograph) V're bon frere pere et cousyn HENRY.

(and below) DELAUBESPINE.

*Directed*, A Treshault et Trespuissant Prince nostre trescher et tresamé bon frere filz et cousin le Roy d'Angleterre.

In his next despatch sir William wrote as follows:—"Mr. Granado hath taken his leave, and hathe in reward three cheyns, one of the king, the quene, and dolphin, in valewe by estimation viij. C. crownes. The Kinges ma<sup>tie</sup> shalle have sent him from hence vj. cortalles, iij. Spanishe horses, one torke (Turk), a barbery, one cowerser, and ij. lyttel mewles" (Sir W. Pickering to the council, from Melun, the 8th of December.) The "cowerser" seems to have been the same which King Edward in the text terms "a sturring-horse.—Sir Jaques Granado, the equerry, met his death in his vocation in the year 1552, being accidentally thrown from his horse in the privy garden at Whitehall, in the presence of queen Mary and king Philip, and killed on the spot. See Machyn's Diary, p. 135, and some biographical notices of him, *ibid.* p. 356.

The emperor had previously sent King Edward a present of "two most beautiful Spanish horses," which were received in London on the 26th March, 1550, as mentioned by bishop Hooper in a letter to Henry Bullinger, Zurich Letters, iii. 81.

<sup>1</sup> The four knights, Vane, Arundell, Partridge, and Stanhope, were all, like the duke of Somerset, convicted of felony, "for moving, stirring, and procureing of dyvers persons for the felonyous taking, imprisoning, and killing dyvers of our privey counseill, against the fourm of our statutes and lawes of our realm." The warrant for their execution, dated the 25th Feb. is printed in Rymer, xv. 296; it took place the next day, on Tower hill, when sir Michael Stanhope and sir Thomas Arundell were beheaded, sir Ralph Vane and sir Miles Partridge hung. On the 29th Jan. the council had directed the lieutenant of the Tower "that doctour Bill may from tyme to tyme resort to sir Rauff Fane for his instruction to dye well; and that doctour Parker may resort from tyme to



FEBRUARY, A° 6° REGNI EDWARDI 6<sup>i</sup>.

2. Ther was a king of armes made for Irland, whose name was Ulster, and his province was al Irland, and he was the first fo(u)rth king of armis,<sup>1</sup> and the first herauld of Irland.<sup>2</sup>

tyme to sir Thomas Arundell for the lyke purpose." On the same day they granted that bishop Hooper might have access to the duchess of Somerset "for the settling of her conscience." On the 11th Feb. mr. Perne was allowed to resort to Arundell, mr. Bradford to Partridge, and mr. Harley to Stanhope, "to instruct them to dye well." At last the fatal announcement arrived: "Feb. xxij. To the lieutenant of the Tower to give knowledge to sir Thomas Arundell, sir Michael Stanhope, sir Miles Partriche and sir Rauf Vane that they should against Friday next prepare themselves to dye according to their condempnations." "Feb. xxij. A letter to the King's sollicitour to make a warrant for the beheading of sir Thomas Arundell and sir Michael Stanhope, and to perform the processe for the hanging of sir Rauf Vane and sir Miles Partridge, who are appointed in that sorte to be executed on fryday next betwene ix. and xi. before noone." "Feb. xxiiij. Warrant to th'exchequier to delyver to the lieutenaut of the Tower lvj li. xiijs. iiij d. to be distributed unto sir Thomas Arundell, sir Michael Stanhopp, sir Rauf Vane, and sir Myles Partriche." This was evidently to defray the charges incurred during their confinement.

<sup>1</sup> As there were only three kings of arms before, Garter, Clarenceux, and Norroy, the creation of Ulster made four; but, though this was the first creation of Ulster, yet there had previously been an Ireland king of arms at various times from the reign of Richard II. to that of Edward IV.: see Anstis's collections for the history of the heralds in the library of the College of Arms.

<sup>2</sup> Bartholomew Butler, gentleman, had been created Hampnes pursuivant at Windsor, in 22 Hen. VIII.; Rougecroix pursuivant on the 12th January, 26 Hen. VIII.; and York herald in the 28th of the same reign. For his creation as Ulster king of arms a warrant was issued to sir Ralph Sadler, master of the wardrobe, to deliver him one coat of blue and crimson velvet, embroidered with gold and silver on the same with the King's arms. He was succeeded, in 1564, by Nicholas Narboone. His illegitimate son, Philip Butler, was created Athlone pursuivant on Midsummer day the 22nd June, 1552, when he had delivered to him one coat of sarcenet of the King's colours, with the arms laid on with gold and purple. Athlone bore his father's arms, Gules, a fess between three covered cups argent, differenced with a baton sable as a mark of bastardy. The arms given to the office of Ulster were, Argent, St. George's cross, and on a chief gules a lion between a harp and portcullis, all or. The letters patent creating Bartholomew Butler alias York to be Ulster king of arms and principal herald of the kingdom of Ireland, with a fee of 40 marks, dated on the 1st of June, are printed in Rymer, xv. 305; and those creating Philip Butler to be Athlone pursuivant, with a fee of 10 pounds, dated 28th June, *ibid.* p. 314.

Th'emperour toke,<sup>1</sup> the last monthe and this, a million of poundes in Flaundres.

6. It was apointed that sir Phelip Hobbey shuld goe to the regent<sup>2</sup> upon pretence of ordering of quarelles of merchauntes, bringing with him 63,000 li. in French crounes to be paid in Flaundres at Antwerp, to the Scheitz and their familie, of dettis I ought them, to th'intent he might dispach both under one.<sup>3</sup>

8. Sir Miles Partrige<sup>4</sup> was condemned of felony for the duke of Somerset's matter, for he was one of the conspiratours.

8. Fifty men at armis appointed to mr. (sir Roger) Sadleir.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* borrowed of the merchants.

<sup>2</sup> Mary, dowager queen of Hungary, regent of Flanders from 1530 to 1555. A copy of Hoby's instructions, dated the 7th Feb. is preserved in the MS. Harl. 353, fol. 116.

<sup>3</sup> "March xvth. Whereas sir Phillipp Hobbye knight, being lately addressed by the King's majestie about certaine his highnes' affayres into the parties of Flaunders, had amongst other things in comission an ordre to make payment unto Anthony Fulker and his nephewes, or to theyr factour in Antwerpe, the summe of three hundreth fourscore and one thousand four hundreth and fortye florens, Carolus money of Flaunders, at xx<sup>ii</sup> stivers the floren, dewe by his Majestie unto the said Folkers the last day of February last past; the sayd mr. Hobby, being now returned out of Flaunders, and haveing there discharged the sayd debt according to the ordre gyven him in that behalf, presented this day unto the lordes of the counsell an instrument obligatorie made from the King's majestie to the sayd Anthony Fulker and his nephewes, for the sayd summe of CCCLxxxi M. iiij Cxl. florens, with a bond made by the citty of London for the assuraunce of the same, and also an acquittaunce from the sayd Fulkers' factour acknowledging the receipt of the money, and full discharge of the sayd debt, which acquittaunce, together with the King's majesties bond, was by their lordshippis delyvered to the lorde treasurer to be by him layd up in the King's majesties treasurie, and the bond of the cittie was delyvered to the maior of London accordingly." (Council Book.)

<sup>4</sup> "Item the xxvj. day of the same monyth, the wyche was Fryday, was hongyd at Towre hylle (together with sir Ralph Vane) syr Myllys Partrigge knyght, the wych playd wyth kynge Henry the viii<sup>th</sup> at dysse for the grete belfery that stode in Powlles church-yerde." (Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, p. 73.) The same anecdote is told by Stowe in his Survey, when describing the "great and high clochier or bell-house—pulled down by sir Miles Partridge knight, in the reign of Henry the Eighth. The common speech was, that hee did set one hundred pounds upon a cast at dice against it,

9. Jhon Beaumont, master of the rollis,<sup>1</sup> was put in prison for forging a false dead from Charles Brandon duke of Southfolke to the lady Anne Powes,<sup>2</sup> of ceirtein landes and leassis.

10. Commission was graunted out to 32 persons<sup>3</sup> to examin, cor-

and so wonne the said clochier and bells of the King, and then causing the bells to be broken 'as they hung, the rest was pulled downe."

<sup>1</sup> "Feb. xj. To the warden of the Fleete to receyve the body of the M<sup>r</sup> of the Rolls into his warde, and to see that he have conference with no person." (Council Book.) On the 16th "the lady Powes was committed to the Fleete, and Wynburne to the Marshal-sey." Beaumont's submission before the council and sentence will be found hereafter.

<sup>2</sup> The lady Anne Powis was the elder daughter of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, by his second wife Anne, daughter of sir Anthony Browne, but born before marriage (probably before his divorce from his first wife). She was married to Edward Grey, lord Powis, who died in 1551; and remarried to Randle Hauworth, esq. She died in 1557-8, and was buried on the 13th January, apparently in Westminster abbey. (See Machyn's Diary, pp. 163, 362, 404.) The King describes the master of the rolls' conduct towards her more fully hereafter, under the 4th of June.

<sup>3</sup> After the Reformation, as in more recent times, the correction of the ecclesiastical laws was found no easy process. The statute 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 19 (1533) authorised the King to appoint thirty-two of the King's subjects, sixteen lords and parliament men and sixteen clergy, "to search and examine the canons, constitutions, and ordinances provincial and synodal," and by the last section enacted "that such canons, constitutions, ordinances, and synodals provincial being already made, which be not contrariant to the laws, customs, and statutes of this realm nor to the damage and hurt of the King's prerogative royal, shall now still be used and executed as they were afore the making of this act, till such time as they be viewed, searched, and determined by the said two and thirty persons, or the more part of them, according to the tenor, form, and effect of this present act." Further statutes were passed in 1535 (27 Hen. VIII. cap. 15), and in 1543 (35 Hen. VIII. cap. 16) for the appointment of the like commission. Again, another act was passed in 1549 (3 and 4 Edw. VI. cap. 11), directing the appointment of thirty-two commissioners, "who shall have power and authority to assemble themselves by his highness's commandment for three years to come, for the perfect collection, compiling, and ordering of Ecclesiastical Laws; and that such laws so compiled, gathered, and ordered by the said thirty-two, or the more part of them, and set forth and published by the King's proclamation, with the advice of the privy council, under the great seal, shall by virtue of this act be only taken, reputed, practised, and put in ure for the King's ecclesiastical laws of this realm." A selection of commissioners was first made in Oct.

rect, and setfurth th'ecclesiastical lawes. The persons names ware thies:—

1551, according to the following minute of council. The list is very little different from that of the King, but it is remarkable as containing the name of Latimer:—

“Oct. vj. A lettre to my lord chauncellor to make owt the King's lettres of commission to the xxxij. personnes hereunder wrytten, authorising them to assemble together, and resolve uppon the reformation of the Canon Lawes, as by the minute of the sayd lettre at better length appereth:—

| BYSSHOPS.          | DEVINES.             | CIVILIANS.         | LAWYERS.                        |
|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| Canterburye        | Taylor of Lincoln.   | Mr. Petre.         | Justice Hales.                  |
| London.            | Cox, aulmoner.       | Mr. Cecill.        | Justice Bromley.                |
| Winchestre.        | Parker of Cambridge. | Mr. Thomas Smith.  | Goodrike.                       |
| Elye.              | Latimer.             | Taylor of Hadley.  | Gosnold.                        |
| Excestre.          | Cooke.               | Doctour May.       | Staunforde.                     |
| Gloucestre.        | Petrus Martir.       | Mr. Treheron.      | Carrell.                        |
| Bathe.             | Cheeke.              | Doctour Lyell.*    | Lucas.                          |
| Rochestre.         | Johannes Alasco.     | Mr. Skinner.       | Brooke,† recorder of<br>London. |
| (* Richard Lyell.) |                      | († Robert Brooke.) |                                 |

—vij. of these to rough-hewe the Cannon Lawe, the rest to conclude it afterwards.”

“Nov. ix. A lettre to the lorde chauncellour, to make owte a new commission to these viij. persones hereunder named for the first drawing and ordering of the Cannon Lawes, for that some of those other that were before appointed by the King's majestie are nowe by his highnes thought meete to be lefte owte, and the commission made to these following:—The archbushopp of Canterburye, the bysshop of Elye, doctor Cox, Petre Martir, doctor Taylor of Hadley, doctor May, John-Lucas, Richard Goodrich.” (Council Book.) Still the commission was not made out, but on the 2nd Feb. 1551-2, there was a letter sent “to the lorde chauncellor to make owte a commission to the archbisshop of Canterbury, and other byssopps, learned men, civilians, and lawyers of the realme, for th'establishment of the ecclesiasticall lawes according to th'act of parliament made the last sessions.”

It appears that Cranmer made considerable progress in this task, which was accomplished, under his superintendence and with the advice of Peter Martyr, chiefly by the hands of Haddon and Cheke; but it was not completed before the three years limited by the act of 1549 had expired, and a bill which was introduced into parliament in 1552 for the renewal of the commission was not carried into a law. King Edward, in the draught for his last will, which will be found hereafter in this volume, directs his executors that they should “diligently travel” in this important work; but the statute 1 and 2 Phil. and Mar. cap. 8, overturned the whole scheme, nor was it revived by Elizabeth,



| THE BISHOPS.              | THE DEVINS.                       | CIVILIANS.                        | LAWERS.                        |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Caunterbury. <sup>1</sup> | Taylour of Lincolne. <sup>9</sup> | Mr. secretary Petre.              | Justice Bromley. <sup>17</sup> |
| Ely. <sup>2</sup>         | Taylour of Hadlee. <sup>10</sup>  | Mr. secretary Cicel.              | Justice Halis. <sup>18</sup>   |
| London. <sup>3</sup>      | Mr. Cox, amner.                   | Mr. Traherne. <sup>12</sup>       | Gosnald. <sup>19</sup>         |
| Winchestir. <sup>4</sup>  | Sir Jhon Cheke.                   | Mr. Rede. <sup>13</sup>           | Goodrice. <sup>20</sup>        |
| Exciter. <sup>5</sup>     | Sir Antony Cooke.                 | Mr. Coke. <sup>14</sup>           | Staumford. <sup>21</sup>       |
| Bath. <sup>6</sup>        | Petrus Martyr.                    | May dean of Poulis. <sup>15</sup> | Carel. <sup>22</sup>           |
| Glocister. <sup>7</sup>   | Joannes Alasco.                   | Skinner. <sup>16</sup>            | Lucas. <sup>23</sup>           |
| Rochester. <sup>8</sup>   | Parcar of Cambrig. <sup>11</sup>  | ( <i>One wanting.</i> )           | Gaudy. <sup>24</sup>           |

though during her reign the code which had been prepared as above stated was edited by John Foxe in 1571, (probably by direction of archbishop Parker,) for the guidance of parliament. It was reprinted in 1640; and has been recently republished under the title of "The Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws as attempted in the reigns of King Henry VIII. King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth;" with an historical preface by Edward Cardwell, D.D. Principal of St. Alban hall, Oxford, 1850, 8vo. One of the MSS. of the compilers, in which Strype detected much of the handwriting of Cranmer and Peter Martyr, is in the British Museum (MS. Harl. 426).

On the 9th April, 1551, the King granted "a priviledge to Laurence Torrentinus, printer to the duke of Florence, for vij yeares, to printe the boke of Digestes and Pandectes of the Civill Law of the Romanes, and that none shall printe the same bokes during that tyme without his licence." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 74 b.)

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Cranmer.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Goodrich.

<sup>3</sup> Nicholas Ridley.

<sup>4</sup> John Ponet.

<sup>5</sup> Miles Coverdale.

<sup>6</sup> William Barlow.

<sup>7</sup> John Hooper.

<sup>8</sup> John Scory.

<sup>9</sup> John Taylor, dean of Lincoln, elected bishop of that see 18 June, 1552.

<sup>10</sup> Doctor Rowland Taylor, rector of Hadleigh in Suffolk, where he suffered martyrdom in 1554-5.

<sup>11</sup> Matthew Parker, now master of Corpus Christi college and vice-chancellor of Cambridge, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury.

<sup>12</sup> Bartholomew Traheron, the King's library keeper, and dean of Chichester 1551.

<sup>13</sup> Sir Richard Rede, one of the masters of requests.

<sup>14</sup> William Cooke, who died dean of the arches and high judge of the admiralty on the 25th Aug. 1558. (See Machyn's Diary, pp. 172, 187, 365.)

<sup>15</sup> William May, who died in 1560, after having been nominated archbishop of York.

<sup>16</sup> Perhaps Anthony Skinner, one of the six clerks of the chancery, who died 21 Nov. 1555. (See Machyn's Diary, p. 368.)

10. Sir Phelip Hobbey departed with somewhat more crounes then came to fifty-three thousand five hundred and odde poundes, and had authorite to borow in my name of Lazarus Tukar<sup>1</sup> 10,000 pounds Flemish, at 7 in the hundred, for six monthes, to make up the pay, and to employ that that was in bullion to bring over with him. Also to carry 3,000 marc weight upon a licence th'emperour graunted the Scheitz, wich they did give me. After that to depart to Bruges, where the regent lay, and there to declare to her the griefes (of) my subjectis.

11. There was delivered of armur, by Jhon (Thomas) Greshame, marchaunt, 1100 paire of corsletis and horsmen harnessis, very faire.<sup>2</sup>

14. It was apointed that the Jhesus of Lubec,<sup>3</sup> a ship of 800 tonne,

<sup>17</sup> Sir Thomas Bromley, justice of the King's bench 1545, afterwards chief justice in 1553.

<sup>18</sup> Sir James Hales, justice of the common pleas 1549.

<sup>19</sup> John Gosnold, now solicitor of the court of augmentations, and solicitor-general 1552.

<sup>20</sup> Richard Goodrich, attorney of the court of the augmentations and revenues of the crown, a relative of the bishop of Ely: see his funeral on the 25th May, 1562, fully described in Machyn's Diary, p. 283.

<sup>21</sup> William Stamford, serjeant at law 1552, a justice of the common pleas 1554, died 28 Aug. 1558. (See Machyn's Diary, p. 366.)

<sup>22</sup> John Caryll, serjeant at law 1552.

<sup>23</sup> John Lucas, "master of the requests to the most vertuous, noble, and worthy prince, King Edward the sixth." (See the rest of his epitaph at St. Peter le Poor, London, in Stowe's Survey.) He died 28 Oct. 1556; and was great-grandfather of the gallant cavalier created Lord Lucas by Charles I

<sup>24</sup> Thomas Gaudy, serjeant at law 1552.

<sup>1</sup> Instead of "Lazarus Tukar" the King first wrote "the Schets."

<sup>2</sup> "March xvij. A warraunt to the treasurer and chamberlaynes of th'exchequer to pay unto Thomas Gresham the summe of one thousand fiftie and two poundes viij s. iiij d for ijC. demy launces, at 1 s. the peece; for CC.xlix. corselets, at xxxv s. the peece; and for lynyng of the head-peece and gauntlets of the sayd demy launces xxxi li. xiiij s. iiij d.—amounting in the hole to the sayd summe." (Council Book.)

<sup>3</sup> "Dec. xix. A lettre to the officers of th'admyraltie to consyder the supplicacion enclosed of Jeffrey Vaughan, touching a shipp called the Jesus of Lubek, and to advertise in wryting of theyr advises in that behalf, and whether the sute shalbe commodious to the King or otherwise." The matter is not again noticed under the 14th of February; but

and the Mary Gonston of 600 tonne, shuld be let out for on(e) viage to marchauntmen for a 1,000. pound, they at the viage to Levant ende to aunswere the tacing the ship, the ordinaunce, munition, and to leave it in that case they toke it. Certein other of the worst of my shippes was apointed to be sold.<sup>1</sup>

9. Proclamacion was made at Paris that the bandis of the dolphin, the duke of Vendosme, the conte d'Anguien, the constable of Fraunce, the duc de Guyse, and d'Aumale, the conte de Sancerres, the mareschal S. Andrieu, mons. de Jarnac's, and Tavennes, shuld, the 15. day of March, assemble at Troyes in Champagne, to resist th'emperour. Also that the French king wold goe thither in person with 200 gentilmen of his houshold, and 400 archiers of his gard.

16. The French king sent his secretary de Laubespine to declare this viage to mr. Pikering, and to desir him to take peines to goe with him, and to be a witnes of his doings.

19. Wherupon it was apointed that he shuld have 2,000 crounes for his furnishment, besides his diet, and Barnabe 800.<sup>2</sup>

20. The countesse of Penbroke died.<sup>3</sup>

18. The merchauntes aventurers put in their replication to the stiliards' aunswere.

23. A decree<sup>4</sup> was made bi the borde, that upon knouledg and

under the 18th occurs the following passage: "A lettre to th'officers of th'admyraltie to consyder whether the Screwse be to be sold; then t'advertise my lords how muche they thinke wilbe gyven for her, that ordre may be taken," &c. "The Skruce of Danske" was a ship of 450 tons and 250 men, and having 39 iron pieces of ordnance, lying at Portsmouth in 1 Edw. VI.

<sup>1</sup> "The devise for letting owt of sume of the old ships for a rent, and to sell sume of the hulkes that serve not his Majestie to any purpose," occurs among "Remembraunces to be moved to the King's Majestie, primo Aprilis, 1552:" Cecill Papers, i, 119.

<sup>2</sup> See the King's letter, p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> At Baynard's castle, in the city of London, from whence her body was carried for interment to the neighbouring cathedral church. As the lady Herbert, sister to queen Katharine Parr, she has been already noticed in p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> This decree of the board of privy council, declaring that the merchants of the Steel-

information of their chartres, they had found : First, that they were no sufficient corporation. Secondarile, their numbre, names, and nation was unknown. Thirdly, that when they had forfeited their liberties king Edward the Fourth did restore them on this condicion, (that they) shuld couler no straungers' goodes,<sup>1</sup> wich they had done. Also that, wheras in the beginning the(y) shipped not past eight clothes, after 100, after 1,000, after that 6,000, now in their names was shipped 14,000 clothes in on(e) yeare, and but 1,100 of al other straungers. For theis consideracions, sentence was gevin that they had forfeited their liberties, and were in like case with other straungers.

28. Their came embassadours frome Hamburg and Lubeke to speake on the behalf of the Stiliard merchauntes.

29. A Fleming wold have searched the Faucon for Frenchemen. The Faucon turned, shot of, bourded the Fleming, and toke him.<sup>2</sup>

Payment was made of 63,500 li. Flemishe to the Fulkar, al saving 6,000 pound wich he borrowed in French crounes,—by sir Phelip Hobbey.<sup>3</sup>

yard had forfeited their charter, will be found entered at full in the Register of the Privy Council (MS. Addit. 14,026); and in the State-paper office, Domestic, vol. xiv. Nos. 10 and 11, are statements "of the chief causes of the confiscation of the privileges of the Stilliard," (drawn by their opponents the native merchants,) being an amplification of the same arguments as those alleged by the King in the text. The particulars of their case are given at some length both by Rapin, vol. ii. p. 24, and by Carte, vol. iii. p. 266.

<sup>1</sup> This phrase means that they should pass no goods of other foreigners through the customs as if they were their own.

<sup>2</sup> There are passages relative to the Flemish prisoners in the Council Book under April 26 and 28.

<sup>3</sup> On the 15th April, 1551, there issued from the privy council "a recognizance to Anthonie Fugger and his neivewes for the payment of iij<sup>c</sup> iiij<sup>xx</sup> j<sup>m</sup> iiij<sup>c</sup> xl. (381,440) florence carolles Flemishe at Andwarpe the last of February next, or for every florence ~~xx~~ stivers Flemishe;" a second recognizance for the like payment of 84,000 florens and 20 stivers the last of April, 1552; a third for the payment of 272,743 florens and 4 stivers on the 15th May, 1552; and a fourth for the payment of 261,918 florens and 14 stivers on the 15th August, 1552. (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 75 b.)



## MARCHE.

2. The lord of Burghainey<sup>1</sup> was committed to ward for striking th'erl of Oxford in the chaumbre of presence.

The aunswere of th'embassatours of the stiliard was committed to the lord chauncelour, the tow secretaries, sir Robart Bowes, sir Jhon Baker, judge Montigu,<sup>2</sup> Griffith<sup>3</sup> sollicitour, Gosnald,<sup>4</sup> Goodrice,<sup>5</sup> and Broke.<sup>6</sup>

3. It was agreed that for better dispatch of thinges,<sup>7</sup> certein of the councel, with others joined with them, shuld overloke the penal lawes, and put certein of them in execution.<sup>8</sup> Other shuld aunswere

<sup>1</sup> Henry Neville lord Bergavenny had a special pardon for this offence under the great seal on the 6th April. (MS. Cotton. Julius B. ix. f. 38.)

<sup>2</sup> Sir Edward Montagu, chief justice of the common pleas.

<sup>3</sup> Edward Gryffyn.

<sup>4</sup> John Gosnald (see p. 399).

<sup>5</sup> Richard Goodrich (see p. 399).

<sup>6</sup> Robert Brooke, at this time recorder of London (see p. 399), and afterwards chief justice of the common pleas under queen Mary: see Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (by Bliss,) i. 267.

<sup>7</sup> See the paper printed hereafter, from the King's autograph, entitled "Articles for the Despatch of Causes in Council."

<sup>8</sup> "For execution of Penall Lawes and Proclamations—

The lord privee seale.

Sir Phillepp Hobbye.

The erle of Penbrooke.

Sir Robert Bowes.

The lord chamberlayne.

Sir Thomas Wrothe.

Sir W<sup>m</sup> Petre, secretarye.

Mr. Griffithe, sollicito<sup>r</sup> generall.

Sir Jhon Baker.

Mr. Gosnold, sollic. of the Augm.

"Theis persons shall consider what penall lawes be most necessarye to be executed for the common weale, and shall of them cause due inquisition to be made the best wayes theye shall judge expedient, and likewise due execution furered, begynning with the greatest offenders first, and theye shall (as farr furthe as theye maye) cause the due execution of the same lawes and proclamations to be made in the proper courses of justice, so as the autorite of the lawe maye beare the burden and charge. After the present tyme of the parlement, theye shall appoint ordynarely there assemblye x or xij dayes before every terme, and in like wise vj or vij dayes after the terme, that the proceeding in the same causes maye be effectually followed in every courte where they ought to be. And

sutars; other shuld oversee my revenues, and the ordre of them; and also the superfluouse, and the payments heretofore made; other shuld have commission for taking away superfluouse bulwarkes.<sup>1</sup>

1. Ordre was gevin, for defence of the merchaunts, to send four barkes and tow pinesses to the sea.<sup>2</sup>

3. Th'erl of Westmurland, the lord Wharton, the lord Coniers, sir Thomas Paulmer,<sup>3</sup> and sir Thomas Chaloner, were appointed in

if any thing be to be done for the furtherance therof in the countrees betwixt terme and terme, the same may be by there ordre expedited. And if occasion necessarily chaunce that theye can not all x. assemble at there tymes, yet vj of the same shall be sufficient, so that one of the iij Lordes be there, and for the Lawe one of the ij Sollicitors." State-paper Office, Domestic Edw. VI. vol. xiv. No. 16. No. 17 is a somewhat fuller copy of the same articles.

<sup>1</sup> In Essex and Kent: see hereafter, under the 2d Oct. 1552.

<sup>2</sup> "Feb. xxiiij. To the lorde admyrall to take ordre that there may be owt of hand equipped to the sees two of the Kinges majestie's barkes, whereof one to receyve mons<sup>r</sup> de Doysell, the Frenche king's lievetaunt in Scotland, presently repaying into Fraunce, at Dovor, and from thens to carry hym safely over, which doon they must passe to and fro the coaste for th'ayde of his Majestie's subjects, being dayly endamaged by shippes of warr; and, if they cannot out of hand be bothe made ready, then to sende one to departe owt of hand for the abovesayd purpose." "March xviiij. A lettre to the lorde warden of the Cinque-ports to gyve his lettre of attendaunce to th'officers of th'admyraltie for the taking upp of CCl marriners within the sayd ports for the furnishing of the shippes sent to the sees. Six severall lettres to Henry Dudley, Thomas Cotton, Raphe Chambley, Richard Bethell, Robert Constable, and [ ] Beston, captens appointed for certain shippes equipped to the sees, to make theyr repayre to the lorde admyrall, and to attend uppon hym for such instruccions as he will gyve them for that purpose." (Council Book.)

<sup>3</sup> The traitor Palmer, having conduced to the duke of Somerset's destruction, and having received a pardon of all treasons, &c. dated on the 18th Feb. (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV.) was now placed in employment by Northumberland. On the 4th March the council directed the payment of CC li. to the earl of Westmerland, C li. to the lord Wharton, C. marks to sir Thomas Chaloner, and C. marks to sir Thomas Palmer, for their charges in repairing Northwards. Within less than two years Palmer terminated his career upon that scaffold to which he had contributed to bring so many better men. He was executed on Tower hill, together with the duke of Northumberland and sir John Gates. See in the Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary two copies of his last speech, in which he professed great religious penitence.

commission to mete with the Scottish embassadours, for the equal division of the ground that was called the Debatable.<sup>1</sup>

6. The French embassadour declared to the duke of Northumberland how the French king hadde sent him a lettre of credit for his embassadour. After deliverie made of the lettar he declared how duke Maurice of Saxony, the duke of Mechelburg, the marques of Brandemberg, the conte of Mansfeld; and divers other princes of Germany, had made a leage with his master, offensive and deffensive, the French to goe to Strasburg with 30,000 footmen and 8,000 horsmen, the Almaines to mete with them there the 25. of this monthe, with 15,000 footmen and 5,000 horsmen. Also the cité of Strasburg had promised them vitaille; and declared how the French king wold send me embassadours to have me into the same leage. Also that the marques of Brandenburg and counte of Maunsfeld had ben prively conveyed to the French kinges presence, and were again departed to levey men, and he thought by this time they were in the feald.

10. He declared the same thing to me, in the same maner.

9. It was consulted touching the martes, and it was agreed that it was most necessary to have a mart in England for th'enriching of the same, to make it the more famouse, and to be lesse in other men's daunger, and to make all things better cheap and more plentiful. The time was thought good to have it now, bicause of the warres between the French king and th'emperour. The places were thought metest, Hull for th'east partes, Southampton for the south partes of Englaund, as appereth by tow bils in my study.<sup>2</sup> London also was thought non ill place; but it was apointed to beginne with the tother tow.

<sup>1</sup> Long documents respecting the Debateable land will be found in the Council Book, under the date of the 28th Feb. 1551-2. Several are printed in Rymer's collection, and among them the letters patent appointing the commissioners named in the text, dated on the 8th of March. See also a letter from Northumberland and other councillors on his journey to the North, in the Cecill Papers, by Haynes, p. 121.

This is one of the King's political essays, inserted hereafter.

11. The bills put up to the parlement were oversean, and certain of them were for this time thought meet to passe, and to be redd ; other, for avoyding tediousnes, to be omitted and no more bills to be taken.

15. Thos that were apointed commissionars for the requestes, or for execution of penal lawes, or for overseing of the courtes,<sup>1</sup> received their commissions at my hand.

18. It was appointed that, for the payment of 14,000 li. in th'end of Aprile, there shuld be made an anticipation of the subsedy of London, and of the lordes of my counsell, wich shuld go nere to pay the same with good provision.

20. The French embassadour brought me a lettar of credit from his master, and therupon delivered me the articles of the leage<sup>2</sup> betwixt the Germaines and him, desiring me to take part in the same leage, wich articles I have also in my study.<sup>3</sup>

23. The marchauntes of Englaund, having ben long staid, departed, in al about a 60 saile, the wol-fleat and all, to Antwarp. They ware contermaunded, bicause of the mart, but it was to(o) late.

24. Forsomuch as th'exchaung was stayed by th'emperour to Lions, the merchauntes of Antwarp ware sore afferde ; and, that the mart could not be without exchaung, liberty was gevin to the marchauntis to exchaung and rechaung money for money.

<sup>1</sup> Not the courts of law, but the courts of the royal revenues, viz. the Exchequer, the Augmentations, the Duchy of Lancaster, the First Fruits and Tenths, and the Wards and Liveries. This commission was issued on the 23rd March to Thomas bishop of Norwich, sir Richard Cotton comptroller of the household, sir John Gates vice-chamberlain, sir Robert Bowes master of the rolls, and sir Walter Mildemay one of the King's majesties generall survaours. Their report was made on the 10th December following, and is a valuable document, of which a modern transcript is among the MSS. of the Society of Antiquaries, No. 209.

<sup>2</sup> The league made at Fredwald, before noticed in p. 357.

<sup>3</sup> This paper is not bound with the Journal, and has not otherwise occurred.



A° D'NI 1552, MENSE MARTIO, 6<sup>a</sup> CHARTA, REGNI REGIS  
E. 6<sup>i</sup> 6° ANNO.

26. Hari Dudley was sent to the sea, with 4 shippes and tow barks, for defence of the marchauntis, which were dayly before robbed, who, assone as he came to the sea, toke tow pirats' ships, and brought them to Dover.<sup>1</sup>

28. I did denie after a sort the request to entre into warre, as appereth by the copie of mine aunsweare<sup>2</sup> in the studie.

29. To th'intent th'embassadour might more plainly understand mi meaning, I sent mr. Hobby and mr. Mason to him, to declare him mine entent more amplie.

31. The commissionars for the Debatable of the Scotishe side did denie to mete, except a certein castel or pile might be first rased; wherupon lettres ware sent to stay our commissionars from the meting till they had further word.

10. Duke Morice mustered at Arnstat, in Saxonie, al his owne men, and left duke August, the duke of Anhalt, and the conte of Mansfeld, for defence of his countrey, chiefly for fere of the Boheimians. The joungester lansgrave Reiffemberg and other mustered in Hassen.

14. The marquis Albert of Brandemberrg mustered his men tow leages frome Erdfort, and after entred the same, receiving of the citesens a gift of 20,000 florens, and he borrowed of them 60,000 florens, and so came to Swinfurt, where duke Maurice and al the Germain princes were assembled.

<sup>1</sup> "April xix. A lettre to the mayor and jurats of Rie to sende hyther under sure warde the capteins of the ij. Flemishe shippes lately taken and comitted to theyr custody by mr. Henrie Dudley, vice-admirall of the King's navie on the narrow seas, to th'end that by th'examinacion of the sayd captens the matter layd to their charge for the sinking of the Irish ship may be better understood. A lettre unto the sayd mr. Dudley, signifying unto hym the sending for the sayd captens for the purpose aforesayd." (Council Book.)

<sup>2</sup> His answer to the proposition of the French ambassador stated in p. 405. If still extant, it has escaped my searches, both in the State-paper office and British Museum.

## APRILE.

2. I fell sike of the mesels and the small pokkes.

4. Duke Maurice with the army cam to Augusta,<sup>1</sup> wich toune was at the first yelded to him, and delivered into his handes. Where he did chaunge certain officers, restored their preachers, and made the toune more free.

5. The constable<sup>2</sup> with the French army cam to Mets, wich was within tow dayes yelded to him, where he found great provision of vitaille, and that he determined to make the staple of vitaille for this journey.

8. He came to a fort wherin was an abbey called Gousa, and that fort abide 80 canon shote, at lenght came to a parley, wher the Frenchmen got in, wan it bi assault, slew al saving 15 with the capitaine, whome he hong.<sup>3</sup>

9. He toke a fort called Maranges, and rased it.

12. The French king came to Nancy, to goe to th'army, and there found the duchese and the young duke of Lorraine.

13. The mareschal Saint André with 200 men of armis and 2,000 fotemen caried away the young duke, accompanied with few of his old men, toward Fraunce, to the dolphin wich lay at Reims, to the no litle discontentacion of his mother the duches. He fortified also divers tounes in Lorraine, and put in French garrisons.

14. He departed from Nancy to the armee, wich lay at Mets.

7. Mons<sup>r</sup> Senarpon gave an overthrow to the capitaine of Saint-omers, having with him 600 fotemen and 200 horsmen.

15. The parlement brake up, and bicause I was sike, and not able to goe wel abroad as then, I signed a bil conteining the names of the actes wich I wold have passe, wich bil was redde in the house. Also I gave commission to the lord chauncelour, tow arch-

<sup>1</sup> Augsburg.

<sup>2</sup> Montmorency.

<sup>3</sup> This and the two following passages the Royal Journalist derived from the letter of his friend Barnaby FitzPatrick, before printed in p. 78.

bishops, tow bishops, tow dukes, tow marquesses, tow erles, and tow barons to dissolve holly this parlement.<sup>1</sup>

18. Th'eryl of Penbroke surrendered his mastership of the horse, wich I bestowed on th'eryl of Warwike.<sup>2</sup>

19. Also he left 50 of his men of armis, of wich 25 ware gevin to sir Phelip Hobbey, and 25 to sir Jhon Gates.<sup>3</sup>

21. It was agreed that commissions<sup>4</sup> should go out for to take

<sup>1</sup> "April xvij. A warraunt to the Exchequier to pay unto the Lorde Chauncellor, to be by hym distrybuted to sundrie persones named in a scedule inclosed, for theyr paynes taken in the Kinges Majesties service and affayres in Michaellmas tearme, and at his last session of Parliament, the sume of vClxxx li.

"Names of suche as the lorde chauncellor is appointed to delyver money unto in way of the Kinges Majesties rewarde.

"To the chiefe justice of the Kinges benche . . . . iC li.

"To the chiefe justice of the common pleas . . . . iC li.

"To the Kinges sollicitour . . . . lx li.

"To justice Browne, justice Hales, sergeant Saunders, sergeant Brooke, and sergeant Cooke, eche of them xl li. amounting in the hole to . . . ijC li.

"To mr. Portman . . . . xxxv li.

"To mr. Molinox . . . . xxxv li.

"To the clerk of the parliament . . . . xl li.

"To the solliqitor's clerkes . . . . iiij li.

"More for the lorde chauncellour to bestowe where his lordshipp shall think most convenient . . . . vj li.

"Summe, vClxxx li."

"May viij. A warraunt to th'exchequier to pay to sir John Baker, knight, for his accustomed fee and rewarde, for his paynes taken this last session in his office of Speaker of the Parliament, the sume of one hundreth pounds." (Council Book.)

<sup>2</sup> The earl of Warwick's patent passed the seal on the 28th April. (MS. Cotton. Julius B. ix. f. 446.) The fee was C marks. (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 200 b.)

<sup>3</sup> On the 27th April sir Philip Hobbie received license to retaine xl. persons, and sir John Mason xl. persons. (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 204.)

<sup>4</sup> The instructions given on this occasion to the marquess of Northampton and to the rest of his Highness' commissioners appointed for the survey of Church-goods in the county of Northampton, will be found printed in Fuller's Church History, vii. § 2, in Wilkins' Concilia, iv. 78, and in part in Heylin's History of the Reformation. The King's debts, of which we read so much, formed the great motive to this fresh act of spoliation. On the 3d March the council had "decreed, that forasmuch as the Kinges ma<sup>tie</sup> had need pre-

certificat of the superfluous church-plate to mine use, and to see how it hath ben imbesellid: The French embassadour desired that, forasmuch as it was daungerous cariing of vitaile from Bullein to Ard by land, that I wold geve license to carie bi sea to Calles, and so from Calles to Ard in mi ground.

22. The lord Paget was disgradid from the order of the Garter for divers his offences, and chiefly bicause he was no gentleman of bloud, neither of father's side nor mother's side.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Antony Setlingier, wich was accused by the bishop of Dublin sently of a masse of money, therefore commission should be addressed into all shires of England to take into the Kinges handes such church plate as remaineth, to be employed into his Highnesses use." And a few days before it was determined to despoil even the royal library: "Feb. xxv. The Kinges maties lettre for the purging of his highness' library at Westminster of all superstitious books, as mass-bookes, legendes, and such like; and to deliver the furniture of the same bookes, being either of gold or silver, to sir Anthony Aucher, in the presence of sir Thomas Darcy." But the measure was not carried into general effect until the following year, 1553, when "in the moneth of Aprill and in May commissioners were directed through England, for all the church goods remaining in cathedrall and parish churches, that is to say, jewels of gold and silver, crosses, candle-stickes, censers, chalices, and all other such like, with their ready money, to be delivered to the master of the King's jewels in the Tower of London; all coapes, vestments, and ornaments to be sold, and the money to be delivered to the King's treasurer sir Edmund Peckham knight, reserving to every church one chalice or cup, with table-clothes for the communion-boord, at the discretion of the commissioners, which were for London the lord mayor, the bishop, the lord chief justice, with other." (Stowe's Chronicle.) An account of the proceedings of the commissioners at their session in Westminster will be found in Heylin's History of the Reformation (edit. 1849,) i. 284.

<sup>1</sup> William Paget, whose abilities as a statesman, and influence as a councillor, backed by greater honesty and greater intrepidity than were possessed by his contemporaries, made him a serious obstacle in the path of the aspiring Dudley, was the son of William Paget, one of the serjeants-at-mace of the city of London, and the name of his mother is not recorded. Having served Henry VIII. as secretary of state, and in many foreign embassies, and having received the degree of knighthood in 1543, he was elected a companion of the Garter in 1546-7, and summoned to parliament as baron Paget of Beaudesert in 1549. As the duke of Somerset had derived his best support from Paget's counsel, an attempt was made (see pp. 353, 365) to involve him in the plot alleged against the late protector of intending to murder Northumberland and others, which crime it was said was to be accomplished at Paget's house; but this charge was abandoned, and now



for divers brauling matters,<sup>1</sup> was taken againe into the prevy chamber, and satte among the knightes of the ordre.

23. Aunswere was gevin to the French embassatour that I could not accomlishe his desire, bicause it was against my leage with th'empour.

24. The ordre of the Garter was holli altered, as apperith by the new statutes.<sup>2</sup> Ther ware electid sir Androw Duddeley and th'erle of Westmorland.<sup>3</sup>

Paget was accused of official malversation (of which see further hereafter). Stowe relates, on the authority of Ro. Greene, that—"In the month of Aprill, before S. George's day, Garter the king of armes was sent by the King's majestie to the lord Paget, prisoner in the Tower of London, to get and take from him, the said lord Paget, the Garter and George appertaining to the order of the Garter, which Garter and George the said king of armes called Garter took from the said lord Paget in such order as the same was delivered to him when he was made knight of the same order. And the said lord Paget was well content (as it seemed) to part therewith, seeing it was the King's pleasure it should be so." The same passage proceeds to state that the same Garter and George were given to the earl of Warwick, the duke of Northumberland's son and heir: this was not the case, but one of the new knights was sir Andrew Dudley, the duke's brother. The record of the degradation of lord Paget was, on his subsequent restoration, removed from the register of the Garter, called the *Liber Niger*, which was edited by Anstis in 1744. His restoration is recorded in the succeeding register, called the *Liber Ceruleus*, which has not been published; but it appears that it was effected by a decree passed in a chapter holden at St. James's on the 27th Sept. 1553; whereupon lord Paget had the Garter forthwith buckled on his leg again by two of the knights companions present, and the collar of the order put about his shoulders, with the George depending thereat. And a command was given to Garter, that his achievements should be again publicly set up over his stall at Windsor, being the same he before possessed, viz. the ninth on the sovereign's side. In the same record his unmerited disgrace was thus attributed to the duke of Northumberland: "A quo, procurante duce Northumbriæ, fuerat unjustissimè ac immeritissimè deturbatus." (Ashmole, History of the Garter, fol. 1672, p. 285.)

<sup>1</sup> See before, in p. 382.

<sup>2</sup> Printed hereafter from the King's autograph manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> Letters under the signet were addressed on the last day of April to the earl of Westmerland and sir Andrew Dudley respectively announcing their election to the order, and summoning their attendance to receive it in the usual form; but as they were both engaged in distant employments of great importance—the earl of Westmerland as one of

26. Mons<sup>r</sup> de Courriers<sup>1</sup> came from the regent, to desire that her fleet might safly upon occasion take harborow in my havens. Also he said he was come to give order for redressing al complaintes of our marchantis.

25. Wheras it was appointed that the 14,000 pound I ought in (February *erased*) the last of April shuld be paied, bi th'anticipation of the subsedy of London, and of the lordis, bicause to exchaung the same over sea was losse of the 6 parte of the money I did so send over, stay was made therof, and the paiment appointed to be made out of 20,000 li. Flemish wich I toke up ther, 14 *per centum*, and so remained 6,000 pound therof to be paied ther the last of May.

30. Removing to Grenwich.

28. The charges of the mintes ware diminished 1,400 li. and ther was left 600 li.

18. King Ferdinando,<sup>2</sup> Maximilian his sonne, and the duke of Baveir came to Linx to treat with duke Maurice for a peace, wheare Maurice declared his griefes.

16. Duk Maurice's men received an overthrow at Ulmes, wher-upon marquis Albert spoiled the countree, and gave them a day to aunsweare.

31. A det of 14,000 li. was paid to the Fulkar.

the commissioners for the treaty with Scotland, and sir Andrew Dudley as captain of Guisnes—other letters under the signet were addressed to them on the 8th of May, and the order was sent to the earl by the hands of sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter, and to sir Andrew Dudley by sir Philip Hoby, provost of the order. (See all the four letters printed by Anstis, Register of the Garter, p. 470.) On the 10th May the council issued a "warrant to the Exchequer to paye unto sir Gilberte Dethicke, knighte, alias Garter principall kinge at armes, beinge presently to be sente by the Kinges majestie to the earle of Westmerlande with the order of the Garter, the some of twentye poundes; also a comissyon for the said sir Gylberte Dethicke to take up v. poste horses for himselfe, his servantes, and guide."

<sup>1</sup> Jean de Montmorency, seigneur de Couvrieries, and knight of the Golden Fleece. He was again ambassador to England in 1553, with Lamoral cōte d'Egmond and Charles comte de Lalain, to negotiate the marriage of Philip and Mary.

<sup>2</sup> King of the Romans, afterwards emperor.

## MAY.

1. The Stiliard men received their aunsweare, wich was to confirme the former jugment of my counsell.<sup>1</sup>

2. A lettre was sent to the Fulkar from my counsell to this effect, that I had payed 63,000 li. Flemish in February, and 14,000 li. in April, wich cam to 87,000 li. Flemish, wich was a faire summe of mony to be payed in one yeare, chiefly in this busy world, whenas (money) is most necessary to be had for princes; besides this, that it was thought mony shuld not now do him so much pleasure as at another time paradventure. Upon theis consideracions they had avised me to pay but 5000 li. of the 45 thousand I now ought, and so to put over the rest according to the old interest, 14 *per cent.* with wich they desired him to take pacience.<sup>2</sup>

4. Mons<sup>r</sup> de Courriers received his aunsweare, wich was that I had long agoe given ordre that the Flemish shippes shuld not be molested in my havens, as it apperid bicause Frenchmen chasing Fleminges into my havens, could not get them bicause of the rescue they had. But that I thought it not convenient to have more shippes to cume into my havens then I culd wel rule and governe. Also a note of divers complaintes of my subjectis was deliverid to him.

10. Lettres war sent to mine embassadours that they shuld move to the princes of Germany, to th'emperour, and to the French king,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 401.

<sup>2</sup> "The affair seems eventually to have been otherwise adjusted." (Burgon's Life of Sir Thomas Gresham, i. 83.) In that work will be found some particulars of the subsequent negotiations with regard to the King's debt to the Flemish merchants. Gresham's original balance-sheet of these transactions, signed with his hand, but much injured by fire, is preserved in the Cottonian MS. Galba B. xii. There is a statement of the King's debts towards the close of his reign printed in the Cecill Papers, by Haynes, p. 126; and several such statements remain in manuscript in the State-paper office. See also some remarks on the decay of the royal finances at this period in Heylin's History of the Reformation, edit. 1849, i. 279.

that if this treaty came to any effecte or end, I might be comprehended in the same.

Commission<sup>1</sup> was gevin to sir Jhon Gatis, sir Robert Bowes, the chauncellor of th'augmentation, sir Water Mildmay, (and) sir Richard Cotton, to sel some part of the chauntri landes, and of the houses, for the payment of my dettis, wich was 251,000 li. sterling at the least.

Taylour, deane of Lincolne, was made bishop of Lincolne.<sup>2</sup>

Hoper, bishop of Glocester, was made bishop of Worcester and Glocester.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "A commission to the bishoppes of London and Norwich, sir John Gate, sir Robert Bowes, sir Phillip Hobbie, sir Richard Sackville, sir Walter Mildmay knightes, Richard Goodricke and John Gosnall esquires, or to v or iiij of them, to bargayne, sell, and conclude for redie monie to all the Kinges subjectes or to any other person having power to accept the same, all mannors, landes, tenementes, parsonages, tythes, &c. that came to the Kinges ma<sup>tie</sup> by reason of an acte made in the parliament holden at Westminster the first yeare of his ma<sup>ties</sup> raigne towching the dissolution and geving to his highnes of chauntries, colleges, free chapples, guilds, and fraternities, and also to his ma<sup>ties</sup> late father by an acte of parliament made in the xxxvij<sup>th</sup> yeare of his raigne." The writ was signed 7 July. (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 237 b.)

<sup>2</sup> Henry Holbeach bishop of Lincoln had died on the 2d Aug. 1551. John Taylour then dean was nominated to the see. His collation by letters patent dated the 18th June will be found in Rymer, xv. 312, followed by the *Significavit* of the same to the archbishop of Canterbury, and preceded, p. 310, by letters patent remitting his payment of tenths. On the 16th June bishop Taylour received licence from the King to preach, and to forbid any not having the King's licence to preach, within his diocese: this is preserved in the State-paper office.

<sup>3</sup> Hooper, already bishop of Gloucester (see p. 285), now received *in commendam* the bishopric of Worcester, vacant by the deprivation of Nicholas Heath. On the 12th May there passed the great seal "A dede of gift by John Hooper busshopp of Gloucester made to the King's ma<sup>tie</sup> of his busshopprick, viz. of all the lands and annuities which he had by the name of the said busshopprick in the said countie; and also a *Dedimus potestatem* annexed to the same directed to John Taylour and to John Coventrie to receive the confirmation of the said dede to be made by the deane and the chapter there, to the seid King's ma<sup>tie</sup>." (MS. Cotton. Julius B. ix. f. 50 b.) The two sees were united, and the lands of the see of Gloucester (which had been created by Henry VIII. out of the abbey) were taken by the crown. The letters patent collating bishop Hooper to the see of Wor-



Scorie, bishop of Rochester, was made bishop of Chichester.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Robart Bowes was appointed to be master of the rollis.

7. Commaundement was gevin to the treasuarours that nothing of the subseyd shuld be disbursed but by warrant from the bord; and likewise for our lady-day revenues.

14. The (chief) baron of th'exchequer,<sup>2</sup> upon the surrender made bi justice Leciter,<sup>3</sup> made chief justice; th'attorney<sup>4</sup> chief baron, the sollicitour-generall<sup>5</sup> attorney, and the sollicitour of th'augmentation Gosnald<sup>6</sup> general sollicitour; and no more sollicitours to be in th' augmentation court. Also ther ware appointed eight sergeants of the law against Michelmas next comming, Gaudy, Staumford, Carrelle (*the rest omitted*).<sup>7</sup>

cester, and at the same time annexing the see of Gloucester to Worcester, dated the 20th May, are printed in Rymer, xv. 298: the original, bearing the King's autograph, is in the State-paper office, Domestic, vol. xiv. No. 28. In Rymer, xv. 303, is a pardon under the great seal for the first fruits of both bishoprics dated the 10th June. But Hooper before the end of the year resigned both sees, in order to receive a fresh collation thereto: which passed the great seal on the 8th Dec. and is also printed by Rymer, xv. 320—325.

<sup>1</sup> The see of Chichester was vacant by the deprivation of George Day. The collation of John bishop of Rochester, by letters patent dated the 23 May, 1552, is printed in Rymer, xv. 303; and at p. 306 is the remission of the first fruits and tenths due from him, by other letters patent dated the 4th June. On the latter day he also received the royal license to preach himself, and to license or forbid others to preach, within the diocese of Chichester; this is preserved in the State-paper office; where also will be found a transcript of "the oath of John Scory, elected bishop of Rochester, taken before the King's majesty the xvij of June, A<sup>o</sup> 1551, abjuring the bishop of Rome."

<sup>2</sup> Sir Roger Cholmley. He lost his chief justiceship shortly after, on the accession of Mary, when he was sent to the Tower as having joined in the support of queen Jane.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Richard Lyster, who had been chief justice of the King's bench from the year 1546. See a memoir upon his monument in St. Michael's church, Southampton, by Sir F. Madden, in the Winchester volume of the Archaeological Institute.

<sup>4</sup> Henry Bradshaw. He also lost his office as chief baron on the accession of Mary.

<sup>5</sup> Edward Gryffyn to be "generall attorney of all courtes of recordes within Englonde," in which office he continued throughout the reign of Mary.

<sup>6</sup> John Gosnald. Mary did not continue him in office.

<sup>7</sup> The King's warrant to the lord chancellor to make writs to these new serjeants, was dated on the 19th May. Their names were,—Robert Brooke, James Dyer, John Caryll,

16. The muster<sup>1</sup> was made of al the men at armes, saving 50 of mr. Sadleir's, 25 of mr. vicechamberlain, and 25 (of) sir Phelip Hobbey, and also of al the pencionars.

17. The progresse was appointed to be by Porchester,<sup>2</sup> to Pole in Dorsetshire, and so through Salisbury homeward to Windsore.

18. It was apointed that mony shuld be cried down in Irland after a pay wich was of mony at Midsomer next; in the mean season the thing to be kepte secrete and close. Also that Pirry,<sup>3</sup> the mint master, taking with him mr. Brabanzon,<sup>4</sup> chief treasurer of the realme, shuld goe to the mines, and see what profite may be taken of the oure (ore) that the Almaines had diged in a mine of silver;<sup>5</sup> and

Thomas Gawdy, Richard Catlyn, Ralph Rokeby, William Stamford, and William Dallison. The ceremony of their creation is thus described by Machyn: "The xvij of October was made vij serjeants of the coif. At ix of the clock they went to Westminster hall in their hoods of murray and russet, and their servants in the same colours, and there was given a charge and oath by the King's judges and the old serjeants. This done, they returned with the judges and the old serjeants, and men of law, unto Gray's inn to dinner, and many of the privy council, for there was a great feast, and my lord mayor and the aldermen, and many a nobleman. And the new serjeants gave to the judges and the old serjeants and men of the law rings of gold: every serjeant gave like rings. And after dinner they went into Paul's, and so went up the steps, and so round the quire, and there did they their homage; and so came to the north side of Paul's, and stood upon the steps until iiij old serjeants came together and fetched iiij new, and brought them unto certain pillars, and left them, and then did fetch the residue unto the pillars; and there was an oration read unto them by the old serjeants; and, so done, they went unto Gray's inn." The serjeants were only seven, instead of eight as in the King's warrant, John Carell esquire having been discharged of the office in July. (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 236.)

<sup>1</sup> This muster was in Greenwich Park, and was witnessed by the King, as we learn from Machyn's Diary, p. 18. The marquess of Northampton's men of arms had mustered on the 14th in Moorfields. Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> The King means Portsmouth.

<sup>3</sup> Martin Pirry was under-treasurer of the mint in Ireland.

<sup>4</sup> Sir William Brabazon.

<sup>5</sup> These mining operations were carried on at Clonmyne, in the county of Waterford: they produced both silver and lead. There are many documents respecting them in the State-paper office, in vols. ix. and x. of the Irish Correspondence, and vol. xi. No. 1. Sir Anthony St. Leger, on his journey to Ireland in Sept. 1550, when at Chester, sent

if it wold quite cost or more to goe forward withal, if not to leave of, and discharg al the Almaines.

Also that 500 of the 2000 soudiers ther being shuld be cut of, and as many moe as wold goe serve the French king or th'emperour, leaving sufficient at home. No fortifications to be made also yet for a time in no place unfortified; and many other articles were concluded for Irland.

20. Sir Richard Wingfeld, Rogers, and [sir Andrew Dudley] ware apointed to view the state of Portesmuth, and to bring again there opinions touching the fortifieng therof.<sup>1</sup>

4. The French king, having passed the straites of Lorraine, came to Saverne, foure miles from Strasburg, and was vitailed by the countrie, but denied of passage through their towne.

### 3<sup>a</sup> PAGINA CHARTÆ 6<sup>re</sup>.

21. Answeare came from the Fulkar, that for the differring of 30,000 pound, parcel of 45 thousand, he was content, and likewise for August pay, so he might have paid him 20,000 li. as sone as might be.

into Derbyshire for miners and smelters to work the mines. The Almaines were employed under the direction of "Joachim Gundelfinger, capitayne of the miners," of whose writing there is a letter addressed to the privy council, dated from Dublin on the 12th Jan. 1551-2, and sent by the hands of Gerrot Harman and John Antwarpe. Gundelfinger came from Nuremberg. Robert Record, an Englishman, was the "generall surveieur" or controller; he complained of the "disorderly handling" of the Almaines, and recommended that they should be discharged, and the mines wrought by English and Irish men, whereby he represented that the King would save 2,000*l.* yearly. (Vol. ix. art. 14.) See further in p. 425 hereafter.

<sup>1</sup> "To send Rogers to Portsmouth to consyder with mr. Dudley and mr. Wyngfelld the state of the sayd towne of Portsmouth and the Ile of Wight." Remembrances for the Council, State-paper office, Dom. Edw. VI. vol. xiv. No. 26. Rogers was the King's surveyor: see before, p. 277. On the 10th of April a letter had been sent "to mr. Hobbey master of the ordinaunce to send some expert and skilfull personn to view th'astate of th'ordinaunce at Portesmuth and th'ile of Wight, and to take suche ordre for the mounting and well using of the same as to the suretie thereof and furtheraunce of the King's majesties service shalbe most requisite." (Council Book.) The fortifications of Portsmouth are noticed on the King's visit to them, hereafter.

22. It was apointed that, forasmuch as ther was much disordre on the marches on Scotland side, both in vaine fortifications of some places, and negligent loking to other fortes, the duke of Northumberland, general wardein thereof, shuld goe downe and vieu it, and take ordre for it, and returne home with spede.<sup>1</sup> Also a pay of 10,000 li. to goe before him.

<sup>1</sup> The duke of Northumberland at length made a hasty journey to visit his sphere of command in the North. In consequence of the death at his house at Otford, in Kent, of the wife of his son lord Ambrose Dudley, he was detained there "on the chance of infection" until the fall of the moon, which occurred on the 5th of June; after which he came to the court to take leave, and on the 16th he "took horse at five of the clock in the morning, with a company of lords and knyghts, to bring him on his way on his journey." (Machyn's Diary.) These were one or more of his sons, the earl of Huntingdon and lord Hastings, and sir Henry Sidney his son-in-law. On the 18th he wrote from Royston to the lord privy seal and the marquess Northampton. On Sunday the 19th he honoured the Cecills with his company at Burghley, by Stamford; and there joined in writing a letter to the council approving of what was done in the cases of Paget and Beaumont, and asking for Gracedewe and other lands of Beaumont's for the earl of Huntingdon. This letter, signed by *Northumberland, Penbroke, Huntyngdon, and W. Cecill*, is preserved in MS. Lansdowne 2, art. 78, and printed in Nichols's History of Leicestershire, iii. 1125. From Burghley the duke went to Sempringham, to visit the lord admiral Clinton, accompanied by Cecill (see the pressing invitation of Clinton to Cecill, June 19, in Tytler, ii. 116). On the 27th the duke wrote from Carlisle. He had returned to the South before the end of August, when (on the 30th) he dates from Andover. These movements are traced in the Domestic correspondence at the State-paper office; which also preserves a small memoranda-book of Cecill's at this period on which he has traced his own migrations, from his leaving London on the 15th of June to his return on the 13th of July, and subsequently to the 20th of the latter month. At this period Cecill was entirely in the confidence of Northumberland, who wrote to him continually (see Tytler, ii. 102); and the following passage, in a letter from Otford on the "last of May," in reference to his proposed visit to Burghley, affords a remarkable proof how the great duke courted the secretary:—"And for your gentle and moste frendly request to have me at your father's in my waye northwardes, I do even so semblably render my harty thanks unto you, assuringe you I well not omytt to see him as I goo by him, tho I do but drink a cupp of wyne with him at the dore, for I wyll not trouble no frendes house of myne otherwys in this journey, my trayne ys so great, and wilbe whether I wyll or not. And for your owne being there, like as I think my selfe moche beholdinge to you that wold take so moche payne, and to me a singular plesser to have so moche of your company, so cold I rejoyse for your owne helth that you might have soche a cantell of recreation."



23. It was appointed that theis bandes of men of armes shuld goe with me this progresse.

|                      |    |                       |    |
|----------------------|----|-----------------------|----|
| Lord treasaurour .   | 30 | Earl of Penbroke .    | 50 |
| Lord great master .  | 25 | Lord admiral . .      | 15 |
| Lord privy seale .   | 30 | Lord Darcy . . .      | 30 |
| Duke of Soffolk . .  | 25 | Lord Cobham . .       | 20 |
| Earl of Warwike .    | 25 | Lord wardein . .      | 20 |
| Earl of Rutland . .  | 15 | Mr. vicechamberlein . | 15 |
| Earl of Huntington . | 25 | Mr. Sadler . . .      | 10 |
|                      |    | Mr. Sidney . . .      | 10 |

26. It was appointed that Thomas Gresham shuld have paid him out of the mony that came of mi dettis 7,000 li. for to pay 6,800 li. the last of the monthe, wich he received the same night.

28. The same Thomas Gresham<sup>1</sup> had 9,000 li. paid him toward the paiment of 26,000 li. wich the Fulkar required to paid at the Pasmart.<sup>2</sup> For he had taken bie exchaung from hens 5,000 li. and odde, and 10,000 li. he borrowed of the Schetz, and ten of Lazarus Tukkar. So ther was in th'ole 25, of wich was paid the last of April 14, so the remain 11,000 and 9,000 li. wich I now made over bi exchaunge, wiche mad(e) twenty thousand poundes to pay the Fulkar with.

30. I received advertisment from mr. Pikering that the French king went from Saverne to Aroumaches, wich was yelded to him,

<sup>1</sup> "April xxvj. A lettre to Thomas Gresham that of suche monney as he hath taken up in Flaunders for the King's majesties use, his highnes pleasure is that he shall make payment of the same unto Anthony Folker and his nephewes, or to theyr factor, sufficiently autorised thereto in Antwerp, the sume of fourscore thousand pounds Flemishe, at the tyme the same shalbe dewe, which is the last of this monneth of Apryll, and to receyve at the payment thereof, not only suche bonds as the sayd Folkers have both from the Kinges majestie and from the citie of London, but also a sufficient acquittance from hym that shall receyve the sayd monny at his hands." (Council Book.)

<sup>2</sup> Pascha market, or Easter fair.

from thens to Leimsberg, and so toward Spires, his armie to be about 20,000 footmen and 8,000 horsmen, wel appointed, besides rascalles. He had with him 50 peces of artillery, of wich wer 26 canons, and six organs,<sup>1</sup> and great number of bootes.<sup>2</sup> From Leimsberg, partely douting duke Maurice's meaninge, partly for lake of vitaille, and also bicause he had word that the regentes armie, of wich war guides the count Daiguemont, mons. de Rie, Martin Vanrouse, and the duke of Holest, to the number of 16,000 footmen and 6,000 horsmen, had invaded Champaigne, and fortified Aschenay, he retired homeward til he came to Striolph, and there commaunded al unprofitable cariage and men should depart to Challons, and sent to th'admiral to come to hime with 6,000 Swissers, 4,000 Frenchmen, 1,500 horsmen, and 30 peices of ordinaunce, meaning as it was thought to do some entreprise about Luxembourg, or to recover Aschenay, wich the regent had fortified. There died in this journey 2,000 men, for lake of good vitaille. For 8 daies they had but bread and water, and they had marched 60 Dutch miles at the least, and passed many a strait very painfully and laborsomly.

19. Duke Maurice, comming from Augspurg in great hast, came this day to the first passage, called the Clouse, wich th'emperour had caused to be strongly fortetied and vitailed, a passage thorough an hill, cut out artificially in the way to Insbruke, and there was a strong bulwark made hard bi it, wich he wanne after a long fight within an houre and an haulf by assault, and toke and slew al that were within; and that night he marched through that hil into a plaine, where he loked for to see 12 enseignes of lanqsnetes of his enemies. But they retired to the second strait, and yet divers of them were both slain and taken; and so that night he lodged in the plaine at the entry of the second passage, where were five fortes and on(e) castel, wich with ordinaunce slew some of duke Maurice's men.

<sup>1</sup> So in the MS.

<sup>2</sup> Boats?

20. This morning the duke of Mekelburg, with thre thousand footmen, cast a brige over a river five mile beneth the sluice, and came and gave assault behind the sluice, and duke Maurice gave assault in the face, and the countreyemen of Tirole, for hate of the Spaniardès, holp duke Maurice, so that the five fortes were wone by assault, and the castel yealded upon condicion to depart, not to serve in three monthes after th'emperour. In this entreprice he slue and toke 3,500 persons, and 23 peces of artillery, and 240,000 s(cutes). Th'emperour, hearing of this, departed by night from Insbruk 40 miles that night in post; he killed tow of his jenettes, and rode continually every night; first to Brixenium, and after, for doute of the cardinal of Ferrares army, tourned to Veillache in Carinthia, the thirtyth of May, tarieng for the duke d'Alva who should come to hime with 2,000 Spaniardes and 3,000 Italians that came from Parma. Also th'emperour delivered duke Frederic<sup>1</sup> from captivite, and sent him through Bohemia into Saxony, to raise a powre against duke Maurice, his nephew.

22. Duke Maurice, after that Hala and divers other tounes about Insbruk in Tirole had yelded, came to Insbruke, and there caused al the stufe to be brought to the market-place, and toke all that pertained to imperialistes, as confiscat; the rest he suffred the tounesmen to enjoy. He toke there 50 peces of ordinaunce, wich he conveyed to Auspurg, for that toun he fortified and made it his staple of provision.<sup>2</sup>

7<sup>a</sup> CHARTA, A<sup>o</sup> D'NI 1552<sup>o</sup> MENSE JUNIO.

JUNE.

2. Sir Jhon Williams,<sup>3</sup> who was committed to the Flete for disobeying a commaundment gevin to him for not paying any pensions

<sup>1</sup> John-Frederick of Saxony.

<sup>2</sup> A leaf is here bound up in the MS. and is printed in this place by bishop Burnet, which really belongs to the paper entitled "Articles for Causes in Council," inserted hereafter.

<sup>3</sup> Sir John Williams was treasurer of the court of augmentations.

without making my counsel prevy, upon his submission was deliverid out of prison.

4. Beaumont, m<sup>r</sup> of the rollis, did confesse his offences,<sup>1</sup> whoe in his office of Wardes he hade bought land with my money, had lent it, and kept it frome me to the 9,000 li. and above more then this twelmonth, and 11,000 in obligaciõs; who, he being juge in the chauncery between the duke of Southfolk and the lady Powes,<sup>2</sup> toke her title, and went about to get it into his handis, paying a some (of) mony, and letting her have a ferme of a manour of his, and caused an indenture to be made falsly with the old duke's counterfet hand to it, by wich he gave theis landes to the lady Powes, and went aboute to make twelve men perjured. Also how he had conceled the felony of his man, to the some of 200 li. wich he stale frome hime, taking the mony to his owne hand againe. For theis consideracions he surrondred into my handes al his offices, landes, and goodes movable and unmovable, toward the payment of this dette, and of the fines due to theis particular fautes by him done.

6. The lord Paget, chauncelour of the duchy,<sup>3</sup> confessid how he,

<sup>1</sup> See hereafter, p. 427.

<sup>2</sup> See before, p. 397.

<sup>3</sup> Paget had been "sent to the Tower as an accomplice in the alleged plot for the assassination of Northumberland, which, as some of the witnesses are said to have affirmed, was to be perpetrated at his house; yet it is worthy of observation, that, when Paget's turn came to be punished, the charge against him was not a design or attempt to assassinate Northumberland, or any of the council, but malversation in his office as chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster." (Tytler, ii. 107.) Paget had already made two submissions before the 30th of May; but the first was rejected by the lords of the council, being "indeed farsed with subtlety and dissimulation, only to abuse the King's majesty's clemency and your lordships' goodnesses, as by his latter submission it doth and may right well appear." (Letter of Northumberland to the lord chamberlain Darcy, in Tytler, ii. 108.)

"Uppon Munday (June 6) wee hadd the lord Paget agayne before us, att the howse of me the lord chauncelor; wher we declaryd unto hym that his fyne is taxed at viij M<sup>l</sup> li. to be payd in such sort and att such dayes as shall be more fully agreed uppon att the next meeting of my lords after Mychaelmas; and it was also further told hym thatt he mus forgo all stewardshipps, keping of parks, or any other suche as he hath of the Duchie thatt he shall pay all suche summes of money as he shall be found to owe to the King's



without commission, did sel away my landes and great timber woddes; how he had taken great fines of my landes to his said peculiar profet and avantage, never turning any to my use or commodite; how he made leassis in revercion for more than 21 yearis. For theis crimes and other like recited before, he surrendred his office, and submitted himself to those fines that y (I) or my counsel wold appointe, to be levied of his goodes and landes.

7. Whalley, receivour of Yorkshire,<sup>1</sup> confessed how he lent my money upon gaine and lucre; how he paid one yearis revenu ever with the arrerages of the last; how he bought myne owne land with my money; how in his accoumptes he had made many false suggestions; how at the time of the falle of money he borrowed divers summes of money, and had allowance for it after, by wich he gained 500 pound at one crieng downe, the hole summe being 2,000 li. and above. For theis and such like considerations he surrendred his office, and submitted to fines wich I or my counsel should assigne him, to be levied of his goodes and landes.

matie; and thatt within one moneth, or vj. weekes att the furthest, he shall repair to his howses in Staffordshire, withowt returnynge to thes partyes untill such tyme as he shall be licensed by the Kinges matie." Letter of the lords of the council to the duke of Northumberland in Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*, i. 140: it proceeds to give very curious particulars of the manner in which Paget received his sentence, and of the pleas he raised on account of the health of himself and wife, and the state of his houses in Staffordshire, against his proposed exile from court; and the writers of the letter recommend a mitigation of his fate in that respect. Other notices of his treatment occur in the register of the privy council.

<sup>1</sup> "Uppon Sondag last (June 5 or 12), wee hadd before us sir Thomas Holcroft, sir John Thyn, and Whalley. Whalley hath surrendered his office of receyvershipp, and standeth bound to stand to such furthar ordar as shall be taken with hym by the Kinges maties counsaile. Holcroft hath surrendered his office of receyvershipp of the Duchie, and standeth furthar bounded as Whalley. Thyn hath surrendred his leasse which he hadd of the Savoy, his office of packershipp which he hadd in London, and standeth also furthar bounded as the other two." Letter of the lords of the council (as before), in Lodge, i. 140. Whalley, whose former imprisonments have been noticed in pp. 303, 355, was again sent to the Tower on the 19th Sept. 1552.

8. The lordes of the counsel sat at Gildhau in London,<sup>1</sup> where in the presence of a thousand peple they declared to the maire and bretherne their slouthfulnes in suffering unreasonable prices of thinges, and to craftesmen their wilfulnes et<sup>a</sup>c, telling them that if apon this admonition they did not amende, I was holly determined to call in their liberties as confiscat, and to appoint officers that shold loke to them.

10. It was appointed that the lord Gray of Wilton shuld be pardonned of his offences, and delivered out of the Toure.<sup>2</sup>

Wheras sir Phelip Hobby shuld have gone to Cales, with sir Richard Cotton, and William Barnes auditour, it was appointed sir Antony Setlinger, sir Richard Cotton, and Thomas Mildmay shuld go thether, cariing with them 10,000 li. to be received out of th'exchequer.<sup>3</sup>

Wheras it was agreed that ther shuld be a pay now made to Irland of 5,000 poundes, and then the mony to be cried downe, it

<sup>1</sup> Machyn places this a day earlier: "The vij day of June the duke of Northumberland and divers of the King's council sat at Guildhall . . . . certain causes, and took up my lord mayor and his brethren for victail, because he looked not to it, and for selling of the same, and other causes." (Diary, p. 20.) Machyn was mistaken, however, in supposing that the duke was one of those that came to the city, for he was now in the North.

<sup>2</sup> See note in p. 355

<sup>3</sup> The commissioners first appointed for the survey of Calais and the marches were sir Richard Cotton and sir Edward Bray, as already noticed in p. 384. The matter was now thought of such importance that it was judged necessary that a privy councillor should accompany sir Richard Cotton; sir Philip Hoby was selected, but replaced by sir Anthony St. Leger. In the State-paper office, Calais correspondence, are "Instructions to sir Philip Hoby, sir Richard Cotton, and William Barnes esquire, to view the town of Calais, and the marches of the same, particularly as to the account of the treasurer, the survey of the lands and revenues, and for the establishment of good order and government:" also a "Commission to sir Richard Cotton, sir Anthony St Leger, and sir Thomas Mildmay to survey the town and marches of Calais, and take the treasurer's account." Both these documents bear date the 7th June, 1552. Another (166 B) being "heads of instructions for the commissioners that should be appointed to proceed to Calais," is dated the 29th April.

was appointed that 3,000 waight, wich I had in the Towre, shuld be caried thether, and coined at 3 *denar.* fine, and that incotinent the coine should be cried downe.<sup>1</sup>

Also . . . . .  
of . . . . . tenes pley shuld be shifted to the porter's lodge.<sup>2</sup>

12. Bicause Pirry<sup>3</sup> taried here for the bullion, William Williams, assay master, was put in his place to vieu the mines with mr. Brabazon, or him who the deputy shuld appointe.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the State-paper office (Ireland, vol. ix.) are preserved a letter dated June 7, 1552, to the lord deputy, for reducing the money of Ireland to the same value as in England; a commission to Martin Pirry esquire, under-treasurer of the Mint within the castle of Dublin, Oliver Dawbeney comptroller, William Williams assay-master, and other inferior officers, to coin certain moneys for Ireland; and also the original indenture of agreement between the King and Martin Pirry, for coining 1,500 lb. weight of silver into sixpences for Ireland, founded on the said commission. The last (which is on parchment) was signed and sealed by Pirry before sir Walter Mildmay at Westminster, on the 27th of June. The sixpences were to run "for six pence of lawfull money of England; and every of the same peces shalbe of such weight as three score and twelve of those peces shall wey one pound weight of troye, that is to saie, twelve ounces troye to the pound weight; and every pounce weight of the same moneys shall holde and be three ounces of fyne sylver oute of the fier, and nyne ounces of allaie."

<sup>2</sup> These three lines were apparently struck through by the King's pen, and have subsequently been carefully rendered illegible by another hand

<sup>3</sup> See before, p. 416.

<sup>4</sup> The original "Instructions given to William Williams sent into Irelande by the Kinges ma<sup>tes</sup> commaundment," on this occasion, are now in the State-paper office, Ireland, vol. ix. No. 50: they are dated on the day mentioned by the King, and bear his sign-manual at the beginning, and the signature of *Cecill* at the end. In the same volume, art. 55, is the answer to the same Instructions: this paper is signed by *Thomas Luttrell, justice*, and *William Williams*. Sir Thomas Luttrell, chief justice of the common pleas in Ireland, had been directed to visit the mines with Williams because sir William Brabazon was dead. In the State-paper office (Ireland, vol. viii. No. 74) is "A Breiffe of the accompte of sir William Brabazon knight, receyver-generall of the revenewes of Ireland, and vice-treasurer at warres there, from 32 Hen. viij. untill 24 Septembr' anno 4<sup>o</sup> Edw. 6, by the space of xj. hole years." They had amounted in that time to somewhat more than 180,000*l.*; of which only an average sum of 3,325*l.* arose from "issues and revenue:"

13. Banister and Crane, th'one for his large confession, th'other bicause litle matter appered against him, ware delivered out of the Toure.<sup>1</sup>

16. The lord Paget was brought into the starchamber, and there declared effectuously his submission by word of mouthe, and delivered it in writing. Beamont, who had before made his confession in writing, began to deny it again, but after, being called before my counsell, he did confesse it againe, and there aknowleged a fine of his land, and signed an obligation in surrender of al his goodes.

17. Mons. de Courriers toke his leave.

2. The French king wane the castel of Roudemac.<sup>2</sup>

3. Certain horsmen of the regentes came and sett upon the French kinges bagage, and slew divers of the carters, but at lenght with some losse of the French men they ware compelled to retire. The French king wanne Mount Saint Jhan.

4. The French king came to Denvillars,<sup>3</sup> wich was a strong toune, and besieged it, making thre breeches.

the rest was all "treasure from England," except that in 1 Edw. VI. 145*l.* 10*s.* 3½*d.* was received from the "sale of bells;" in 3 Edw. VI. 4,215*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* from "profitts of the mynt;" in 4 Edw. VI. 900*l.* from the same source; and in 5 Edw. VI. 12,373*l.* 16*s.* 5½*d.* In vol. ix. No. 1, is "A devyce howe to kepe Irelande in the stage it now remayneth upon the revenues onely of the same, and not to putt the Kinges ma<sup>tie</sup> to further chardges, as his grace is dayly bourdened with at this present." In this estimate the annual expenses are summed up at 5,286*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* sterling.

<sup>1</sup> They were two of the humbler adherents of the late duke of Somerset: see before, p. 355. "xxvj June. A lettre to mr. vice-chamberlain and Sir Walter Myldmay to delyver to John Crane all suche goods of his as remayneth in their hands. A lettre to the lieutenantaunt of the Tower to set John Crane's wyfe at her lybertye, discharged of her present enprisonment." (Council Book) On the 16th sir John Arundell (the brother of the decapitated sir Thomas: see p. 247) was also set at liberty, "taking a recognizance of hym to absent hymself from the court, and to remayne in London, or within ij or iij myles of London, and also to stand to such further order as should be taken with hym by the counsaile." Lodge's Illustrations, &c. i. 141.

<sup>2</sup> See Barnaby FitzPatrick's account of the capture of the castle of Rodemanche in p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> Danvilliers: see Barnaby FitzPatrick's account of the siege in p. 83.



12. The toune was yelded to hime, with the captaine. He found in it 2,500 footmen, 200 horsmen, 63 bras great peces, 300 hagbutes of croke,<sup>1</sup> much vitaile, and much municion, as he did write to his embassadour.<sup>2</sup>

19. It was appointed that the bishop of Durham's matter shuld stay til th'ende of the progresse.

20. Beaumont in the starchamber confessed, after a litle stiking upon the matter, his fautes to wich he had put to his hand.<sup>2</sup>

23. It was agreed that the bendes of men of armes appointed to mr. Sidney, mr. vicechamberlein, mr. Hobby, and mr. Sadleir shuld not be furnished, but left of.

25. It was agreed that none of my councell shuld move me in any sute of lande, for forfeites above 20 li., for reversions of leasses, or any other extraordinary sutes, til the state of my revenues were further knowen.

15. The French king came to a toune standing on the river of Mosa called Yvoyre, wich gave him many hote scirmishes.

18. The French king began his batry to the walls.

<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> "This day hath byn before us in the starre-chamber Beaumont; and, albeit att the beginning he began somewhat to vary from his formar confession and submission in a poynt or twoo, yett afterwards he confessed the hole and every part of the byll layd against hym, which conteyneth so many fowle matters as we think have seldome appered in any one man. He is bownd in xxx M. li., to pay such fynes and to stand to such order as shall be appoynted, and is agayne returned to the Flete." (The council to the duke of Northumberland, in Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*, vol. i. p. 143.) Two original documents by which Beaumont made his submission are now preserved in the Lansdowne MS. 2. By one, subscribed by his signature *John Beaumont*, he surrendered his office of master of the rolls; by the other he acknowledged the debt charged upon him in the court of wards and liveries of 20,871*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*; and in liquidation thereof surrendered all his manors, lands, and tenements, and all his goods and chattels. Both papers are dated on the 28th May. They are printed by Strype as a note to Hayward's *Life and Reign of Edward VI.* in Kennett's *Complete History of England*, 1719, ii. [319], and also in his *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. ii. Appx. 87, and in Nichols's *History of Leicestershire*, vol. iii. p. 1125.

14. The tounesmen of Mountmydy gave a hote skyrmishe to the French, and slew mons. de Toges brother, and many other gentlemen of the campe.<sup>1</sup>

12. The prince of Salerno,<sup>2</sup> who had ben with the French king to treat with him touching the matters of Naples, was dispatched in post with this aunswere, that the French king wold ayde him with 13,000 footmen, and 1500 horsemen, in the French wages, to recover and conquere the kingdome of Naples, and he should mary, as some said, the French king's sistar, madame Margarith. The cause why this prince rebelled against th'emperour was partly the uncurteouse handling of the viceroy of Naples, partly ambition.

18. The Flemminges made an invasion into Champaigne, in so much that the dolphin had almost ben taken, and the queen, lieing at Chalons, sent some of her stufte toward Paris.

19. Also another company toke the town of Guise, and spoiled the countrey also.

22. Mons. de Taille was (sent) for to reise the arriere-bans and legionaires of Picardie and Champaigne, to recover Guise, and invade Flaundres.

27. Removing to Ampton-court.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See page 84.

<sup>2</sup> Ferdinando-de San Severino, prince of Salerno 1508—1572, visited King Henry VIII. in England in 1540: see State Papers, vol. i. p. 625, and the Chronicle of Calais (printed for the Camden Society), pp. 48, 188. He had usually resided at Bruxelles in the court of the Emperor Charles V., but about the present time he took an opposite course, having taken offence at the cruel administration of the viceroy of Naples: see one of the chapters (headed by his name) of Roger Ascham's account of the State of Germany.

<sup>3</sup> "The xxvij day of June the King's majesty removed from Greenwich by water unto Putney, and there he took his horse unto Hampton Court on his progress; and after living there ten days, so to Oatlands, and to Guilford." (Machyn's Diary.) Before starting on this progress Edward had received a visit from his sister Mary, which he has omitted to record. It was made on Monday the 13th of June, as appears from a memorandum of secretary Cecill, in the book mentioned in p. 418. "June 13. The lady Mary at y<sup>e</sup> Court." Also in Machyn's Diary: "The xj day of June came riding to London my lady

20. It was apointed that the Steedes<sup>1</sup> shuld have this aunswere, that those clothes wich they had bought to cary over, to the some of 2000 clothes and od, shuld be caried at their old custome, so they were caried within six wikes; and likewise al commodites they brought in til our Lady-day in Lent next; in al other pointes the old decree to stand, til by a further communication the matter shuld be ended and concluded.

The lord Paget was licensid to tarie at London, and therabouts, til Michelmas, bicaus he had no provisione in his country.<sup>2</sup>

26. Certain of the heraudes, Lancaster and Percullis, ware committed to warde for counterfeting Clarenceaux seale, to get mony by giveng of armes.<sup>3</sup>

Mary's grace, (and) through London unto St. John's (at Clerkenwell), with a goodly company of gentlemen and gentlewomen. The xij. day of June rode through London unto the Tower wharf my lady Mary's grace, the King's sister, and took her barge to Greenwich, the King's court; and so came back again at vj. o'clock at night, and so landed at the Tower, and so unto Saint John's beyond Smithfield."

<sup>1</sup> "vij July. A letter to the customers of London declaring unto them the Kinges lycencing of the Steedes to carry owt a certaine nombre of clothes and a certaine quantity of leade, paying for the same th'old custome, in consideracion that the premisses were provided before the decree made touching the resuming of theyr priviledge into the King's handes." (Council Book.)

"x July. A license to the Haunzes of Almayne inhabiting within London in the Stilliarde to carrie into theire owne countrey ij<sup>m</sup>vij<sup>l</sup>vij clothes and xxxvj peces of leade, paying suche custome as they have used." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 238.)

Notwithstanding they had lost their privileges as the corporation of the Steelyard in London, they were permitted by special license to export clothes as before, and such privilege was from time to time occasionally renewed until they were finally commanded to depart the kingdom in 1597-8; respecting which measure see The Egerton Papers, printed for the Camden Society, p. 273.

<sup>2</sup> See note in p. 423.

<sup>3</sup> The name of Lancaster herald was Fulke ap Howell, who had obtained a grant of the office in 1539. Portcullis was Richard Wythers, gentleman. The office of Clarenceux was filled by Thomas Hawley esq. Thomas Lant, Portcullis in the reign of Elizabeth, in his "Observations and Collections concerning the Office and Officers of Armes," thus notices this case as an example of "An heraulde disgraded (to which a subsequent pen

23. The French king, having received divers skirmishes of the tounesmen,<sup>1</sup> and chefely tow, the one whan they slew the French light horse lieng in a village by the toune, th'other whan the(y) entred into the campe and pulled doune tentes; wich tow skirmishes were given by the counte of Mansfelt governour of the toune and the duchy of Leximbourg, and his three hundred light horse; understanding by the treason of four priestes the weakest part of the towne, so affraied the tounesmen and the Flemmish soudiars, that they by threatnings compelled their capitaine the counte, that he yelded himself and the gentlemen prisoners, the common soudiars to depart, with white wandes in their handes. This toune was wel fortified, vitailed, and furnished.

24. The toune of Mountmidy yelded to the French kinge, wich before had given him a hote skirmishe.

#### JULY.

4. Sir Jhon Gatis, vicechamberlaine, was made chauncelour of the duchy (of Lancaster<sup>2</sup>).

has added) nay, hanged." "Foulke ap Howell, being first Guynes pursuyvant extraordinary, after Rougedragon, and lastly Lancaster, for being charged with Treason [qu? whether so?] was fyrst abandoned the socyety; next he was disgraded of his dignity, and lastly executed;—disgraded, because it should not be reported that a man of his place, and of the Kinges coat, should suffer so shamfull an end. In like sort one Richard Wythers being Portcullis—for what cryme I knowe not [Lant was not aware that they were accomplices in guilt] was from the society abandoned and afterwarde disgraded, but I fynd nothing to prove that he was executed." (MS. Coll. Arm. No. 60, f. 7.) The letters patent dated 28 April, 31 Hen. VIII. whereby Fulke ap Howell *alias* Rouge-dragon had been created Lancaster, were exemplified on the 24 Feb. 6 Edw. VI., no doubt for the purpose of being cancelled: which exemplification is printed in Rymer, xv. 294. The name of "LANCASTER HERALD" occurs among the carvings made by prisoners in the Beauchamp tower of the Tower of London. (See the *Archæologia*, vol. xiii. plate vii.)

<sup>1</sup> Of Ivoy: see Barnaby FitzPatrick's account in p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> "March 14. A commission to sir John Gate, knight, etc. authorising him as well to



## 7. Removing to Otlands.

5. Th'emperour's embassadour delivered the regentes lettre, being of this effect: that, wheras I was bound by a treaty with th'emperour<sup>1</sup> made a° D'ni 1542 at Dutrect, that if any man did invade the Low countys I shuld help him with 5000 footmen or 700 crounes a day during foure monthes, and make warre with him within a month after the request made, and now the French king had invaded Luxembourg, desiring me to folow th'effect of the treaty.

7. The names of the commissioners was added and made more, both in the dettis, the surveying of the courts, the Penal Lawes, et<sup>c</sup>, and that bicause my lord chaumberlain, my lord previseal, mr. vicechamberlain, and mr. secretary Peter went with me this progress.<sup>2</sup>

keape the privie and greate seales of the duchie still as also to doe all other thinges that shall concerne the sayd office during the Kinges pleasure in as ample manner as the lord Paget had it, with authoritie t'appoint a vice-chauncelour, and to take order with him for the receyving and redelivery of the greate seale of the sayde office for the keeping of the next assises in the countie palatyne of Lancaster at Easter terme nexte." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 189 b.) Other favours were at this time conferred on sir John Gate, who had become one of Northumberland's chief creatures and ministers. "March 15. A gift to sir John Gate, knight, etc. of all the goodes and chattelles the which of late was sir Ralfe Vane's lately attaynted, and seased to the Kinges use in his howse at Westminster." Also, "A gift to the sayde sir John Gate, knight, etc. in fee simple of all the scite of the late colledge or fre chappell of St. Stephan in Westminster, in the countie of Myddlesex, with diverse other landes, tenementes, etc. to the yearely vallew of xiiijli. vjs. viij d. To be holden by fealtie only in socage. And to take the profites from the tyme of the offence committed by the sayde sir Ralfe Vane." (Ibid. f. 190 b.) "July 7. Th'office of chauncelour of the countie palatyne of Lancaster to sir John Gate knight, for life, with the fee of Cljli. ijs. viij d. To be payd of the revenues of the sayd countie palatyne from Michalmas last quarterly." (Ibid. f. 238.) "July 10. An annuitie of a Cli. to sir John Gate knight, for life, in way of rewarde, to be payd of the revenues of the countie palatine of Lancastre from Michalmas last quarterly." (Ibid. f. 238 b.) Sir John Gate shared the fate of his patron the duke, suffering decapitation in 1553 for his active support of the pretended title of queen Jane.

<sup>1</sup> See the articles of this treaty in *Fœdera*, &c. xiv. 768. The treaty itself was not discovered by Rymer.

<sup>2</sup> During the absence of the privy council, sir Philip Hoby was left in charge of the

8. It was appointed that 50 li. weight of gold shuld be coined after the new standard, to cary about this progresse, wich maketh 1500 li. sterling.<sup>1</sup>

9. The chauncellour of th'augmentation<sup>2</sup> was willed to surceasse his commission, geven him the third yeare of our raigne.

3. Mons. de Boschow (*interlined* Bossy,) grand escuyer to the emperour, was made general of th'army in the Low countries, and mons. de Prat over the horsmen.

10. It was appointed here, that if th'emperour's embassadour did move any more for help or aide, this aunsweare shuld be sent him by tow of my counsell: that this progresse time my counsel was disparsed; I wold worke by thier advice, and he must tary til the matter ware concluded, and their opinions hard. Also I had committed the treaty to be considered by divers learned men, et<sup>ce</sup>. And if another time he wold presse me, then aunsweare to be made, that I trusted th'emperour wold not wish me in theis yong yearis,

metropolis, a letter being addressed to him on the 23d July, "that he forthwith make his repaire to London, and to be resident in the Towre, joining with the lieutenant of the same, and to take such good order for the keeping thereof and of the citie of London in the time of the progresse." (MS. Reg. 18 C XXIV. f. 242.) A letter from sir Philip "From the Tower, even in the time of my fitt [for his honourable imprisonment had given him the ague,] the 21st of August, 1552," occurs in the Cecill Papers, i 12.

<sup>1</sup> On the first of the month the council had addressed "a warraunt to th'exchequier to delyver into the iiij principall gentlemen of the privie chamber for the diffrayments of the King's mat<sup>tes</sup> pursse the summe of M. poundes." (Council Book.)

<sup>2</sup> Sir Richard Sackville was chancellor of the court of Augmentation with an annual fee of 400 li. (Report of Commissioners 6 Edw. VI. MS. Soc. Ant. 209.) An account of the court of Augmentation will be found in Fuller's Church History of Britain, Book vi. § vi. It was erected by act of parliament 27 Hen. VIII. Towards the end of the reign of Edward VI. its chief officers were,—sir Richard Sackville, chancellor, with 300*l.* yearly fee, 40*l.* diet, and 6*s.* 8*d.* for every seal; sir John Williams, treasurer, 320*l.* fee; sir William Cavendish, treasurer of the King's chamber, 100*l.* fee, 100*l.* diet, and 10*l.* for boat-hire; sir Thomas Moyle and sir Walter Mildmay, generall receivers, each with 200*l.* fee and 20*l.* diet, Richard Goodrich, attorney, 100*l.* fee and 20 marks diet, and John Gosnall, solicitor, 80*l.* fee, and 20 marks diet. Besides these, sir John

having felt them' so long, to enter into them: how I had amity sworne with the French king, wich I could not breake: and therfor, if th'emperour thought it so mete, I wold be a mean for a peace betwen them, but not otherwise. And if he did presse the treaty, lastly to conclude that the treaty did not bind me wich my father had made, being against the profite of my realme and countrie; and to desire a new treaty to be made betwen me and th'emperour, wich being pressed to th'emperour in the last warres, he aunswered that he marveiled what we ment, for we are bound, quoth th'emperour, and not you. Also th'emperour had refused to fulfil it divers times, both in not letting passe horses, armure, munition, et<sup>c</sup>, wich ware provided by me for the warres, as also in not sending aid upon the foraging of the low country of Callis.

12. A lettre was written to sir Peter Meutas, capitain of th'isle of Gersey, both to commaund him that divine service may ther be used as in England, and also that he take heade to the churchplate, that it be not stolne away, but kept sauf til further order be taken.<sup>2</sup>

Yorke was master of the woods on this side Trent, and Robert Heneage beyond Trent; sir Francis Jobson, surveyor of the same on this side Trent, and John Ashcott beyond Trent. This court became superfluous, because, instead of the monastic lands being kept in the King's possession, they were for the most part given away or sold to meet the necessities of government, and still more the covetousness of the nobility and courtiers. A doubt being raised as to the King's power to dissolve the court of Augmentation by his letters patent, an act was passed by his last parliament 7 Edw. V. cap. 2. which, after reciting the formation of the several courts,—of Augmentation by 27 Hen. VIII. cap. 27; of First Fruits by 32 Hen. VIII. cap. 45; of Wards by cap. 46 of the same year; and of General Surveyors by 33 Hen. VIII. cap. 39; the previous existence of the court of the Duchy of Lancaster; and the fact of the courts of Augmentation and General Surveyors having been united by Henry VIII., gave the King power to unite or change any of the said courts. This measure having been confirmed by an act of 1 Mary, cap. 10, the court of Augmentation was abolished. <sup>1</sup> *i.e.* wars

<sup>2</sup> "A commission to sir Peter Mewtas, Thomas Compton, Elier Gosselyn, Thomas Keymes, Henry Duns, Nicholas Beano<sup>s</sup>, and James Perrins, for the survey of churchre goodes and belles within the ile of Gurnesey." Writ signed 18 July, 1552. (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 240 b.)

9. The French king came to the towne of Aveines in Henault, where after he had veued the toune he left it, and besieged a pile called Tirloc; but the baily of the toune perceiving his departur, gave th'onset on his rierward, with 2000 footmen and 500 horsmen, and slew 500 Frenchmen. After this and the winning of certein holdes of litle force, the French king returned into Fraunce, and divided his army into divers good townes to rest them; because divers ware sike of the flixe, and such other diseases, meaning shortly to encrease his power, and so to go forward with his entreprice.

12. Frederice duke of Saxe<sup>1</sup> was released from his emprisonment, and sent by th'emperour into his owne countrie, to the great re-joicing of al the Protestauntes.

5. Th'emperour declared that he wold none of thos articles to wich duke Maurice agreed and the king of Romaines also. The copie of them remaineth with the secretary Cicel

Marquis Albert of Brandembourg did great harme in the countrie of Franconie, burnt al townes and villages about Norimberg, and compelled them to pay to the princes of his leage 200,000 dallers, 10 of the fairest peces of ordenaunce, and 150 kintalles of powder. After that he went to Frankfort, to distres certeine soudiars gathered there for th'emperour.

15. Removing to Gildford.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The duke of Saxony immediately wrote a letter to King Edward, to which he replied congratulating the duke on his deliverance, 27th July. (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 243.)

<sup>2</sup> On the 19th secretary Cecill repaired "to the cowrte at Guylforde," and on the following day "The French embassador dyned at the manor house (at Guildford, and) was answered for the Debatable." Itinerary before mentioned in p. 418. The King had a manor-house at Guildford, of which sir Michael Stanhope was keeper until his attainder, when the marquess of Northampton was appointed to succeed him. (History of Surrey, by Manning and Bray, i. 25.) Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, had died at this house, 24 Aug. 1545. The heralds attendant on the King at his entry into Guildford were Garter, Clarenceux, Ulster, and Somerset; and of the xxs. received from the town the two former each took vjs. vjd. and the two latter each iij s. iiij d. (Partition book, f. 111 b.)



21. Removing to Petworth.<sup>1</sup>

23. Th'aunswear was made to th'emperour's ambassadour, touching the aide he required, by mr. Wotton and mr. Hobby, according to the first article *supra*.<sup>2</sup>

24. Bicause the nombre of bandis that went with me this progresse made the traine great,<sup>3</sup> it was thought good they shuld be

<sup>1</sup> Petworth, the principal Southern manor-house of the Percys earls of Northumberland, was given to the ancestor of that family, Josceline de Louvaine, by his sister Adelisa, the widow of King Henry I. Henry de Percy had license to crenellate his house there in 1309. (2 Edw. II.) Leland says, "The market towne of Petteworthe, in the wold of Southsax, is right well encreasid syns the yerles of Northumberland used litle to ly there." They ceased "to lie there" altogether in Leland's time, for Petworth was among the estates which were vested in the crown by act of parliament, 27 Hen. VIII. in case of the decease of Henry sixth earl of Northumberland without issue, which happened in 1537. During the reign of Edward VI. Petworth remained in the hands of the crown, and Henry earl of Arundel was master of the game there: we may therefore presume that the charge of the King's entertainment upon the present occasion fell on that nobleman. Petworth was restored to the Percies by letters patent 4 and 5 Phil. and Mar.; and Henry eighth earl of Northumberland began to rebuild the manor-house in 1577. In the Lansdowne MSS. 3, art. 17, is a paper containing "The names of the lordships of the Honour of Petworth, with the members of the same," from a survey dated September 3, 1552.

<sup>2</sup> *i. e.* as stated by the King in p. 432.

<sup>3</sup> In council held at Petworth, the xxiiijth July, "The King's Ma<sup>tie</sup> being enformed that the nombres of his bands of horsemen that are presently following his Highnes' trayne by his Ma<sup>tie</sup> appointment are more than, haveing regarde to the want of provision and forrage, may well be continewed without sume hinderaunce to the cuntrie, and pestering of the trayne, his Ma<sup>tie</sup> this day resolved that the sayd numbers shold be diminished, and divided in sort as followeth. The lord treasurer xx., the lord privie seale xv., the duke of Suffolke xv., th'erle of Huntingdon x., the lord admyrall x., the lord chamberlayne xv., the lord Cobham x., the lord warden xv., th'erle of Warwik xxv. Total Cl." (Council Book.) Besides these bands, at first amounting to 345, (see p. 419) and now reduced to 150, the King went attended with his guard, to whom, by warrant dated the 5th June, had been delivered Cxxvj liverie bowes and iiij<sup>xx</sup> guilt javelinges for their furniture for this year: and Cxxv sheaves of arrows which with their cases and girdles cost xxxiiij li. vjs. viij d. (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 219 b.)

The King was also accompanied, for greater state, by the heralds, who by a warrant

sent home, save only 150 wiche were pikt out of al the bandis. This was bicause the traine was thought to be nier 4000 horse, wiche ware inough to eat up the countrey; for ther was litle medow nor hay al the way as I went.

25. Removing to Coudrey, sir Antony Broune's house.<sup>1</sup>

dated the 9th October, were allowed for their diet, in their attendance on his Majestie during his progress, from the 5th July to the 7th October,—to Garter king of arms *xs. per diem*, to Clarenceux and Norroy each *vjs. viijd.* to Somerset *iijs.* to Rougedragon and Bluemantle each *ijs.* and to Ulster the same as the other provincial kings to the 2d Sept. only. (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 261.) Besides these allowances they received the fee of *xxs.* from each of the great towns of Guildford, Portsmouth, Southampton, Salisbury, Winchester, and Reading, into which the King entered for the first time. In the MS. Harl. 6064, f. 80, is the copy of a royal warrant dated 8 Aug. 2 Eliz directing the payment during the queen's progress in that year of allowances to the three kings of arms, five heralds, and three pursuivants, after the same allowance as on the present occasion, (but of which, it may be added, Strype, in Memorials, ii. 359, has given an inaccurate statement). King Edward's sixteen trumpeters had received their accustomed liveries shortly before the present progress. On the 3d of May the sum of *iiijCxxv li. iijs.* had been issued for the provision of red cloth for liveries for the yomen, gromes, pages, and others belonging to the chamber; and on the 5th of June was issued "a warraunt to th'Exchequier to pay to Edmond Standon, clerk of the stable, the summe of *vCli.* towards the furniture of things necessarie for the King's matie agaynst this progresse." (Council Book.)

But, besides the various classes of the King's personal attendants, there were those of the several councillors who accompanied the progress. The privy-council register shows that there were seven who went throughout the whole, viz. the lord treasurer (Winchester), the lord privy seal (Bedford), the duke of Suffolk, the lord great chamberlain (Northampton), the lord chamberlain (Darcy), the vice-chamberlain (Gates), and secretary Cecill. The duke of Northumberland, the earl of Huntingdon, lord admiral (Clinton), and sir John Mason joined the train at Salisbury. Secretary Petre came to Basing. Sir Philip Hoby was during the progress left in the Tower of London, in charge of the metropolis, (as already mentioned in p. 432,) receiving an allowance of *xx li.* a week.

<sup>1</sup> "A goodly house of sir Anthony Browne's, where we were marvelously, yea rather excessively, banketted." (The King's letter to Barnaby FitzPatrick, *antea*, p. 80.) This magnificent mansion was founded by sir William Fitzwilliam, sometime treasurer of the King's household, and afterwards lord high admiral, knight of the garter, and earl of Southampton, who purchased the estate in 1528, and in 1533 (24 Hen. VIII.) received

27. Removing to Halvenaker.<sup>1</sup>

license from the King to impark 600 acres in Esebourn and Midhurst, and to call the same Cowdray park, and to have free warren therein, &c. and also to embattle the manor-house,—“*cum petris, calce et zabulo, muris et turribus includere, battellare vel turellare, kernellare et machiccolare.*” Lord Southampton did not destroy what before stood on the spot, but inclosed within his edifice a large and lofty polygonal tower, erected by his predecessors the Bohuns, and therein he placed his kitchen. The site of Cowdray house when complete, with the additions made by the viscounts Montague, comprised a space of 120 rods or perches, or one customary acre. The area of the quadrangle was 107 feet by 122; it was approached by a very lofty central gateway, finished by four light turrets: on either side of the court was a range of apartments, terminating at the four angles in square towers; from which bay windows, large and widely projecting, looked forth on the exterior to the park. “Architecture of characteristic solidity and plainness prevailed externally; whilst the space, proportion, and number of the apartments, and their singularly curious embellishments and furniture, gave to Cowdray a preference above most of the provincial palaces erected by the nobility of the court of Henry VIII. and his immediate successors.” (Dallaway, Rape of Chichester, p. 248.) The plan of the hall, and its carved roof, resembled those built by cardinal Wolsey at Christ church Oxford and Hampton court, with a certain inferiority. It was 60 feet in length, 28 broad, and 52 from the floor to the top of the open louvre, which externally was profusely covered with vanes of gilt metal. The screen was carved, most intricately, with scrolls and trefoils, the cognizance of Lord Southampton, with his initials W. S. and motto *Loialtie s'aprovera*; the wainscot resembled that at Halnaker (hereafter mentioned p. 438.) Around the cornice were placed eleven figures of stags, carved in oak, life size, in different attitudes, and some of them holding banners. Cowdray was further remarkable, beyond any other house of its own or even of any subsequent time, for its historical pictures, painted in fresco, commemorating the services of sir Anthony Browne to King Henry VIII. and concluding with the coronation procession of Edward VI. (described elsewhere in the present volume). These pictures must have been in a state of early freshness at the time of King Edward's visit. He perhaps slept, as his sister Elizabeth subsequently did on her visit in 1591, in what was called the velvet bedchamber, which was hung with tapestry taken from the cartoons of Raffaele, but originally painted in fresco with the sea-fight in the harbour of Brest, in which sir Edward Howard was killed, 1513. “This venerable pile had been preserved, both in its form and furniture, through two centuries, by its noble possessors, with an honourable pride; and had afforded peculiar gratification to the virtuoso and antiquary. A fire in 1793 reduced the whole to

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<sup>1</sup> “A pretty house besides Chichester,” as it is termed in the King's letter to his friend

## 30. Wheras it had ben before devised that the new fort of Bar-

the ruin in which it now remains." (See the views of Cowdray in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, Dallaway's *Rape of Chichester*, and the fifth volume of the *Sussex Archæological Collections*: the paintings described by Sir Joseph Ayloffe in the third volume of *Archæologia*, and in a distinct publication by Mr. Gough, 1775, 4to.) The earl of Southampton left Cowdray to his uterine brother sir Anthony Browne, K.G. master of the horse to Henry VIII.: their mother having been Lucy Neville, daughter and coheirress of John marquess Montacute, the brother of Richard earl of Warwick, the king-maker. By sir Anthony Browne's death, in 1548, it had devolved on his son of the same name, who now entertained King Edward, and who in 1554 was created viscount Montague by queen Mary, and in 1555 elected of the Garter.

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Barnaby. In the year 1840 the late William Bromet, M.D. F.S.A. exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries some drawings of Halnaker house, which are described in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxix. p. 381. He supposed the south-western tower of the castellated front to have been erected in the reign of Henry I. The south front of the mansion was built by Thomas eighth lord de la Warre, K.G. early in the reign of Henry VIII. A long gallery of brick, with moulded brick chimneys, and a private chapel, occupied the eastern side of the court previously to 1804, when they fell down. The great hall had a screen of carved oak at its lower or west end, with a music gallery above. At its east end was wainscoting in panels, with various carved escutcheons, representing the royal arms of England and Aragon, and the principal bearings and cognizances of the West family:—these have been removed to Buckhurst, but one of Grimm's drawings among the Burrell collections in the British Museum shows how they originally stood. Over two doors, which Dr. Bromet supposed may have led to the wine and beer cellars respectively, were two panels, one representing "a young foreigner-like man, between two storks, which are in the attitude of drinking," and this motto, *Come in here and dryncke*; over the other "a burly English toper, having on either side an ale-tankard," and the motto *LES BIENS VENVS* (but Dr. Bromet fancied these mottoes were contrarywise attached, nor does he give them quite correctly). At the extreme west end of the house was the kitchen, which was very lofty, and provided with luffer-boards. The spacious fire-place was surmounted with eight or ten spit-racks, and sundry hooks for salted meats. There were likewise two large coppers, and in the north-west corner a crane for hoisting up the carcase of a sheep or pig; while, from a small elevated case-ment near the north-eastern corner, the housekeeper's directions were issued. Halnaker was finally dismantled about the year 1835, on lord Delawarr completing his new mansion at Buckhurst.



wike<sup>1</sup> shuld be made with fowre bulwarkes, and for making of tow of them the wall of the toune shuld be left open on th'enemies side a great way together, wich thing had ben both dangerouse and chargeable, it was agreed the wall shuld stond, and tow slaughter houses<sup>2</sup> to be made upon to skowre the utter cutiners (curtains), a great rampier to be made within the walle, a great dicke within that, another walle within that, with tow other slaughter houses, and a rampere within that again.

26. The Flemminges entred in great numbers into the countrie

The following anecdote of King Edward's progress through Sussex occurs in David Lloyd's *State Worthies*, in his character of sir Anthony Cooke. I have not been able to identify the person to whom it refers:—

"A Sussex (and not a Kentish) knight, having spent a great estate at court, and reduced himself to one park and a fine house in it, was yet ambitious to entertain, not the queen, but her brother at it; and to that purpose had new painted his gates with a coat of arms and a motto overwritten, OIA V A N I T A S in great golden letters. Sir Anthony Cooke (and not his son Cecil) offering to read it, desired to know of the gentleman what he meant by OIA? who told him it stood for *Omnia*. Sir Anthony replied, Sir, I wonder, having made your *Omnia* so little as you have, you notwithstanding make your *vanitas* so large." (*State Worthies*, 8vo. 2d edit. 1670, p. 385. The phrases "not a Kentish," "not the Queen," and "not Cecil," probably refer either to the former edition of Lloyd's book, in 1655, or to the authority from whence he derived the story; but Lloyd seldom gives his authorities.)

<sup>1</sup> "July xxx. A letter to the duke of Northumbreland signifying that the King's matie thinks his opinion good and verie necessarie concerning a new pece to be made in the towne of Barwicke and his charges thereby diminished, and therefore his pleasure is that he shall geve ordre and direction theare for the new plat and devise, and to cause sutche partes of the wourkes to be first avaunsed as shalbe most nede oone before the other. And also the Kinges matie dothe well allow his good opinion to have a deputie generall over all the thre marches, and deputie wardaynes theare, wherefor his matie thinkethe none more mete then the lord Wharton, in whom the sayd duke hath thereto a good opinion; and that also therbie the King is contented, that certaine persons outlawede and of there voluntarie willes retournede shall have the Kinges mercie shewede them, and that they which were the reknors of th'offenders shall have justice ministred unto them." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 246 b.)

<sup>2</sup> This appears to have been at this time a technical term in fortification.

of Terouenne, wherupon 500 men of armes arose of Frenchmen, and gave th'onset on the Flemminges, overthrew them, and slew of them 1435, wherof war 150 horsmen.

31. It was appointed upon my lord of Northumberland's request, that he shuld geve hauf his fee to the lord Wharton, and make him his deputy warden there.<sup>1</sup>

## AUGUST.

### 2. Removing to Warblington.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> " July xxx. A letter to the lord Wharton signifying that the Kinges maties pleasure is he shalbe the sayd deputie wardayne, and to have the generall charge of the sayd thre marches." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 247.) Thomas first lord Wharton (by writ 1545) had for several years before, by various commissions, been employed as one of the wardens of the marches towards Scotland, and so continued to be during the reign of Philip and Mary.

<sup>2</sup> . . . " a faire house of sir Richard Cotton's." (The King's letter, as before.) It had been granted to him only in 1550, when there passed the great seal " a gift to sir Richard Cotton knight, in fee simple, of the mannor of Warblington and the parke of Warblington, with the appurtenances, in the countie of Southampton, with diverse other landes, tenementes, &c. to the yearely valew of xliijli. vijs. iiij d. q. to be holden in capite by the xlth parte of a knightes fee; and to take the profitess from th'annunciacion of our Lady last." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 116.) Warblington was an ancient fortified manor-house, commanding the approach to Haling island, and at one time belonged to the earls of Salisbury. In 1633 it was described as " a very fair place, well moated about, built all with bricks and stones, and of great receipt; built square, in length 200 feet, and in breadth 200 feet, with a fair green court within, and buildings round the said court; with a fair gallery, and diverse chambers of great count, and two towers covered with lead; with a very great and spacious hall, parlour, and great chamber, and all other houses of office whatsoever necessary for such a house; with a very fair chapple within the said house, and the place covered all with tiles and stones; and there is a fair green court before the gate of the said house, containing two acres of land; and there is a very spacious garden, with pleasant walks adjoining, containing two acres of land; and near to the said place groves of trees, containing two acres of land, two orchards and two little meadow plats, containing three acres, and a fair fish-pond near the said place, with a gate for wood, and two barns, one of five bays and the other of four bays, with stables and other out-houses." Such was the well-appointed residence in which King Edward was

3. The duke of Guise was sent into Lorrein, to be the French kinges lieutenant there.

4. Removing to Waltham.<sup>1</sup>

entertained. It has long been partly a farm-house and partly in ruins, of which a view and a full description will be found in Grose's *Antiquities of England*, or in Warner's *History of Hampshire*. Sir Richard Cotton, the King's host at Warblington, was shortly after promoted to the high office of comptroller of the household (see p. 448.) He had been cofferer to prince Edward before his accession, and previously comptroller in that of king Henry's natural son the duke of Richmond, to whom also he was governor. Queen Elizabeth, when only twelve years old, was godmother (in 1545) to his younger son Henry Cotton, whom she afterwards made bishop of Salisbury in 1598. See further particulars of sir Richard and his brothers in my memoir of the duke of Richmond, in the Third volume of the *Camden Miscellany*, particularly at p. xevi.

<sup>1</sup> Bishop's Waltham, which the King found "a faire great old house," (see his letter *antea*, p. 81,) was an ancient manor of the bishops of Winchester, which had been recently surrendered by bishop Poinet on his nomination to the see, and given to the lord treasurer Winchester. August ij. 1551, there passed the council "a reversion of keaping Bisshopp's Waltham howse, with the ij. parkes, the woodwardship, bayliwik, clarke of the market, and keaping of Beare chace in Southamptonshe, to William erle of Wiltshire for life, after the deathes, surrender, or forfayture of Thomas Woodhall, John Natlington, Richard Woodhall, and Oliver Lawrence, with all fees and profites accustomed." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 121 b.) Leland rode "from Wikeham to Waltham, a praty town, three miles by enclosid ground, good pasture, wodde, and corne. Here the bisshop of Winchester hath a right ample and goodly maner-place motid about, and a praty broke renning hard by it. The maner-place hath beene of many bishops' building. Most parte of the three partes of the base court was buildid of brike and timbre of late days by bisshop Langton. The residue of the inner part of the house is al of stone." The famous William of Wykeham repaired his manor of Waltham, and died there. A remarkable memorial of an earlier royal visitant at this place occurs in the will of cardinal Beaufort, who (in 1447) bequeathed to the queen, Margaret of Anjou, "the red bed of cloth of gold of damask, which hangs in my manor of Waltham, in which my said lady the queen lay when she was at the said manor." (Nichols's *Royal and Noble Wills*.) When bishop Gardiner recovered the see of Winchester on the accession of Mary, he also recovered the manor of Waltham. Queen Mary was resident there in 1554 from the 12th to the 22d of July, whilst awaiting the arrival of her Spanish bridegroom at the port of Southampton. The mansion was demolished in the civil war, and there now only remain the ivy-grown walls of the great hall, 66 feet by 27, and

8. Removing to Portesmouth.<sup>1</sup>

9. In the morning I went to Chaterton's bulwarke,<sup>2</sup> and vewed also the toune.<sup>3</sup> At afternoune went to see the storehouse, and ther

25 feet high, and a broken tower 17 feet square. (Gough's Camden.) Its ruins are described and delineated by Captain Grose in his "Antiquities of England and Wales," and in a pleasing little History of the place by the Rev. Charles Walters, M.A. F.R.A.S. 1844. 12mo.

When at Waltham the King knighted sir Robert Chester, as stated in the MS. Cotton. Claudius C. III. Whether any other knights were made by the King during his progress does not appear, nor what were the particular claims of sir Robert Chester. They were, perhaps, distinct from any of the incidents of the progress: for he was an officer of the government, his name occurring as the senior of the twelve receivers of the court of Augmentation in January, 4 Edw. VI. (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 263.)

<sup>1</sup> I have not been able to learn that the town or parish records of Portsmouth preserve any memorial of this royal visit. From Henry Bikeley, the mayor of Portsmouth, the heralds received their customary fee of xx s. which was divided—to Garter and Clarendeux, each vjs. iiij d.; to Ulster and Somerset, each ijs. iiij d.; to Athlone, viij d. (Partition book, College of Arms.)

<sup>2</sup> John Chaderton was at this period master gunner or master of the ordnance at Portsmouth. He was one of the members for the town in the parliaments of 33 Hen. VIII., 7 Edw. VI., and 1 Mary. The bulwark named after him was probably that at the south angle of the fortifications.

<sup>3</sup> Leland, in his Itinerary, made several observations of the fortifications of Portsmouth. He describes a round stone tower with ordnance at the west point of the mouth of the harbour [this was Haselford bulwark]; on the east point, next the town, was "a great round tower [Ridley's], almost double in quantity and strength to that on the west side." A mighty chain of iron was provided to draw from one of these towers to the other. The town was "securid from the east tour a forlowgh lenght with a mudde waulle armid with tymbre, wheron be great peaces both of yren and brasen ordinauns; and this peace of the waulle, having a dicke without it, renneth so far flat south-south-est, and is the place most apte to defend the town, ther open on the haven. Then rennith a dicke almost flat est for a space, and withyn it is a waulle of mudde lyke to the other, and so thens goith round about the town to the circuite of a myle. There is a gate of tymbre at the north-est ende of the town, and by it is cast up a hille of earth diked, wherein be gunnes to defend (*i. e.* prevent) entré into the toun by land." He adds, among other particulars, that "the toun of Portesmoth is bare and litle occupied in time of pece," that it consisted chiefly of one fair street running from west to north-east, having in its midst a town-house lately built by one Carpenter, a rich man; that there was a



toke a bote, and went to the wodden toure, and so to Haselford.<sup>1</sup> Upon viewing of wich thinges there was devised tow fortes to be made upon the entry of the haven, one where Ridleis toure standeth, upon the neke that makith the Camber, the other upon a like neke, standing on the tother side the haven, where stode an old bulwarke of wode. This was devised for the strenght of the haven. It was ment that that to toun side shuld be both stronger and larger.

10. Hary Dudley,<sup>2</sup> who lay at Portesmouth with a warlike com-

single parish church; and much vacant ground within the town walls. Various old maps in the collection at the British Museum confirm this view of the place. Two are of the reign of Henry VIII. and one of that of Elizabeth, in which the names of all the inhabitants are attached to their houses, and which also shows the site of a great fire of the queen's storehouses which occurred in 1557,—as described in a certificate of the mayor and burgesses, printed in the *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vol. ii. p. 251. This last map was lithographed by sir Frederick Madden for private circulation in 1830, and a reduced copy thereof has been made by Mr. Charpentier, engraver at Portsmouth, 1841.

<sup>1</sup> In the King's letter to Barnaby Fitz-Patrick, p. 81, he has given an account of the state in which he found the fortifications of Portsmouth. Haselford is now a swampy spot at the rear of Haslar hospital. It appears to have been originally formed by a breach through which the sea flowed at high water into Haslar lake, and can still be distinguished from the natural depression of the land, although greatly altered by subsequent works. The site of Haselford bulwark is now occupied by the Royal Naval Hospital; and that of "the wodden toure" by the modern Blockhouse forts and Victoria Tower on the Haslar side of Portsmouth harbour. In Charles the Second's reign there appears to have been a windmill on Haselford common or copse. In the Clarence Victualling-yard is preserved a fine old picture of this part of the coast: it has been handed down in the Woevil manor-house, which stood on the site of the Clarence Yard. (Information communicated by Henry Slight, Esq. M.D. author of "*Antiquities of Portsmouth*.")

<sup>2</sup> "May, 1552. A letter to sir Richard Wingfield, signifying unto hym th'ordre taken for the sending of Rogers to Portsmouth to view and peruse the state of things there, and to devise what wayes may best be taken there for the fortifying of the same [see before, p. 417], Declaring also unto hym that till the sayd towne be better in strength, the King's matie hath appointed mr. Henry Dudley with his band of the garde and gonners to remayne there, whom he is wyllid to use with gentle and friendly entertainment." (Council Book.) "At Cowdrey, July xxviij. A letter to sir Richarde Wingfelde, capten

pany of 140 good soudiars, was sent to Guisnes with his men, because the Frenchmen assembled in thos frontiers in great nombres.

Eod. Removing to Tichfeld,<sup>1</sup> th'erl of Southampton's house.

14. Removing to Southampton.<sup>2</sup>

of Portsmouth, and mr. Chaderton, to muster mr. Dudley's band, called the garde, and to understand how much is due to them at the next pay, and what they have already receyved, to th'intent that ordre may be gyven for theyr dispatche to Guisnes, for which purpose they must prepare a vessell for theyr transportacion." (Ibid.)

<sup>1</sup> The priory at Tichfield had been granted to the late lord chancellor sir Thomas Wriothesley earl of Southampton, who was first created a peer by the title of baron of Tichfield, 1 Jan. 1543. (35 Hen. VIII.) Leland writes: "Mr. Wriothesley hath buildid a right stately house embatelid, and having a goodely gate, and a conducte castelid in the midle of the court of it, yn the very same place wher the late monasterie of Premonstratenses stode, caullyd Tichefelde. There is also a parke, the ground wherof is sumwhat hethy and baren." Queen Elizabeth visited Tichfield in 1569, and again in 1591. Captain Grose gives a view of Tichfield house drawn in 1781, but before that date a great part of the mansion had either fallen or been taken down; the hall was standing, and the gateway.

Whilst riding from Tichfield to Southampton the King lost the large pear pearl which depended from his golden collar. Of this incident we have the following very curious record in the Inventory of the Crown jewels: "Item, a cheyne of golde enameled, sett with xix faire perles and x small tablettes sett in everie of theym iij small dyamountes, conteyning xxx, and viij other small tablettes sett in everie of theym iij small rubies, conteyning xxiiij, hanging to the same cheyne a very greate and riche dyamounte, with a greate rubie enclosed in a flower, golde enameled, with a large perle pendaunte peere-fashion. (*Sidenote*,) The lardge perle pendaunt pere-fashion was lost from the flower by the Kinges ma<sup>tie</sup> wearing the same in his grace's jorney ryding the last somer from Tichefeld to Southampton, as appereth by his highnes' warrant to the lorde Treasurer dated xxiiij<sup>th</sup> Marcii, Anno vij<sup>o</sup> RR. E. vj<sup>th</sup>. Whiche perle was afteward founde agayne and redelivered to th'andes of the saide lorde Treasurer by sir John Gate vicechamberlayne to the King in Maye Anno predicto." (MS. Soc. Antiq. CXXIX)

<sup>2</sup> The only account that has been found of the King's reception at Southampton is that given by himself in his letter to Barnaby FitzPatrick (p. 81): to which we may add the heralds' "Particion made of xxs. for the Kynges ma<sup>ties</sup> entre at Southampton w<sup>ch</sup> was monday the xv<sup>th</sup> day of August, Richard Antar then mayre, parted and delyvered at Salysbury the xxvj<sup>th</sup> day of August,—Mr. Garter vs., Mr. Clarencius vs., Mr. Woulster (Ulster) vs., Somerset ijs. vjd., Rougedragon xvjd., Athaloun viij d., to the Clarke vjd. (Particion

16. The French embassadour came to declare how the French king ment to send on(e) that was his lieutenant in the civil law at Paris, to declare wich of our merchauntes matters have (been) adjudged on there side, and wich against them, and for what consideration.

16. Removing to Beuleu.<sup>1</sup>

The French embassadour brought newes how the cite of Siena had ben taken by the French side, on St. James' day, by on(e) that was called the conte Perigliano, and other Italian soudiers, by treason of some within the toune, and al the garrison of the toune, being Spaniardes, ware either taken or slain. Allso how the mareschal Brisac had recovered Saluzzo, and taken Verucca. Also how Villebone had taken Turnaham and Moutreville in the Low countrie.

18. Removing to Christchurche.<sup>2</sup>

21. Removing to Wodlands.<sup>3</sup>

book in College of Arms, f. 111.) Leland gives a long account of Southampton, its walls, gates, and public buildings. He speaks of the high street as "one of the fairest streates that ys yn any town of all England,"—and this pre-eminence it may be said to have preserved even to recent times, "and it is well buildid for timbre building. There ys a fair house buildid yn the middle of this streat for accomptes to be made yn. There be many very fair marchauntes' houses in Hampton; but the chefest is the house that Huttoft, late custumer of Hampton, buildid in the west side of the toun. The house that master Lightstar, chefe barne of the Kinges escheker, dwellith yn is very fair. The house that master Mylles the recorder dwellith yn is fair. And so be the houses of Nicoline and Guidote, Italians." (The last was the sir Anthony Guidotti noticed in p. 256.)

<sup>1</sup> Beaulieu,—so named from a situation, the natural beauties of which are described at large in Gilpin's Forest Scenery,—had been, as Leland tells us, "an abbay of white monkes,—a tounlet, and a certen territorie of ground privilegid with sanctuarie." It was granted at the dissolution to sir Thomas Wriothesley, afterwards earl of Southampton, and converted into a dwelling house; and the remains of the monastic buildings are still very considerable.

<sup>2</sup> I find nothing to show whether the King was lodged at Christchurch in the castle, or in the buildings of the priory. If the latter had not been destroyed, they would probably afford the more convenient accommodation of the two. But the castle also appears to have had habitable chambers at this period.

<sup>3</sup> Woodlands is a manor in the parish of Horton in Dorsetshire, which had been the seat of the family of Filiol from their marriage with the heiress of Frome, in the reign of

In this monthe, after long busines, duke Maurice and th'emperour agreed on a peax. But marquis Albert of Brandenburg wold not consent therto, but went away with his army to Spires, and Wormes, Colaine and Treves, taking large sommes of many of al cités wich he past, but chiefly of the clargie. Duke Maurice's soudiars parceiving marquis Albert wold entre into noo peaxe, went almost al to the marquise's servises, among wich were principal the counte of Mansfelt, baron Haideke, and a coronel of 3000 footmen and a 1000 horsmen called Reiffenberg. So that of 7000 wich shuld be sent into Hungrie against the Turces there remained not 3000. Also the duke of Wirtenberg did secretly let goe 2500 of the best soudiars in Germany to the service of marquis Albert. So that his powre was now very great.

Also in this monthe th'emperour departing from Villacha came to Isbroke, and so to Monaco and to Augusta, accompanied with 8000 Spaniardes and Italians, and a litle band of a few ragged Almaines. Also in this month did the Turkes wine the cité of Tamesino in Transilvany, and give a battail to the Christians, in

Henry the Fifth. William Filiol died in 1509, leaving two heiresses,—Anne, who was married to sir Edward Willoughby, and Katharine married to sir Edward Seymour, afterwards the protector Somerset, and mother of his first family. Woodlands was among the estates allotted to the elder sister: whose husband sir Edward Willoughby was of Middleton in Warwickshire, and his grandson sir Francis built the fine mansion of Wollaton, since the seat of the Willoughbys lords Middleton. Woodlands, by marriage with a daughter of sir Francis, came to that “good old English gentleman,” the honorable Henry Hastings, whose extraordinary character and mode of life were described by the first earl of Shaftesbury, in illustration of a whole-length portrait, from which there is an engraving in Hutchins's History of Dorsetshire. Woodlands is further memorable as the spot where the duke of Monmouth was captured after the battle of Sedgemoor. It was conveniently situated for the field sports of the New Forest, in which Mr. Hastings was so memorable a proficient. His house (we are told) was perfectly of the old fashion, in the midst of a large park, well stocked with deer; and near the house were rabbits for his kitchen, many fishponds, great store of wood and timber; a bowling green, long but narrow, with a banqueting-house like a hunting stand, built in a large tree. This was in the reign of Charles the First.



wiche was slaine coonte Pallavicino and 7000 Italians and Spaniardes. Also in this monthe did the Turkes navie take the cardinal's of Trent tow brothrene and seaven galleres (galleys) and had in chase 39 other. Also in this month did the Turkes navie land at Terracina in the kingdome of Naples, and the prince of Salerno set forward with 4000 Gascoins and 6000 Italians, and the conte Perigliano brought to his aide 5000 men of those that were at th'enterprise of Siena. Also the mareschal Brisac wane a toune in Piemont called Bussac.

#### 24. Removing to Salisbury.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In preparation for the King's visit to Salisbury, an assembly of the council was held, and it was ordained "that, if the King's grace do come to this city, the mayor, and his brethren who have been mayors, do receive him in scarlet colours, and other of the twenty-four in crimson gowns, and the forty-eight, and other honest men, in violet gowns, after their best manner, to the honour of the city, upon horseback. Also, that the mayor and commonalty shall give to the King's grace a cup gilt, to the value of x li., and xx li. in gold to be given in the same cup: summa xxx li. Whereof there is to be levied of the chamber x li., and of the twenty-four x li. and other x li. of the forty-eight and other honest persons. And also it is agreed that all that be of the twenty-four shall pay x s. a man, and all of the forty-eight v s. a man." The rest of the entry is partly illegible; but it appears that every occupation was to provide torches. (Ledger B. fol. 309.) The bishop's palace was probably the residence of the sovereign during his short stay. (Hatcher's History of Salisbury, fol. 1843, p. 262.) "Moreover, it is agreed that upon Fryday, the 10th of this present moneth of February, accompte shall be made as well of the money for the wheate, as also for money of the gatheryng ageynst the King's maties coming last past, and that mr. Mayor, mr. Thomas Chafyn th'elder, mr. Weastley, mr. Griffith, Anthony Weekes, Lewis Davey, Thomas Girdle, and Xp'fer Tucker shall be present and hear the same accompte." (Minute, 3 Feb. 7 Edw. VI. communicated from Ledger B. fol. 310, by Charles Marsh Lee, esq., town-clerk of Salisbury, 1856.)

"Particion made at Salyssebury of xx s. for the Kinges maties entre there the xxvth of August, parted and delyvered there the iiij d day of September, (John Aben mayre)—mr Garter iiij s. vj d., mr. Clarencius iiij s. vj d., mr. Norrey iiij s. vj d., mr. Ulster ij s. iiij d., Somerset ij s. iiij d., mr. Blewmantell xv d., Athaloune vj d., to the clerke iiij d." (Partition book in College of Arms; f. 111 b.)

That curious investigator of his country's antiquities, John Aubrey, recovered an anecdote of King Edward's presence in the neighbourhood of Salisbury from an eye-

26. Upon my lord of Northumberland's retorne out of the Northe, it was appointed for the better strenghthening of the marches, that no one man shuld have tow offices, and ther(fore) mr. Sturley<sup>1</sup> capitaine of Barwike shuld leave the wardenship of th'Est marches to the lord Euers.<sup>2</sup> And upon the lord Coniers' resignatione the capitainship of the castel of Carlil was appointed to (Ralph) Gray,<sup>3</sup> and the wardenship of the West marches to sir Richard Musgrave.<sup>4</sup>

27. Sir Richard Cotton made controller of the houshold.<sup>5</sup>

witness, who was still alive nearly a century after. "Old goodwife Dew, of Broad Chalke, died about 1649, aged 103. She told me she was, I thinke, sixteen yeares old when King Edward the sixth was in this countrie, and that he lost his courtiers, or his courtiers him, a hunting, and found him again in Falston-lane." (Natural History of Wiltshire, 1847, p. 69.) If born in 1546, the goodwife Dew would have been only six, instead of sixteen, in 1552. Falstone is near Bower Chalk, but in the parish of Bishopstone; and possessed a fine old manor-house in a moted site, perhaps (says Aubrey) of the time of Henry V. (See Matcham's History of the Hundred of Downton, in Hoare's South Wiltshire, p. 5.)

<sup>1</sup> Sir Nicholas (*not* Michael) Strelley: see p. 304.

<sup>2</sup> "Oct. 29. Th'office of deputie warden in the Est marches toward Scotlande to lord Eure, with the fee of vijC. markes for himselfe, and for his ij deputies lx li. by yeare, and for ij servauntes xl s. a pece per annum, to be payd at th'exchequier." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 266.) On the 24th of November he was removed to the Middle march (for the reason assigned by the King hereafter, p. 470), and on the 6th Dec. was issued "a warraunt to th'exchequer to pay the lord Euers, being now removed from the wardenship of the East marches unto the deputie wardenship of the Middle marches, all such somes of monie as are dew unto him for th'exercising of warden of th'East marches, being from the xiiijth of September unto the xxiiijth of November." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 280.)

<sup>3</sup> Ralph Grey, esquire, of Chillingham, was made deputy warden of the East march (letters patent 26 Nov.), not captain of Carlisle.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Richard Musgrave was made captain of Carlisle (25 Nov.); and sir Thomas Dane warden of the West march (see hereafter, p. 470.)

In the room of sir Anthony Wingfield, K.G. who had died on the 5th of the month (see Machyn's Diary, pp. 23, 24, 326.) Sir Richard Cotton's history as a courtier has been stated in p. 439.

28. Removing to Wilton.<sup>1</sup>

30. Sir Antony Auchar was pointed to be marshal of Callais,<sup>2</sup> and sir Edward Grimston controller of Callais.<sup>3</sup>

22. Th'emperour, being at Augusta, did banish tow preachers, Protestauntes, out of Augusta, under pretence that they preached

<sup>1</sup> The abbey of Wilton, which had belonged to one of the most distinguished communities of English nuns, was granted in 1544 to sir William Herbert, afterwards earl of Pembroke, who converted the conventual buildings into a mansion for himself, though his work is now obscured by the more magnificent additions of his successors. The most remarkable feature was a porch with arabesque ornaments, and busts in terra cotta, which has been popularly assigned to the workmanship of Hans Holbein; it is still preserved, but removed to the end of the garden terrace. After the victory of St. Quintin, in 1557, the earl of Pembroke brought to Wilton the armour of his captives, the constable Montmorency and other French noblemen, and they still stand as trophies in the entrance-hall. A whole-length portrait of the first earl of Pembroke in the library at Wilton affords a most interesting acquaintance with his noble presence. It is mentioned by Aubrey as "the picture of William Herbert, first earle, at length, as big as the life, and under it the picture of his little dog, of a kind of chesnut colour, that starved himself for his master's death." (*Natural History of Wiltshire*, 1847, p. 84; and the smaller picture again in p. 120 as that of "a little reddish picked-nose dog, none of the prettiest, that his lordship loved.") This picture has been attributed to Holbein, probably incorrectly, and has consequently encountered the abuse of Dr. Waagen, who remarks, "This indifferent and coarse picture is either not the work of Holbein at all, or it has been so painted over as to be wholly unworthy of him. How could Holbein ever paint such miserable hands?" (*Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, 1854, iii. 152.) But, whatever may be the hands, the costume and other more historical features of the picture make it very valuable. There is also at Wilton a portrait of Edward VI. which is described in the catalogue of his portraits in the early part of this volume.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Anthony Aucher succeeded Sir John Fogg, who was old and incapable. See a letter of the latter written in 1552, in the State-paper office, Calais correspondence. Sir Anthony Aucher, with his son and grandson, lost his life during the siege of Calais in 1558.

<sup>3</sup> The vacancy in the office of comptroller was occasioned by the death of Francis Hall esquire; who had left a widow, named Ursula, a son and three daughters. He possessed lands in Lincolnshire: see a letter of sir R. Cotton dated from Calais July 24, 1552, in the State-paper office. His widow was a sister of sir William Sherington, of Lacock abbey, Wiltshire, and was remarried to John Banester esquire.

seeditiously, and left Mecardus the chief precher and six other Protestaunt preachars in the toune, giveng the magistrates leave to chose other in their place that ware banished.

29. Th'emperour caused 8 Protestant citesens of the towne to be banished of them that went to the faire at Lintz, under pretence that they, taking marques Albert's part, wold not abide his presence.

#### SEPTEMBER.

2. Removing to Motisfont, my lord Sandes house.<sup>1</sup>

5. Removing to Winchester.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mottisfont had been a priory of Augustine canons. "The lorde Sannes that lately died made an exchaunge with the King, and gave Chelsey by Westminster for Motesfont priory in Hamptonshire, where he began to translate the old building of the priory, and to make a fair maner-place, but the work is left onperfecte." (Leland, *Itinerary*, iv. 11.) The family preferred their grander seat of The Vine near Basingstoke; but, after selling the latter in 1654, they returned to Mottisfont; whose present possessor, the Rev. Sir John B. Mill, Bart. is descended from one of their coheirs. Thomas the second lord Sandys had succeeded his father in 1542, and died in 1558.

In a letter written from Knolle to Cecill on the 3d Sept. the duke of Northumberland expresses himself "gladd to understande that the Kinges ma<sup>tie</sup> by th'advyce of my lordes, cutteth of parte of this superfluous progres, wher by my lordes of his mat<sup>ties</sup> counsell may the more gravelie and deliberatlye and in better tyme attend to his hyghnes' wayghtie affaires in theis troublesome dayes." The affairs to which the duke particularly adverted were "the creuelle delinge of the Frenche against the subjectes and merchantes of this realme." (State-paper office, Domestic, Edw. VI. vol. xv. art. 1.)

<sup>2</sup> At Winchester the King was probably received in the bishop's palace, commonly called Wolvesey castle, for there we find that queen Mary was entertained at the period of her marriage in 1554. No account of king Edward's visit has been obtained from the "Municipal Archives of Winchester," some extracts from which have been recently (1856) published by Mr. Charles Bailey, the Town Clerk. The event is referred to in a petition presented to Philip and Mary for the remission of feuage, wherein it is recited "that your pore citizens made their supplication unto the most noble prince of worthie memorye, King Edward the sixt, your Ma<sup>ties</sup> most dere brother, at his grace's beinge at your sayd citie of Winchester." (See p. 84 of Mr. Bailey's book.) Among the Royal MSS. (12 A. XXXIII.) now in the British Museum is a book of verses which was presented to the King by the Winchester scholars on this occasion. It is a paper book in quarto,



consisting of fifteen leaves, now taken from its cover and bound with other manuscripts; the title-page is as follows :

“ 5<sup>o</sup> Septembris, 1552.

“ In adventum Sereniss. Augustiss. q' Principis Edoardi 6<sup>i</sup> Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ regis, fidei defensoris, et in terra ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremi capitis, puerorum Collegii Wychamensis apud inclitam Wintoniam Carmen gratulatorium.”

The writers' names are : “ Joannes Foulerus, Robertus Fennus, Rodolphus Keatus, Arthurus Byddlecomus, Joannes Chaundlerus, Anthonius Fortescuus, Henricus Barcleius, Edmundus Harendenus, Thomas Stapletonus, Joannes Hanningtonus, Joannes Redingus, Robertus Fernhamus, Robertus Bollerus, Edoardus Harrisus, Henricus Fauknerus, Christophorus Jonsonus, Robertus Pointz, Gulielmus Shellius, Mattheus Myres, Arthurus Alderlaius, Thomas Bekinsauus, Georgius Martinus, Joannes Hamptonus, Joannes Randallus, Henricus Kirtonus, Antonius Strangeus, Georgius Belsirus, Michael Haidochus, Joannes Busshopus, Christophorus Martinus, Richardus Osbornus, Joannes Nobleus, Stephanus Whitus, Gulielmus Dybbinsus, Edoardus Tychbornus, Ambrosius Edmundus, Lucas Atsloous, Gulielmus Palmerus, Joannes Hardius, Edoardus Middletonus, Leonardus Matonus, and Christophorus Bodleius.” All of these write in Latin; and last comes a copy of Greek verses by Thomas Stapleton. The Latin verses of the last-named (who was afterwards famous as a controversialist on the side of Rome) I will extract, as, instead of the commonplace topics of eulogy, it contains an epitome of the King's progress :—

THOMAS STAPLETONUS.

Postquam Grenuichii spatiosa palatia castrî,  
 Nescio vectus equo, deseruit an aqua:  
 Proxima Londino legisse sedilia fertur  
 Rex, et ibi paucos se tenuisse dies.  
 Inde abit Hamptonam, lætum, Rex optime, lætum  
 Te natalicium credo subiisse domum.  
 Inde Guildfordam, Petwoorthaque transit in arva;  
 Commodat inde suos Coudria villa lares.  
 Non fuit immunis tanti Halfnakera triumphî,  
 Non Warblingtono proxima ripa freto.  
 Nec procul hic villa est (Waltham dixere priores)  
 Rex ubi perpulchro acceptus in hospitio est.  
 Est locus (Os portus) dictus, (Portus maris) alter  
 Est dictus, regem vidit uterque suum.  
 Jam subiit viduas Tychfildi ruris in ædes,  
 Jamque Hamptona novo mœnia picta modo.

7. From thens to Basing,<sup>1</sup> my lord treasaurour's house.

Mox quoque Beudlensi dimissum rure, recepit  
 Pagus, qui (Christi ecclesia) dictus erat.  
 Arx gratum hospitium Wodlandia præbuit, et quæ  
 Cæsaris et Burgi a nomine nomen habet.  
 Restabat claris Wyltonia fulta columnis,  
 Vix quicquid in terra pulchrius Angligena.  
 Illic omnigenis epulis dapibusque receptus,  
 Ad Motum Fontis Rex sua castra movet.  
 Indequè progressus passus plus millies octo,  
 Ventanâ tenerum sistit in urbe pedem.  
 Lautius est aliis fortasse acceptus in oris,  
 Gratiôr ast alio non fuit ille loco.

Another copy of this book of verses is preserved in New College library, No. 340; but it appears that it has not always been there from the time of its being written; for it is stated that it once belonged to John Bagford, was given by him to John Gybbon, and by the executrix of the latter to Peter le Neve, Norroy. (*Catalogus Codicum MSS. Oxon.*) It is probable that several copies were prepared for presentation to the King's principal attendants as well as himself. I have described a similar book of the Winchester scholars on the visit of queen Mary and king Philip to the city at their marriage in 1554 in the *Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, p. 172. Several of its writers were the same, but they only number twenty-five instead of forty-two, probably denoting a corresponding falling off in the school in consequence of the change of religion. John Elder's Letter (reprinted *ibid.* at p. 143) shews that it was customary to affix and set up such verses "on the cathedrall church doors, and the portes of my lord chancellor's place [the bishop's palace] where the King and Quene laye." I am informed by the Rev. W. H. Gunner, that no record of King Edward's visit is now to be found at Winchester college.

<sup>1</sup> At Basing the King was again entertained by the marquess of Winchester, this being his ancestral seat, and his first title of peerage (conferred in 1539) that of lord St. John of Basing. There had been an ancient castle here from early times. It was rebuilt by the lord treasurer with such magnificence as excited the wonder of his contemporaries,—to such an excess indeed, by Camden's account, that his posterity were induced to pull down some part of it. A subsequent lord treasurer, the earl of Suffolk, committed the same error at Audley End, and with the like result. Queen Mary and king Philip, after their marriage at Winchester, went to Basing on the 31st July, 1554, and stayed until the 2d August. (*Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, pp. 77, 144.) Queen Elizabeth visited Basing in August 1560, when "she liked so well my lord treasurer's house, and his

10. And so to Donnington castel,<sup>1</sup> besides the toune of Neubery.

12. And so to Reding.<sup>2</sup>

greate cheare, that she openly and meryly bemoned him to be so olde, 'for ells, by my trouthe,' says she, 'if my lord treasurer was a young man, I coulde fynde in my harte to have him to my husband before any man in Englande.'" (Francis Alen to the earl of Shrewsbury, Sept. 3, 1560, in Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*, i. p. 346.) The lord treasurer still lived on, to entertain the queen again at Basing in 1569, at the age of 94; and she was a third time there in 1601, staying for thirteen days, when its master was his great-grandson, William fourth marquess of Winchester. On the latter occasion she received there with great splendour the duke of Biron, ambassador from France, who was lodged at the Vine, the neighbouring mansion of lord Sandys. (See *Queen Elizabeth's Progresses*, 2d edit. iii. 566.) After the [famous siege of Basing house during the civil war, it was dismantled and burnt in 1645, and thereby rendered unfit for future residence. The north gateway, and some garden walls, alone remain. The moated area, of irregular form, consists of about fourteen acres and a half. There is a print in aquatint of Basing house, from an old drawing. The memorials of the Pouletts in the church of Basing are described in the *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vol. viii. pp. 369—377.

<sup>1</sup> Donnington castle, near Newbury in Berkshire, belonged to the family of Chaucer, whose heiress Alice brought it to her husband William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk; and he considerably enlarged its buildings, and made it his occasional residence. It was among the estates granted by Henry VIII. to his favourite Charles Brandon, whom he had elevated to the same dignity, and it was probably possessed by the duke of Suffolk, his son-in-law, at the time of King Edward's visit. Camden describes it as a small but elegant structure, seated on the top of a woody hill, commanding a pleasant prospect, and lighted by windows on every side. Being held by sir John Boys for Charles I. it successfully withstood two sieges; after which, on relieving it, the King slept within its walls, on the 9th Nov. 1644; but it had suffered so much from the guns of the parliamentarians that it was from that time allowed to fall into ruin.

<sup>2</sup> The following account of Edward the Sixth's reception at Reading, is preserved in the Corporation diary:—

"The xiiij day of September, in the year above said, the Kynges majestie, in th'end of his progresse, came to Redyng, at the whiche tyme Thomas Aldeworth, mayor, accompanied with the substaunce of th'enhabitants of the seid towne, as well burges as others, in ther best apparell, receyved his grace at Colley crosse, all beyng on fote, wher the seid mayor on his knee humbly welcumyd his grace, and kissed the mase, and delyvered it unto his grace, who most gentilly stayed his horse and received it, and immediately delyvered agayn the same mase unto the seid mayor; and also his majestie further stayed his hors untill the seid mayor had taken his hors; and then the seid mayor, appointed by

15. And so to Windsor.<sup>1</sup>

a gentillman husscher, rode before the Kynges majestie thorough the towne, into the Kynges place. At the whych tyme, for as much as it was the first tyme of his grace's cuming, the seid mayor presented and gave unto his majestie ii yoke of oxen, which cost xvli. the charges whereof was borne by th'enhabitants of the seid towne, as well by the burges as others.

"Also at the same tyme, being his grace's first cumyng, certain officers then demaunded certayn dewties, as they call hit, which were payed unto them at the costs and charges of the seyde mayor and burges, as hereafter followeth:—

|                             |   |   |   |   |                |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---|----------------|
| In primis to the harrolds   | . | . | . | . | xx s.          |
| To the serjeaunts at arms   | . | . | . | . | xiijs. iiij d. |
| To the trumpetts            | . | . | . | . | xs.            |
| To the Kynges cupp bearer   | . | . | . | . | vjs. viij d.   |
| To the fotemen              | . | . | . | . | xs.            |
| To the clerk of the markett | . | . | . | . | vj s. viij d.  |
| To the marshall             | . | . | . | . | iijs. iiij d.  |
|                             |   |   |   |   | <hr/> lxxs."   |

The heralds attendant on the royal entry into Reading were Garter, Clarenceux, Somerset, Rouge-dragon, and Blew-mantell: of the xx s. fee from the town the kings divided each vjs. viij d. Somerset iijs. iiij d. and the pursuivants xxd.

The "King's place" was the dissolved abbey, which Henry the Eighth had determined to retain as a royal palace, and occupied in the year 1541. When king Philip and queen Mary visited Reading in 1554, they also repaired to "the King's place," and received the like present of two yoke of oxen. Camden says, "The monastery wherein king Henry the First was interred has been converted into a royal seat; adjoining to which stands a fair stable stored with noble horses of the King's." The office of steward of the borough and lordship of Reading, and of other possessions of the late monastery, was granted in July of the present year to the marquess of Northampton. (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 244, b.) The same office was afterwards held by the family of Knollys, who resided in the mansion, and received queen Elizabeth for some days in 1572. See its description when surveyed in 1650, as parcel of the late possessions of King Charles I. in Coates's Reading, p. 267.

<sup>1</sup> The privy council when at Donnington, on the 11th Sept., addressed "a letter to the duke of Northumberland's grace, that the King's ma<sup>ty</sup> pleasour is, the Frenche ambassadour may, if he thinke good, come to Windesor with his company on Saturday next [Sept. 17], and on Sunday in the morning they shall have audience; against which tyme his grace is required to be there.—To the lord privie seale to be allso at Windesour against the sayd tyme of th'ambassadour's coming." (Council Book.)



8<sup>a</sup> CHARTA, MED' SEPTEMBRIS, A° D'NI 1552, A° REGNI R<sup>s</sup> E. 6<sup>i</sup> 6°.

16. Stucley being latly arrived out of Fraunce,<sup>1</sup> declared how that the French king, being holly perswaded that he wold never retorne againe into Englaund, bicause he came away without leave, uppon th'apprehension of the duke of Somerset his old master, declared to him his entent, that apon a peax made with th'emperour,

<sup>1</sup> "Thomas Stukleye, gentilman, saieth that, having bene in Fraunce and there enter-tayned by the French kyng very gently, understoode both by the said French kyng and others thinges of grete emportauce ment by the French against this realme as followeth; for the declaration whereof he had desyre to retorne into this realme as he hath done.

"First, the French king hymself utterid unto hym that he knewe Newnehambridge to be of no emportauce in strength, and therefore he ment for the enterprise ageinst Callise first to take it, and from thence to passe by the sandes to Risebanke, which the French kinge accompted pregnable in iiij howres. The French king told hym that there is in Risebank a mount which loketh into the markett place of Callise, by the which he wold annoye Callise; and, notwithstanding he understandeth that there is in the castle of Callise an other mount overlooking it, yet the same is old and not of any moment to beare any ordenance, but is so weake that xij shott of the cannon wold wyne it.

"Furder, the French king meaneth to laye his ordynance and batterye at a wyndemill or sandhills towards Gravelinges to batter Callise towards the Lanternegate, and there meaneth he to laye his armye, notwithstanding the opinion of the English for the drowning of the country by sluses, which he nothing regardeth, esteeming it of no purpose.

"Furder, in effect he concluded with the said Stukley that, although he cold in short space recover Callise, yet to aventer the same was in vayne otherwise than to seke the whole realme, wherewith he might also have Callise, and for the invasion of the realme he purposed the same as followeth:

"Furst, he wold order that the Skottes shuld enter into Northumberland with all there power, alledging that he had hitherto used them with such libertye as he dowted not of there service.

"And then he hym self wold come to Fallmouth, and the duke of Guise with an other armye to land at Dartemouth with provision of victell from Brest, being but vij or viij howres passage, at which place the duke of Gwise shuld land without perill, for that there was no strength there.

"Item, his owne armye shuld land at Hellforth, for that there be certen bullwarkes at Falmouth, stronge towards the water, but not to the land, as he esteemeth.

he ment to besiege Cales, and thought surely to winne it by the way of Sandhilles, for having Ricebank, both to famish the toune and also to beat the market place; and asked Stucleis opinion. When Stukley had aunswered he thought it impossible, then he told him that he ment to land in Englaund in an angle therof about Falmouth, and said the bulwarkes might easly be won, and the peple war papistical; also that monsieur de Guise at the same time shuld entre into England by Scotland side, with th'aide of the Scottis.

19. After long reasoning it was determined, and a lettar was sent in al hast to mr. Morison,<sup>1</sup> willing him to declare to th'em-

" This done, he intendeth to proclame and so restore the old masse, putting the people to there full libertye, as he dothe in Scotland; and, being answered that he shuld be twice or threse fought with all, he estemeth that but as peysantes feight, and yet if he shuld have an overthrowe he meaneth to fortifye Falmouth and Dartmouth, and so to possesse it as we doo Callise, and having landed his men at Falmouth and Dertmouth he ment to send from other places a M<sup>l</sup>. men and to take Plymouth with them, and so to kepe them all iij, for the victelling whereof he thinketh his commoditee as good as we have to victell Callise.

" Item, for that the said M<sup>r</sup> Stukleye shuld lyve owt of suspect, he offred to send hym to Venice, there to remayne untill the warres betwixt the Emperor and hym were ended, at which tyme the said Stukley shuld be so avauced and married, as others in the West contreye shuld thereby be allured to the French kinges service.

" And upon the peace with th'emperor he purposed before the cassing of his men to enterprise this faite with the same men, hoping suerly to have the Emperor thereto consentyng, for that we have at this tyme remayned quiett; and so theye both to bring us to the confession of there faith.

" Item, he saith that this his talke and entrie in acqueyntance with the French kinge came by meanes of the constable, who had some talke with hym first, and fynding hym to have some knowledge therein, he brought hym to the French kinge.

" The xix<sup>th</sup> of Septembre.

(Signed) THOMAS STUCLEY."

(Original confession in the State-paper office, French Correspondence, No. 117.) Thomas Stukeley had been the King's standard-bearer to the men of arms or horsemen at Boulogne, before the surrender of that town, with the fee of vj s. viij d. a day.

<sup>1</sup> "The memorial of the charge committed by the Kinges maj<sup>ties</sup> to sir Richard Morison kt. his Majesties embassadour with th'emperour, the 24th of Septembre," is

peroure, that I, having pitee, as al othir Christian princes shuld have,<sup>1</sup> on the envasion of Christendome by the Turke, wold willingly joine with th'emperour and other states of th'empire, if th'emperour could bring it to passe, in some leage against the Turke and his confederates, but not to be aknowen of the French king; only to say that he hath no more commission, but if th'emperour wold send a man into Englaund, he shuld know more. This was done on entente to get some frendes. The reasonings be in my deske.<sup>2</sup>

21. A lettre was sent, only to trie Stucleis truth, to mr. Pikeriing, to know wither Stucley did declare any pece of this matter to him.

Barnabe was sent for home.<sup>3</sup>

23. The lord Gray was chosen deputy of Cales<sup>4</sup> in the lord Wyloughby's place, who was thought unmet for it.

24. Sir Nicolas Wentworth was discharged of the portership of Calles, and one Cotton<sup>5</sup> was put into it. In consideracion

printed in Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. Records, No. 57, from the original in MS. Cotton. Galba B. xn. There is a contemporary copy in the State-paper office (Germany).

<sup>1</sup> It was perhaps at this time that the King was prompted by his tutors to compose the Greek essay upon combating the Turks which has been printed in p. 142. His Latin essay on the same subject (p. 125), was composed in July 1551.

<sup>2</sup> These "reasonings," by Cecill, are now bound up with the King's Journal, and are printed hereafter.

<sup>3</sup> See the King's letter to Barnaby Fitzpatrick dated the 24th September, in p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> This appointment did not take place (see p. 461): but, having been copied from this Journal into the History of the reign by sir John Hayward, it is adopted by sir William Dugdale (Baronage, i. 715).

<sup>5</sup> "A patent graunted to sir Thomas Cotton knight, to be the chief porter of Callice, and auctoritie t'appoint all underporters *sub se*: and also to remove any such porter by him appointed at his pleasure. And to deduct ijd. by the day out of the wagis of every the seid porters by him appointed to his owne use, as other chief porters have accustomed to doo. *H'end' a decimo die Octobris durante bene placito. Teste ij. Novembr' a<sup>o</sup> vj<sup>o</sup>.*" (MS. Cotton. Julius, B. ix. f. 95.) Sir Richard Cotton, the comptroller of the household, had a younger brother Thomas, but whether sir Thomas Cotton of Calais was the same does not appear from the family pedigree in Ormerod's History of Cheshire, vol. iii. p. 212.

of his age the said sir Nicholas Wentworth had a hundred pound pencion.<sup>1</sup>

26. Lettres ware sent for the discharge of the men of armis at Michelmas next folowing.

27. The yong lordes'<sup>2</sup> table was taken away, and the masters' of request, and the sergeauntes of armes', and divers other extraordinary allowances.

26. The duke of Northomberland, the marques of Northampton, the lord chaumberlain, mr. secretary Petre, and mr. secretary Cicel, endid a matter at Eton college<sup>3</sup> between the master and the fellowes,

<sup>1</sup> "Oct 27. Th'office of Porter of Calace to sir William Wentworth, knight, for life, with the fee of C li. to be payd at th'augmentation quarterly." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 264.) This is evidently described in error for his receiving an annuity of 100*l.* on resigning the office, as stated by the King. Whether the King or the clerk was right in the christian name I have not been able to ascertain.

<sup>2</sup> These were the "young lords" who had been entertained at court as the companions of the King in his education: see the Biographical Memoir.

<sup>3</sup> "May vj. 1552. A lettre to the lorde chauncellor, the byssopp of London, sir John Cheeke, doctour May, and doctour Wendy, that they, or at the least three or two of them, make theyr repayre to Eaton College to view, visit, and se what things are to be reformed or corrected there, and so to sett suche ordres and gyve suche injunctions as may be for the increase of vertue and learning, according to theyr commission; in reading of which commission, for that it is not materiall, they shall leave owte the name and style of the late duke of Somerset." (Council Book.) Their proceedings on the 14th of the same month are briefly noticed by Strype, Mem. ii. 358. On the 25th Sept. there issued a new "Commission to John duke of Northumberland, William marquess of Northampton, Thomas lord Darcie, George lord Cobham, sir William Petre and sir William Cecill knightes, the Kinges maties secretaries, and sir John Cheke knight, to visit the colledge of Eton, and to se that the statutes, lawes, and customes thereof be not contrary to the Christian religion nor th'ordinaunces in thinges of the Churche," &c. (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 258.) It may be doubted whether these commissioners were so expeditious as to "end the matter," as the King states, on the following day: and what alterations were made do not appear in the volume of the Statutes of the colleges of Henry VI. published by Mr. Heywood and Mr. Wright in 1850. The next year Eton College received special favour in regard to its "church goods:" "May xij. 1553. A lettre to the lord Russell and the rest of the commissioners for church goods in Buckinghamshire, signify-



and also toke ordre for the amendment of ceirtein superstitionouse statutes.

28. Removing to Hampton Court.

29. Tow lawers came from the French king<sup>1</sup> to declare what thinges had passed with th'Englishmen in the kinges prevy counsel, what and whie against them, and what was now in doing, and with what diligence. Wich when they had eloquently declared, they ware referrid to London, wheir their shuld speake with them mr. secretary Petre, mr. Wotton, and mr. Thomas Smith. Whear by them was declared the greifes of oure marchauntis, wich came to the summe of fifty thousand pounds and upwardes; to wich they gave litle aunsweare, but that they wold make reaport when they cam home, bicause they had yet no commission, but only to declare use (us) the causes of thinges done.

The first day of this month th'emperour departed from Augusta toward Ulmes, and thanking the citesins for thier stedfast stiking to him in theis parellous times, he passed by them to Strasboug, accompanied only with 4,000 Spaniards, 5,000 Italians, 12,000 Almains, and 2,000 horsmen, and thanking also them of Strasborg for their goodwill they bore him, that they wold not let the French king come into their towne, he went to Weysumberg and so to Spires, and came thether the 23. of this month. Of wich thing the French king advertised summoned an army at Metz, and went thitherward himself, sent a pay of three monthes to marques Albert and the ringrave and his band, also willing him to stop th'emperour's passage into thies Low countries, and to fight with him.

ing to them that the King's ma<sup>tie</sup> pleasure is, that the Colledge of Eaton shall enjoy still their church goods, the bells only except, so as they convert the same from monuments of superstition to necessarie uses of the said Colledge." (Council Book.)

<sup>1</sup> "Dec. vj. A warraunt to Peter Osborne to pay unto Barnard Hampton, clerk of the counsell, in gold, the summe of Clxxxj li. xij s. iiij d. to be by hym delyvered over in way of the King's mat<sup>s</sup> rewarde to the Frenche commissioners, that is to say, to mounso<sup>r</sup> D'Abrie, lieuetenant cevill of Parys, the summe of Cxxv li., and to mounso<sup>r</sup> Duvall, the Frenche king's advocate, the summe of C. markes." (Council Book.)

27. The matter of the Debatable was agreed upon according to the last instructions.<sup>1</sup>

6. Duke Maurice, with 4,000 footmen and 1,000 horsmen, arrived at Vienna, against the Turkes.

21. Marques Hans of Brandenburg cam with an army of 13,000 footmen and 1,500 horsmen to th'emperour's army, and many Almaine soudiars encreased his army wonderfully. For he refused none.

#### OCTOBER.

3. Bicause I had a pay of 48,000 li. to be paid in December, and had as yet but 14,000 beyond sea to pay it withal, the merchauntis did give me a loane of 40,000 li., to be paid by them the last of December, and to be repaid again by me the last of Marche.<sup>2</sup> The maner of levieng this loane was of the clothes, after the rate of 20 s. of a cloth. For they caried out at this shipping 40,000 brod clothes. This graunt was confirmed the 4. day of this month by a company assembled of 300 merchauntis adventurers.

2. The bulwarkes of earth and boardes in Essex,<sup>3</sup> wich had a con-

<sup>1</sup> This long-agitated subject having been at length settled, on the 17th Nov. there issued "a commission to sir Thomas Dacre, knight, and sir Richard Musgrave, geving them powre to deliver a confirmation under the great seale of England to the Scottish quene, and likewise to receyve another from her under the greates seale of Scotlande, concerning the Debatable landes." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 274 b.)

<sup>2</sup> The negociation of this loan is illustrated by the following minute in the handwriting of secretary Cecill:—

"The Kynges Maties detts, w<sup>th</sup> some devise towards y<sup>e</sup> discharge of the same.

"At Syon, ii. Oct. Uppon much communication and treaty with theis merchants undernamed,—Alderman Garret, Emanuel Lucar, Thomas Gresham, Richard Mallory, Lyonell Ducket, Thomas Eaton, Jhon Calthropp, Roger Martyn, Phillipp Bold, Jhon Elliott,—they agreed for themselves that they wold paye in Antwerpe by the end of December of every cloth they had xx s. to the discharge of the Kinges dett, requyryng payment within iij. moneth after the delivery thereof, &c." (Domestic Corresp. State-paper office, quoted in Burgon's Life of Gresham, i. 466.)

<sup>3</sup> In the State-paper office, (Domestic, Edw. VI. vol. xv. art. 3,) is a paper entitled

tinual allowance of soudiars in them, ware dischargid, bi wich was saved presently 500 li., and hereafter 700 li. or more.

4. The duke d'Alva and the marques of Marignan set forth with a great part of th'emperour's army, having al the Italians and Spaniardes with them, towards Treves, wheare the marques Albert had set 10 enseignes of launce knigtes to defend it, and taried himself with the rest of his army at Landaw besides Spires.

6. Bicause sir Andrew Dudley capitain of Guisnes had indetted himself very moch by his service at Guisnes, also bicause it shuld seem injurious to the lord Willoughby that for the contention between him and sir Andrew Dudley,<sup>1</sup> he shuld be put out of his office,<sup>2</sup> therefore it was agreed that the lord Wiliam Howard shuld be deputy of Calles,<sup>3</sup> and the lord Gray capitain of Guisnes.<sup>4</sup>

in secretary Cecill's hand "The Booke of the annuitees apoynted for the officers of the Bullw'ks in Essex, wherby the annuall some of [*blank*] is discharged." It contains the officers' names, and the total of their annuities is ijCjli. ijs. vjd., the captains receiving xxli. per ann., the lieutenants x li., and the porters vjli. The names of the block-houses are: 1. Marsee house; 2. St. Osees house; 3. The middle house att Harwiche; 4. The house uppon the hill at Harwiche; 5. The tower house att Harwiche; 6. The house at Langer-pointe; and 7. The house at Langer-rode. The document is signed by eight of the council. The same is entered in the register of the council under the 9th Oct. On the 26th of the preceding month there was addressed "a warraunt to Peeter Osborne to pay unto sir Robert Chester of the monny growing of the debts the summe of viijCxxvjli. vjs. vijd. to be by hym defrayed for the full payment of the blockhowses in Essex and Suffolke now at Michaelmas. A letter to the sayd sir Robert Chester to receyve the sayd monny, and pay it over to the capteines and retinue of the sayd blockhouses, so as they may be discharged accordingly." (Council Book.)

<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 388.

<sup>2</sup> "Oct. 16. A lettre to sir Andrew Dudley, knight, etc. for his revocation from the captainship of Gysnes to serve about his Ma<sup>tie</sup> in his place of oone of the iiij. principall gentlemen of his highnes' privie chambre." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 261 b.)

<sup>3</sup> On the 29th Oct. "th'offyce of capitaine of the towne of Callaice and marches of the

<sup>4</sup> Lord Grey's valiant defence of Guisnes after the loss of Calais is fully described by his son in the Commentary on his services, edited by Sir Philip Grey Egerton, Bart for the Camden Society in 1847.

Also it was determined that sir Nicholas Sturley<sup>1</sup> shuld be capitaine of the new fort at Barwike, that Alexander Bret<sup>2</sup> shuld be porter, and one Rokesby shuld be marshal.

7. Upon report of lettres written from mr. Pikering, how that Stucley had not declared to him, al the while of his being in Fraunce, no one word touching the communication afore specified and declared,<sup>3</sup> and also how mr. Pikeringe thought and certainly advertised, that Stucley never hard the French king speake no soch worde, nor never was in credit with him, or the constable; save ons, whan he becam an interpretour betwen the constable and certein English pioners; he was committed to the toure of London. Also the French embassadour was advertised how we had committed him to prison, for that he untruly slaunderid the king our good brother (as other such runnagates doe dayly the same). This was told him

same to the lord William Haword, during pleasure, with a fee of Cli. per annum, to be payd the vjth of October and the vjth of Aprill by the receyvors or occupiers of the mannors of Mark and Oye, etc." On the same day, a lettre was addressed to the lord deputy of Calais to deliver to the lord William Howard his whole charge there; and another to the lord William Howard "to repaire to his charge, and theare continue during all the hearing (herring) tyme, or x. or xij. daies at least, and then if he shall thinke it good he may repaire over againe for' xxv. dayes." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. ff. 265 b, 266.)

Lord William Howard continued lord deputy of Calais until December in the following year, when, queen Mary having promoted him to be lord admiral, he was succeeded by Thomas lord Wentworth, who was deputy when the town was lost in 1558

<sup>1</sup> These resolutions were not final; as appears by the following suggestion addressed by the duke of Northumberland to the secretaries of state on the 23d Nov. following: "To have in remembrance to nominate a person fytt to take the chardge of Berwyke, for that mr. Sturley, for dyvers respectes, ys not nor never was thought a man mete for the charge; and in especiall his son beinge found fauty, and allso hymselffe in grete debt to the King's majestie. And his Majesties plesser to be allso knowne for Rokisbye concerninge th'offyce of the marshall there." (Cecil Papers, i 137.)

<sup>2</sup> This Alexander Brett was in 1553 the captain of the 500 white-coats of the Londoners who were sent into Kent against Wyatt, and there revolted to the side of the insurgents, for which Brett was hung at Rochester.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 455.



to make him suspect th'English runnagates that bee there. A like lettre was sent again to mr. Piking.

8. Le seigneur de Villandry cam in post from the French king with this message: First, that although mr. Sidney's and mr. Winter's matters were justly condemned, yet the French king, bicause thei both ware my servauntes, and one of them about me, was content *gratuito* to geve mr. Sidney his ship and all the goodis in her, and mr. Winter his ship and al his owne goodes. Wich offre was refused, sayng we required nothing *gratuito*, but only justice and expedition. Also Villandry declared that the King his master wished that ane agreement ware made betwen th'ordonnances and customs of England and Fraunce, in marin affaires; to wich was answerid, that oure ordinaunces ware nothing but the civil law, and certein very old additions of the realme; that we thought it reason not to be bound to any other law then their old laws, wich had ben of long time continewed, and no faut found with theme. Also Villandry brought furth tow new proclamations, wich for things to cum were very profitable for England, for wich he had a lettre of thanks to the king his master. He required also pardon and releasment of emprisonment for ceirtein Frenchmen taken on the sea cost. It was shewid him they ware pirates; now some of them shuld by justice be punished, some by clemency pardoned; and with this dispatch he departed.

10. Removing to Westmyster.

11. Horne deane of Durham declared a secret conspiracy of th'erl of Westmurland, the yeare of th'apprehension of the duke of Somerset, how he wold have taken out treasur at Middelham, and wold have robbed his mother, and sold 200 li. land, and to please the peple wold have made a proclamation for the bringing up of the coyne, bicause he saw them grudge at the fall. He was commaunded to kepe this matter close.<sup>1</sup>

In a remarkable letter of the duke of Northumberland to Cecill, dated on the 28th Oct. 1552 (printed by Tytler, Edward VI. and Mary, ii. 142) the duke strongly

6. Mr. Morison, embassadour with th'emperour, declared to th'emperour the matter of the Turkes before specified; whose aunswere was, he thanked us for our gentle offre, and wold cause the regent to send a man for the same purpose to know our further meaning in that behalf.

11. Mr. Pikering declared to the French king, being then at Reims, Stukleis matter, confession, and the cause of his imprisonment; who, after protestation made of his own good meaning in th'amité, and of Stukleis ingratitude toward him, leudnes, and ill demeanour, thankid us mich for this so gentil an uttering of the matter, that we wold not be ledde with fals brutes and tales.

15. The bishop (Tunstal) of Durham was deprived of his bishop-rike.<sup>1</sup>

recommended John Knox for the bishopric of Rochester, and the dean of Durham to be bishop of that see; but, after an interview with Knox, the great man determined "to have no more to do with him but to wish him well," having found him "neither grateful nor pleaseable." (Letter to Cecill, of the 7th Dec. *ibid.* p. 148.) "Neither also (Northumberland adds) with the dean of Durham, because, under the colour of a false conscience, he can prettily malign and judge of others against good charity upon a froward judgment." It appears that the dean had even ventured to suggest doubts of Northumberland's sincerity in religion. Mr. Tytler (p. 149) states that the matter revealed by the dean of Durham was that of which bishop Tunstall was cognizant (before noticed in p. 378): from the King's account above it was a different matter. Again, on the 2d Jan. following, Northumberland says of Horne, "I have been much deceived by him, for he is undoubtedly not only a greedy covetous man, but also a malicious and an open evil speaker;" and further, alluding perhaps to Knox as well as Horne, he deprecates the promotion of "one of these new obstinate doctors without humanity or honest conditions." (*Ibid.* p. 153.) Dr. Horne had actually received on the 27th Nov. 1552, "a graunt of the bishopricke of Durrham, with all lordships, mannors, landes, tenements, etc. to the same belonging, during his life" (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 275 b); but his promotion was not completed before the King's death. After having passed the reign of Mary at Frankfort, he was subsequently made bishop of Winchester by queen Elizabeth in 1560.

<sup>1</sup> "Item the iij. day of October was the bysshope of Dorrham, than beyng Cudbert Tunstall, browte to examinacion of the place that sometyme was called the abbé of Tourehylle; the viij. and the xij. also; that day he was deposed of hys see, and commytted

In this month Mons. de Rue, Martin Rossen, and an army of Flemminges (while the French had assembled his men of warre in Lorrain, had sent the constable to the army wich lay 4 leages from Verdeun, the duke de Guise with 7,000 men to Metz, and the mareschal St. Andrew at Verdeun), rased and spoiled between the rivier of Some and Oise many townes and villages, as Noyon, Roy, Chamy, Nelle, Follambray a new bilt house of the kinges, et<sup>re</sup>, insomuch that the French kinge sent the admiral of Fraunce<sup>1</sup> to help the duke of Vendosme against that army. Ther was at this time that reigned a great plage in sondry partes of Fraunce, of wich many men died.

20. A man of th'eryl of Tyron's was committed to the Toure, bicause he had made an untru suggestion and complaint against the deputy and the holle counsel of Irland. Also he had bruted certein il brutes in Irland, how the duke of Northumberland and th'eryl of Pembroke were fallen out, and on(e) against another in the feld.

17. The Flemminges, and the Englishmen that toke their partes, assaulted by night Hamleteu; the Englishmen were on the walles, and some of the Flemminges also, but by the couardise of a great part of the Flemminges the enterpris was lost, and many men slain. The number of the Flemminges was 4,000; the number of the men within Hamleteu 400. The capitain of this entrepris was mons. de Vandeville, capitain of Gravelin.

unto warde agayne." (Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, p. 75.) After bishop Tunstall's committal to the Tower, on the charge which has been related in p. 378, on the meeting of parliament a bill was brought into the house of lords to attain him of misprision of treason, and passed though opposed by archbishop Cranmer; but it was rejected by the commons, who were not satisfied with the evidence adduced in its support. Foiled in this mode of proceeding, Northumberland procured a commission to be issued on the 21st Sept. 1552, whereby Tunstall was deprived, as Gardiner, Bonner, and Heath had been. The sentence of deprivation was pronounced on the 11th or 14th of October, and the bishop remained a prisoner in the Tower until the accession of Mary, who restored him to his see. See further particulars in Hutchinson's History of Durham, vol. i. pp. 427 *et seq.* and in Surtees's History of the same county, vol. i. p. lxx.

<sup>1</sup> Claude d'Annebaut.

6. Mons. de Boissy entred Treves with a Flemmish army to the number of 12,000 footmen and 2,500 horsmen Bourgignons, without any resistauns, bicause th'enseignes there left by marques Albert ware departed, and therupon the duke d' Alva and the marques of Marignan marched toward Mets; th'emperour himself, and the marques Hans of Brandenburg, having with him the rest of his army, the 9. day of this month, departed from Landaw towards Mets. Monsieur de Boissy his army also joyned with him at a place called Twaybrug or Deuxpont.

23. It was agreed that, bicause the state of Irland could not be knowne without the deputy's presence, that he shuld in this ded time of the yere leave the gouvernaunce of the realme<sup>1</sup> to the councel there for the time, and bring with him the hole estat of the realme, whearby such ordre might be taken as the superfluous charg might be advoyded, and also the realme kept in quietnes, and the revenu of the land better and more profitablie gathered.

25. Wheras one George Paris,<sup>2</sup> Irishman, who had ben a prac-

The letter sent to sir James Croft giving him permission to return to England, leaving a sufficient council, is preserved in the State-paper office, among the Irish correspondence. It is dated the 6th Nov. and bears the King's sign manual.

<sup>2</sup> The council wrote thus to sir James Croft lord deputy of Ireland on the 23d Feb. "We have intelligence owte of Scotland that one George Paris an old Irish rebell is there in Scotland by the name of *the Ambassador of Ireland*, and solliciteth to the quene diverse groundes of practises ageynst that realme of Ireland. Of his being there we be certainly advertised; but of the pryvete of his doinges we be enformed ij maner of wayes," &c. (See the sequel in State-paper office, Irish correspondence, vol. ix. No. 12.) It was determined to grant him a pardon in order to withdraw him from Scotland, "April iij. Lettre to the lord chauncellor to make owte a generall pardon for George Parrys, Irishman, a fugitive and traytor, and to sende the same hither." But the pardon was not forwarded to him until October. A copy of the council's letter, by which it was accompanied, as mentioned by the King in the text, is in the Irish correspondence at the State-paper office dated the 25th October. To prevent his returning into the hands of the English, Paris was now imprisoned in Scotland. This was done "by means of O'Connor's son which hanteth that realme," as related by the English privy council to the lord deputy in a letter of the 10th December (State-paper office.) See more of George Paris hereafter, p. 472.



tiser between th'erle of Desmond and other Irish lordes and the French king, did now, being wery of that mater, practise meanes to cum hom, and to have his old landes in Irland againe; his pardon was graunted him, and a lettar written to him from my counsel, in wich he was promised to be considered and holpen.

Ther fel in this month a great contention among the Skottis. For the Carris slew the lord of Bouclugh in a fray in Edinborough, and assone as they had done they associated to them the lord Hume and al his kinne. But the gouvernour<sup>2</sup> therupon sommoned an army to goe against them. But at lenght, bicause the dowagier of Scotland favoured the Carris and Humes, and so did al the French faction, the French king also haveng sent for 5,000 Scottish footmen and 500 horsmen, for his ayd in theis warres, the gouvernour agreed the 5,000 footmen, under the leading of th'eryl of Cassels,<sup>3</sup> and 500 lighthorsmen, of wich the Carris and Humes shuld be capitaines, shuld go with such hast into Fraunce that they might be in such place as the French king wold point them to serve in by Christmas, or Candlemas at the furdest. And thus he trusted to be wel ridde of his most mortal enemies.

27. The Scottis, hearing that George Paris practised for pardon, committed him to ward in Sterling castel.

25. Mons. de Rue, having burnt in Fraunce 18 leages in lenght, and three leages in bredth, having burnt, pilld, sacked, and raised the faire tounes of Noyon, Roye, Nelle, and Chamy, the kinges new house of Follanbro, and infinit other villages, bulwarkes, and gentlemen's houses in Champaine and Picardy, returned into Flanders.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch "terminated a life of active and vigorous exertion in October 1552, when he fell in a nocturnal encounter with sir Walter Ker of Cessford on the street of Edinburgh." Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, by Wood, i. 249. His fate is commemorated in the Lay of the Last Minstrel, by his great modern namesake.

<sup>2</sup> The earl of Arran, duke of Chatelherault.

<sup>3</sup> Gilbert Kennedy, third earl of Cassilis, a very distinguished Scottish nobleman, who was afterwards general of the army destined to attack Berwick and invade the English border in 1557.

23. Th'emperour in his person cam to the toune of Mets, with his army, wich was rekened 45,000 footmen, as the brut went, and 7,000 horsmen. The duke d'Alva, with a good band, went to vieu the toune, upon whom issued out the soudiars of the toune and slew of his men about 2,000, and kept him play til the maine force of the camp cam doune, wich caused them to retire with losse. On the French party was the duke of Nemours<sup>1</sup> hurt on the thigh. Ther was in the toune as capitain the duke of Guise, and ther were many other great lords with him, as the prince of Roussirion, the duke of Nemours, the vicedam of Chartres, Pierro Strossy, mons. Chastileon, and many other gentlemen.

#### NOVEMBER.

5. Mons. de Villandry retourned to declare how the king his master did again offer to deliver fowre shippes, against wich judgment had past. He said the king wold appoint men to heare our marchauntis at Paris, wich shuld be men of the best sort. He said likewise, how the king his master ment to amend th'ordonnaunce, of which emendements he had brought articles.

7. Thies articles were delivered to be considered by the secretaries.

9. Cairtain (*sic*) were thought to be sought out by several commissions,<sup>2</sup> *vid.* wither I was justly answered of the plat(e), lead, iron, et<sup>al</sup>. that belonged to abbeis;<sup>2</sup> wither I ware justly answered the

<sup>1</sup> Jacques de Savoye, duc de Nemours, born in 1531, died 1585. "Il fut l'un des plus beaux princes de son tems et des plus braves, fut liberal, magnifique, et sçavoit les langues." Anselme, *Histoire Geneal. de France*, iii. 512.

<sup>2</sup> These commissions are thus described in the register-book 18 C.XXIV.:—

"December 4. A commission to the lord chancelour, the bishop of Norwich, sir Richard Cotton, sir John Gate, sir Walter Mildemay knights, John Lucas and Thomas Mildemay esquires, or to vij. vj. v. iiij. or iij. of them, geving them full powre and authoritie to serche, examyn and trie, as well by the recordes of the chauncery as otherwise, what some or somes of monie were at any time heretofore dew unto the Kinges ma<sup>ty</sup> or his father for the sale of any landes, tenementes, etc. and to search how the same

profit of alom, copar, fustians, et<sup>ac</sup>. wich war pointed to be sold; and of such land as the king my father sold; and such like articles.

was answered by all meanes they can, and if any of the same be found unpaid in parte or in all to cause the same to be payd, &c." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 278 b.)

"December 10. A commission to John duke of Northumberland, John earle of Bedford, Henry duke of Suffolke, William marques of Northampton, Frauncis earle of Shrewsbury, William earle of Pembroke, Thomas lord Darcy, sir Thomas Cheynie, sir John Gate, sir Thomas Wrothe, sir Walter Mildmay, and Thomas Mildmay esquier, or to xij. xj. x. ix. viij. vij. vj. or v. of them, to call before them, at sutch tyme and place as they shall thinke mete, the treasurer, under-treasurer, and tellers of th'exchequer, the treasurer of the courte of augmentations, the treasurer of the chambre, the treasurer of the first fruites, the recevour generall of the wards, the recevour generall of the duchie of Lancaster, the treasurer of the towne and marches of Calace, the treasurer of the town and garrison of Barwicke, and all other treasurers which now be or heretofore hath ben sens the xxiiij<sup>th</sup> yeare of the Kinges ma<sup>ties</sup> father's raigne, or theire heres or executors, and all and every paymaster, survayor, mustermaster, purvayor, victuallar, and other persons which at any tyme within the tyme aforesayd have received of the Kinges ma<sup>tie</sup> or his sayd late father any some or somes of money, treasure, bullion, victualls, provisions, or other goodes and cattalls either to be employed in the warres, buildinges, fortifications, or other affairs, causing and compelling them which have not yet accompted for theire severall charges and receipts, to make and declare before them a full and perfect accompte of all such somes of monie, obligations, specialties, treasure, bullion, victualls, provisions, and other goodes and cattalls as they or any of theim receyved, and also of the payment and disbursage and discharge of the same and every parte thereof. And if any of them shalbe found indebted to the Kinge, to proceade for the due satisfaction and payment thereof, &c." (Ibid. f. 280 b.)

"Same day. A commission to John duke of Northumberland, John earle of Beddforde, Frauncis earle of Huntingdon, Thomas lord Darcie, Edward lord Clinton, sir Richard Cotton, sir Ralfe Sadler, sir Phillip Hobbie, sir Walter Mildmay knightes, Richard Goodricke and Thomas Mildmay esquiers, or to xj. x. ix. viij. vij. vj. v. or iiij. of them, not only to se how the Kinges ma<sup>tie</sup> is satisfied of all sutch lead, bell mettall, plate, jewells, ornamentes, stock, and store goodes as cam and is dew unto the Kinges ma<sup>tie</sup> by reason of diverse comissions and visitations, and by reason of the dissolution of diverse monasteries, priories, colleges, chaunteris, etc. and by th'attaynder of diverse persons, but also for diverse forfaytes of jewells, silver, bullion, plate, golde and silver, &c." (f. 281.)

"January 8. A commission to Thomas bisshop of Elie lord chauncelour, Thomas bisshop of Norwich, sir Richard Cotton, sir John Gate, sir Robert Bowes, sir Walter Mildmay knightes, John Lucas and Thomas Mildmay esquiers, or to vij. vj. v. iiij. or iij.

12. Mons. Villandry received aunsweare for the first article as he did before ; how I ment not by taking freely so few to prejudice the rest. For hearing of our marchauntis mattiers at Paris, by an inferiour counsel, we thought both to(o) dilatory after thes long sute, and also unreasonable, bicause the inferiour counsel could undoe nothing (though cause appered) wich had ben before judged by the hier counsel. And as for the new ordonnaunces, we liked (them) in effect as il as their old, and desired non other but th'old accustomed, wich have ben used in France of late time, and be yet continewed betwen England and the Low Country. Finally, we desired no more wordes, but dedes.<sup>1</sup>

4. The duke Domaile,<sup>2</sup> being left in Lorrain, both to stoppe th'emperoures provision, to annoy his camp, and to take up the straglers of th'army, with a band of 400 men of armes, wich is<sup>3</sup> 1,200 horse and 800 light horse, hearing how marques Albert<sup>4</sup> begon to take th'emperour's part, sent first ceirtein light-hors to vieu what they (could). Thos vauntcourers lighted on a troupe of 500 horsmen, who drave them bake, til they cam to the duke's person. Wherapon

of theim, to examyn, serch, and trie, as well by the recordes of the Chauncery as by all other waies, what somes of money were at any tyme heretofore dew unto the Kinges matie or his father for the sale of any landes, possessions, or hereditamentes sithens the iiij<sup>th</sup> day of February an<sup>o</sup> xxvij<sup>o</sup> Henr' octavi, and how the same was answered, etc." (f. 286 b.)

"January 11. A commission to sir Richard Cotton, sir John Gate, sir Robart Bowes, sir John Mason, sir John Baker, sir Walter Mildmay knights, John Lucas and Thomas Mildmay esquiers, or to vij. vj. v. or iiij. of them, for the collection of the churche stuffe, viz. plate, jewells, ornamentes, etc." (f. 288.)

<sup>1</sup> "Nov. 21. A passeport to sieur de Vilandry and sieur de Boisdalouue, gentlemen of Fraunce, to goe into Fraunce with their servautes, iij horses, and other necessaries." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. p. 274 b.)

<sup>2</sup> Claude de Lorraine, third son of Claude duc de Guise, born 1526, created duc d'Aumale 1547, grand veneur de Fraunce, killed by a cannon-shot at the siege of Rochelle, 1573. (Anselme, Hist. Geneal. iii. 491.) He had visited the English court in 1550 (see p. 270).

<sup>3</sup> *Sic in MS.*

<sup>4</sup> Albert marquess of Brandenburg.



the skirmish grew so great that the marques, with 12,000 footmen and 1,000 horsmen, cam to his men's succors, and so the duke's part was discomfited; the duke himself taken, and hurt in many places. Mons. de Rohan<sup>1</sup> was also slaine, and many other gentlemen slain and taken. This fight was befor Toul,<sup>2</sup> into wich fort escaped a great part of the lighthorse.

6. Heding toune and castel was taken by mons. de Reux. The castel was reconed to(o) wel stored of al thinges, and rendred either by couardise or treason. The battary was very smal, and not sautable. The most was that the capitain, mons<sup>r</sup>. Jenlis, was with one of the first shotes of the canon slaine, and his lieutenant with him. In this month Ferdinando Gonzaga besieged Saint Martin's in Piemont.

18. Ther was a commission<sup>3</sup> graunted out to sir Richard Cotton, sir Jhon Gatis, sir Robert Bowes, and sir Watter Mildmay, to examen the accompt of fal of mony, by the tow proclamations.<sup>4</sup>

20. The lord Ogle leaving the wardenship of the Middel marches, becaus my lord Euer's land lay there, he (lord Eure) was made deputy warden ther, with the fee of 600 marc,<sup>5</sup> and sir Thomas Dacres of th'East (West) merches, with the fee of 500 marcs.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> René I. vicomte de Rohan, knight of St. Michael, ancestor of the ducs de Rohan. Anselme, *Hist. Geneal. de France*, iv. 71.

<sup>2</sup> It was called the battle of St. Nicholas, fought on the 20 Oct. 1552.

<sup>3</sup> "Nov. 21. A commission to sir Richard Cotton, sir John Gate, sir Robert Bowes, and sir Walter Mildmay knightes, to call before theim at place and tyme convenient all tresaurers, receyvors, bailifes, collectors, customers, or other persones that do demande allowance for the fall of any monie that they had of the King, by reason of two proclamations, and to allow and deduct the same in theire accomptes, etc." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. p. 274.) This commission was probably issued because many such officers were suspected of having made undue charges upon pretended losses from the depreciation of the coinage—some of the effects of which have been noticed in p. 329, whilst others had actually made a profit from the change of currency.

<sup>4</sup> The proclamations of 6 May and 9th July, 1551: see pp. 317, 329.

<sup>5</sup> See note before, in p. 448.

<sup>6</sup> Nov. 10 and again Nov. 21, "th'office of deputie warden of the West marches towards

24. Thomas Gresham came from Antwarp hither to declare how mons. de Longie, treasauror to th'emperour of Flaunders, was sent to him from the regent with a certain paquet of lettars wich the Burgonians had taken in Boulonnois, comming from the dowagier of Scotland, th'effect wherof was how she had committed Georg Paris th'Irishman to prison, bicause she had heard of his meaning to retourne into England, how she had found the pardon he had, and divers other writings, and how she had sent O'Connor's sonne<sup>1</sup> into Irland, to comfort the lordes of Irland. Also he shewed ceirtein instructions, a<sup>o</sup> 1548, upon the admiral's fal, given to a gentleman that came hither, that if there war any heir of th'admiral's faction he should doe his uttermost to reise an uprore.

29. Hary Knoules was sent in post into Irland with a lettar<sup>2</sup> to stay the deputy<sup>3</sup> if he met him in Irland, bicause of this busines, and that he should seme to stay for his owne affaires, and prolong his going from weke to weke, lest it be parceived. Also he had with him ceirtein articles concerning the hole state of the realme, wich the deputy was willed to aunsweare.<sup>4</sup>

30. Ther was a lettar of thankes written to the regent, and sent to mr. Chamberlain to deliver her, for the gentel ouverture made to Thomas Gresham by the treasaurour Longie.<sup>5</sup> Hewas also willed to use

Scotland to sir Thomas Dacres of Lenerdcost knight, during pleasure, with a fee of vj C. markes by yeare, with like allowances as other wardens have, etc." (Ibid. ff. 269, 273 b.) At the same time Ralph Gray was made deputie warden of the East march, with the fee of v C. markes. (Ibid. f. 273 b.) But some further difficulty arose, for we find on the 28th Dec. "a letter to the lord Wharton to proceed to the placing of the lord Euers to the deputie wardenship of the Myddle marches, and Rauf Grey of Chillingham to the deputie wardenship of the East marches, or to signify hither what just cause he hath to move hym to the contrary." (Council Book.)

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned in the letter quoted in p. 466.    <sup>2</sup> Printed in the Cecill Papers, vol. i. p. 140.

<sup>3</sup> From coming to England; see before, p. 466.

<sup>4</sup> "Articles, to be delyvered to the lord deputy of Ireland, of diverse matters concerning the affayres in that realme, whereof the King's pryvie counsell requyre answer," will also be found in the Cecill Papers, p. 141.

<sup>5</sup> In the Cecill Papers, p. 138, will be found a despatch from the lords of the council

gentle wordes in the delivery of the lettars, wisshing a further amité; and for recompence of her ouverture, to tel her of the French kinges practise for 5,000 Scottish footmen and 500 horsmen, and also how he taketh up by exchaunge at Lubek 100,000 li. whearby apperith some meaning that way, the nexte springe.

28. The lord Paget<sup>1</sup> was put to his fine of 6,000 li., and 2,000 li. to sir Thomas Chamberlain, ambassador resident at Bruxelles, detailing to him the particulars brought by Gresham, and giving him instructions to communicate with the regent of Flanders thereon. The despatch is dated Nov. 23.

<sup>1</sup> "Nov. xxij. This day the lord Pagett being called before the lordes, it was declared unto hym by theyr lordeshippes that the King's Ma<sup>tie</sup>. was pleased for his fyne to receyve of hym in landes the yerely vallue of two hundreth poundes; wherewith the lord Paget declaring hymselff to be contented, submitting hymselff most humbly to that his Ma<sup>ty</sup>. determinacion, did neverthesse desyre theyr lordeshippes that he might in recompence thereof make summe other offer to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>., by way of payment of a certaine summe of monny in hande, and the rest at dayes to be agreed uppon. Whereuppon it was accorded that he shold make a remembraunce in wryting, booth of suche landes amounting to the sayd yerely vallue of ij C li. as shold be offred to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>. for the sayd fyne, and lykewyse of th'other offer that he wold make to his Highnesse for recompence of the sayd fyne of ij C li. landes, and bring the same notes to theyre lordeshippes when he had made them, to th'intent his Ma<sup>tie</sup> might thereuppon declare his pleasure. It was fynally declared unto hym by theyr lordeshippes that he might repa<sup>y</sup>re to and froo the courte at his lybertie, and that his recognisaunce knowledged to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> at the tyme of his delyvery owt of the Tower shold be void and of none effect for all other intents saving for the aforesayd fyne onely." (Council Book.)

"Dec. vj. A generall pardon for the lord Paget of all offences and transgressions and other negligences, except debtes dew to his Majestie within the courtes of th'Exchequer, the Augmentation, the Wardes, and the First fruits and tenthes." The same day, "An indenture between the King's ma<sup>tie</sup> and the sayd lord Paget for th'assurance unto his highnes of C li. by the yeare, and for the payment also of ij M li., viz. oone M li. at Christmas next and th'other at Christmas following." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. fol. 280.)

At the same time a compromise was made with the earl of Arundel :—

"Westminster, December iij. 1552. This day th'erle of Arundell, having before made his submission to the King's Ma<sup>tie</sup>, the coppie whereof is hereunder written, came before the lordes and others of his highnes privie counsell, and understanding by theyr lordeshippes the King's Ma<sup>ties</sup> clemencie in respect of his offences, as well for the payment of his fyne of vj M markes in vj. yeres by one thousand markes by yere, as for the releasing of suche right and interest as he hath, or hath had, in the King's Ma<sup>ties</sup> parkes of Bignor,

deminished, to pay it within the space of (*blank*) yeare at days limited.<sup>1</sup>

[*After this date, the Journal is discontinued.*]

Wallington, Maydehoone, Ryvers, and the greate parke of Petworth, with the office of woodeaxe, he the sayd erle submitting hymself most willingly and lowly to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> pleasour herein, dyd knowledge a recognisaunce of x M markes for the performauce of the same, as by the coppie of the sayd recognisaunce here after written may at better length appeare. Whereuppon, the King's pleasure knowne, he was discharged of his emprysonment, and set at his free lybertie, with admonition gyven hym by the lordes of the counsell, to contynewe the dutye of a noble man, and to be that in deede which he well professed in words.

*"Coppie of the Erle of Arundell's Submission."*

"It may please your excellent Ma<sup>tie</sup> to understande that where I, Henry erle of Arundell, now prysoner in the Tower of London, have byn charged to be one of the confederates and conspiratours with Edward late duke of Somerset, lately atteynted, and with other, for the apprehension and imprysoning of dyvers noble men then and yet being of yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ties</sup> privie counsell; and forasmuch as uppon mine examinations taken during the tyme of myne imprysonment in the Tower of London, before John duke of Northumberland, John erle of Bedford, William lord marques of Northampton, William erle of Penbrooke, and sir Phillip Hobby knight, and otherwyse, it doth appeare that I, the sayd Henry erle of Arundell, was privie and of knowledge of the said daingerous conspiracie practised by the sayd late duke and others, to the perill of the state of this your realme; and forasmuch also as I the sayd erle of Arundell did not according to my most bounden duty reveale so muche as I did knowe of the sayd duke's intent to your highnes, or to sume others of yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ties</sup> privie counsell, but dyd conceale and keepe the same secret, whereby I doo confesse and acknowledge that I have not only worthily deserved this mine imprysonment, but also that the same my sayd offences and conchelements shold be daingerous unto me without your Ma<sup>ties</sup> clemencie, for the mitygating therefore of the same I doo most humbly acknowledge by this my submission my sayd offences, and doo crave and desire your most gracious pardon for the same, and further submitt my selfe for the premisses to the most mercifull ordre of your highnes and of your most honourable counsell." (Council Book.)

It may be observed that nothing is here admitted as to contemplating the assassination of certain councillors, the crime of which the duke of Somerset was accused, but only the design of imprisoning them. The latter was a measure to which Arundel himself had been subjected, both before and since (see pp. 245, 365). The inference is that Somerset was merely guilty of having failed in that in which Northumberland had succeeded, viz. in effectually intimidating his fellow councillors.



# STATE PAPERS

AND

## POLITICAL ESSAYS.

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The Papers which now follow are included in this collection, because all their originals are partly if not entirely in the handwriting of the King.

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### I. DISCOURSE ON THE REFORMATION OF ABUSES, 1551.

[MS. Cotton. Nero C. x. fol. 107.]

This essay, though perhaps unfinished, is one of the most interesting of King Edward's literary remains, both as a record of the direction taken by his own thoughts regarding the duties of his station, and the general policy of domestic government, and also as a reflection of the circumstances, and many of the prejudices, of the age.

Bishop Burnet, who first published it in his History of the Reformation, considers it to have originated in an essay of Martin Bucer, which had been presented to the King as a New Year's Gift in 1550-1. The Bishop's remarks upon it are as follow:—

“He was told that the King would expect a new year's gift from him, of a book made for his own use: so, upon that occasion, he writ a book entitled, Concerning the Kingdom of Christ.<sup>1</sup> He sets out in it the miseries of Germany, which, he says, were brought on them by their sins; for they would bear no discipline; nor were the ministers so earnest in it as was fitting: though in Hungary it was otherwise. He writes largely of ecclesiastical discipline; which was intended chiefly for separating ill men from the sacrament, and to make good men avoid their company, whereby they might be ashamed. He presses much the sanctification of the Lord's day, and of the other holy days, and

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<sup>1</sup> “*De Regno Christi, libri duo.*” written in Latin. Probably in consequence of Bucer's death, which happened very shortly after (see p. 304), it was not published until the year 1557, when Bucer's children had it printed, at Basle. There was a French translation published in the next year. No complete English version seems to have been ever made. There is “A Treatise how, by the Worde of God, Christian Men's Almose ought to bee distributed. Translated from M Bucer, *De Regno Christi*, made for the blessed King Edward.” 8vo: no place nor date (in Bodleian Library). That

that there might be many days of fasting: but he thought Lent had been so abused, that other times for it might be more expedient. He complains much of pluralities and non-residence, as a remainder of popery, so hurtful to the Church, that in many places there were but one or two, or few more sermons in a whole year: but he thought that much was not to be expected from the greatest part of the clergy, unless the King would set himself vigorously to reform these things. Lastly, he would have a complete exposition of the doctrine of the Church digested, and set out: and he proposed divers laws to the King's consideration; as,

"1. For catechising children.

"2. For sanctifying holy days.

"3. For preserving churches for God's service, not to be made places for walking or for commerce.<sup>1</sup>

"4. To have the pastoral function entirely restored to what it ought to be; that bishops, throwing off all secular cares, should give themselves to their spiritual employments: he advises that coadjutors might be given to some, and a council of presbyters be appointed for them all. It was plain, that many of them complied with the laws against their minds; these he would have deprived. He advises rural bishops to be set over twenty or thirty parishes, who should gather their clergy often together, and

portion of the treatise which related to Divorce was translated into English by John Milton, and printed in 1644, being then matter of controversy. "Bucer wrote his book in England, being but a stranger; yet of England most aptly, touching the state of it, to the King of England: but by report of his familiars in Cambridge,—and they were the same which are now archbishops of York (Grindal) and Canterbury (Parker), bishop of London (Sandys), Bradford, and such like,—I know not what conference they had with him when he made the book, but I am sure that since his death, in private talk, they have much approved his book." This passage occurs in a letter of Thomas Sampson (sometime dean of Christchurch) to lord Burghley, written in 1573, and accompanied by an epitome of the treatise *De Regno Christi*, excepting "the long tract *de Matrimonio et Divortiiis*," of the writer's opinion on which matter Sampson did not approve: see Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, vol. ii. chap. xxviii.

<sup>1</sup> This was an evident allusion to Paul's Walk in the metropolitan cathedral—"quàm horrendam ii faciant divinæ Majestati contumeliam, qui templa Domini habent pro deambulacris, locisque tam prophanis, ut in illis quævis impura et prophana cum similibus suis garriant et pertractent, idque nonnunquam etiam cùm sacra Christi in templis administrantur." Lib. i. cap. x. Bucer recommended that churches should be kept closed when no service was in progress.

inspect them closely: and that a provincial synod should meet twice a year, where a secular man, in the King's name, should be appointed to observe their proceedings.

"5. For restoring Church lands, that all who served the Church might be well provided: if any lived in luxury upon their high revenues, it was reasonable to make them use them better: but not to blame or rob the Church for their fault.

"6. For the maintenance of the poor, for whom anciently a fourth part of the Church's goods was assigned.

"The 7th was about marriage. That the prohibited degrees might be well settled; marriage without consent of parents annulled; and that a second marriage might be lawful after a divorce, which he thought might be made for adultery, and some other reasons.

"8. For the education of youth.

"9. For restraining the excess of some people's living.

"10. For reforming and explaining the laws of the land, which his father had begun.

"11. To place good magistrates; that no office should be sold, and that inferior magistrates should often give an account to the superior of the administration of their offices.

"12. To consider well who were made judges.

"13. To give order that none should be put in prison upon slight offences.

"The 14th was for moderating of some punishments: chiefly, the putting of thieves to death, which was too severe; whereas adultery was too slightly passed over: though adultery be a greater wrong to the suffering party than any theft, and so was punished with death by Moses' law.

"This book was sent to the young King. And he having received it set himself to write a general Discourse about a Reformation of the Nation. In it he takes notice of the corrections of the Book of the Liturgy which were then under consideration; as also, that it was necessary there should be a rule of Church discipline for the censure of ill livers; but he thought that power was not to be put into the hands of all the bishops at that time. From thence he goes on to discourse of the ill state of the nation, and of the remedies that seemed proper for it. The first he proposes was, the education of youth; next the correction of some laws; and there either broke it off, or the rest of it is lost. In which, as there is a great discovery of a marvellous probity of mind, so there are strange hints to come from one not yet fourteen years of age, and yet it is all written with his own hand, and in such a manner, that any who shall look on the original will clearly see it was his own work. The style is simple and suitable to a child. Few men can make such composes but somewhat above a child will appear in their style; which makes me conclude it was all a device of his own."

It was written during the session of Parliament in 1551, which lasted from the 23d January to the 15th of April.

THE gouvernaunce of this realme is devided into tow partes, on(e) ecclesiasticall, th' other temporell.

Th' ecclesiasticall consisteth in settingforth the worde of God, continewing the peple in prayer, and the discipline. The settingfurth of the worde of God consisteth in the good discreet doctrine and example of the teachours and spirituall officers. For as the good husbandmane maketh his ground good and plentifull, so doth the true preachour with doctrine and example print and grafe in the peple's mind the word of God, that they at lenghte become plentifull. (Wherefore the, *erased*) Prayers to God also must be made continually of the peple and officers of the church to assist them with his grace. And thos prayers must first with good consideration be setfurth, and fautes therin be amendid; next being setfurth the peple must continually be allured to heire them. For discipline, it were very good that it wentfurth, and that those that did notablye offend in swearing, rioting, neglecting of God's word, or such like vices, were duely punished, so that thos that shuld be th'executours of this discipline were men of tried honesty, wisdom, and judgment. But bicause thos bishops<sup>1</sup> whoe shuld execute, some for papistrye,

<sup>1</sup> Bucer commenced the second book of his treatise *De Regno Christi*, directly addressing the King, in the following words: "Primum, haud dubito, Serenissime Rex, Majestatem tuam ipsam videre hanc, quam requirimus, imò quam requirit salus omnium nostrum, regni Christi restitutionem ab Episcopis nullo modo esse expectandam, dum adeo pauci inter eos sunt qui vim hujus regni et propria munia planè ipsi cognoscant, plerique autem eorum illud etiam quibus possunt et audent modis vel oppugnent vel differant atque remorentur. Meminisse itaque serenissimæ Majestati tuæ necesse est, regiam sibi in hoc regno potestatem a summo Rege regum et Domino dominantium, Jesu Christo, esse commissam, omnemque animam suo imperio subjectam, etiam Episcoporum et Cleri universi." Gardiner, Bonner, Heath, and Day had been deprived of their bishoprics, and Tunstall was now threatened; but many others appointed in the days of popery remained, and, though men of less talent and ability, were on that very account less liable to the usual modes of attack. See the biographical catalogue of the bishops during Edward's reign in Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. book ii. chap. xxvi. At the accession of Mary there were eight "married bishops:" all of whom were consequently deprived; and it is



some for ignoraunce, some for age, some for their ill name, some for al theis, ar(e) men unable to execute discipline, it is therefor a thing unmete for thies men. Wherefore it were necessary that those that were apointed to be bishops or preachours were honest in life and lerned in their (sermons, *erased*) doctrine, that by rewarding of such men other might be allured to folow their good life. As for the prayers and the divine service, it were me(e)t the fautes were drawn out, as it was apointed, by lerned men, and so the boke to be establishid,<sup>1</sup> and al men willed to come thereunto, to heire the service, as I have put in remembrancis in articles touching the statutes of this parliement.<sup>2</sup> But for discipline I wold wish no autorite geven generally to all bishops, but that commission be geven to those that be of the best sorte of them, to exercise it in their diocesis.

This moch generally for religion.

probable that the number of those who had sincerely embraced the Protestant doctrines was no larger.

<sup>1</sup> "About the end of this year (1550), or the beginning of the next, there was a review made of the Common Prayer Book. Several things had been continued in it, either to draw in some of the bishops, who by such yielding might be prevailed on to concur in it, or in compliance with the people, who were fond of their old superstitions. So now a review of it was set about. Martin Bucer was consulted in it; and [Alexander] Alesse, [a learned Scotch divine, afterwards divinity professor at Leipsic,] translated it into Latin for his use." Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, ii. 319, where the substance of Bucer's advice on the subject follows. See also Bucer's work, "A Review of the Book of Common Prayer, briefly analyzed and abridged, by Arthur Roberts, M.A. Vicar of Woodrising, Norfolk. 1853." 12mo. King Edward's second liturgy was first printed in 1552 by Richard Grafton, together with "The forme and maner of makynge and consecrating Bishoppes, Priestes, and Deacons," to which is affixed the date "Mense Augusti, Anno Domini 1552." It is reprinted in the handsome collection of English Liturgies published by Wm. Pickering. See also "The two Books of Common Prayer set forth by authority of Parliament in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, compared with each other. [Edited by Edward Cardwell, D.D.] 1838." 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> These "remembrances" I have not been able to find either in the State-paper office or British Museum.

## TEMPORELL REGIMENT.

The temporell regiment consisteth in well ordering, enriching, and defending the hole bodye politique of the commenwelth, and every parte of the hole, so one hurt<sup>1</sup> not th'other. The example whereof may be best taken of a man's body. For even as the arme defendith, helpith, and aydeth the hole body, chefly the head, so ought servingmen and gentlemen chefly and such like kind of peple be alwayes redy to defence of their countrie, and cheify of their superiour and gouvernour, and ought in all thinges be vigilant and paynfull for th'increasing and ayding of ther countrie. And forasmouch as they in serving their king and countrey have divers great and manyfold charges, even as the arme doth many times beare great streassis for defence of the heade and bodye, having no kind of way to enrich (itself, *erased*) themselves, neither by marchaundise, neither by handicraft, neither by husbandrye, as the arme doth decoct no meat it self, nor engendreth no blude, therefor even as the stomake, liver, and lightes, wich partes engendre the bludd, doth send nourishment to the armes and legges, sufficient to strenghthen the part, even so must the artificers (merchauntis and husbandmen, *erased*)<sup>2</sup> so use their gaine in working, and so truely and justly make that that they worke, the merchauntes must so sell there ware and so labour to bring in straung commodites, the husbandmen must pay such rente, and so sell thinges that come of th'increase of the ground, that the handis and the leggis, that is to say, the stats (of nobless, *erased*) of gentlemen (I meane, *erased*), and of servingmen may well doe the commenwealth that service they ought to doe. And as the gentlemen and servingmen ought to be provided for, so ought not they neither have so much as they have in Fraunce,

<sup>1</sup> Misprinted in Burnet "to one part."

<sup>2</sup> I insert some of the King's erasures, as showing the course of his thoughts during the composition of this essay.

where the pesauntrie is of no valew, neither yet medle in other occupations. For the armes and leggis doth never draw the hole bloud from the leivir, but leavith it sufficient to worke on, neither doth medle in any kind of engendring of bloud. No nor no one parte of the body doth serve for tow occupacions. Even so neither the gentleman ought to be a fermour, nor the merchaunt an artisour, but to have his arte particularly. Furthermore, no member in a wel fashioned and hole body is to(o) bigg for the proporcion of the body. So must their be in a wel orderid commenwealth no person that shal have more then the proportion of the country will beare. For as it is convenient to enrich the country<sup>1</sup> so is it hurtfull immoderately to enrich any one part. I thinke this country can beare<sup>2</sup> no merchaunt to have more land then 100 li.,<sup>3</sup> no husbandman or fermour worth above 100 or 200 li., no artificer above 100 marc, no labourer much more than he spendith. I speake now generally, and in such cases may faile in some one particulare. But this is sure, this comenwelth may not beare one man to have more then 2 farmes, then (tow *altered to*) one benefice, then 2,000 shepe, and one kind of (living *altered to*) art to live by. Wherfor, as in the body no part hath to(o) much or to(o) litle, so in a comenwelth ought every part to have *ad victum et non ad saturitatem*. And as ther is no parte admitted in the body that doth not worke and take payne, so ought ther no part of the comenwealth to be but laborsom in his vocation. The gentleman ought to labour in service in his country, the servingman ought to waite diligently on his master, the artificer ought to labour in his worke, the husbandmane in tilling the grounde, the merchaunte in passing the tempestes, but the vagaboundis ought clerely to be banished, as is the superfluouse humour in the body, that is to say the spitel and

<sup>1</sup> These nine words are omitted by Burnet.

<sup>2</sup> Here occur two lines the words of which have been carefully defaced either by the royal writer or some other hand.

<sup>3</sup> The King first wrote "no merchaunt more worth then 30,000 li."

filth, wich, because it is for no use, is put out by the strenght of nature. This is the true ordering of the state of a well-fashioned comenwealth, that every part do obey on(e) hed, on(e) gouvernour, on(e) law, as all partis of the body obey the hedd, agree among themself, and on(e) not to eat another up through gredines, but that we see that ordre, moderation, and reason bridell th'affections. But this is most of all to be had in a comenweale wel ordred, that the lawes and ordinaunces be wel executed, duely obeyed, and ministred without corruption. Now, having seen how thinges ought to be, let us first see how now they be ordered, and in what state they stand now, and then goe forward to seke a remedye.

The first point in ordering the comenwealth we touched was that the gentlemen, noblemen, and servingmen should stand stoutly to defence of their superiour and gouvernour, and should be painfull in ordering their country; wich thing, although in some part and the most part be well (thankis be to God), yet in some partis is not absolutly, wich I shal show hereafter particularly. But the second point, for maintenaunce of the state and of nobles<sup>1</sup> of landed men, is ill loked to. For that state of gentlemen and noblemen which is truely to be termid the state of noblesse<sup>2</sup> hath alonly not encreased<sup>3</sup> the gaine of living. For merchauntes have inhaunsed their ware, fermors have inhaunsed their corne and cattell, labourers their wages, artificers the price of their workmanship, mariners and botesmen their hire for service, whereby they recompence the losse of thinges they bye; but the most part of true gentlemen (I meane not theis ferming gentlemen, nor clarking knightes) have litle or nothing encreased their rentes; yet their housekeping is dearer, their meat is dearer, their liveries dearer, their wagis greater, wich thing at length, if spedye remedy be not hadd, will bring that state into utter ruine (*quod absit*). The artificers worke falsly, the clothiers use deceit in cloth, the masons in bilding, the klokmakers in their

<sup>1</sup> The words "and of nobles" are omitted by Burnet.

<sup>2</sup> *Misprinted* States of Nobles by Burnet.

<sup>3</sup> *Misprinted* exercised by Burnet.



clockes, the joyner in his working of timber, and so furth al other almost, to th'intent they wold have men cum oftener to them for amending their thinges, and so have more gaine, although at the beginning they take out of measure. The merchauntes aventure not to bring in straung commodites, but loyter at home, send furth smalle hoyes with 2 or 3 mariners, occupy exchaung of money, by and sell vitaille, steale out bullion, corne, vitaille, wood, and such like thinges out of the realme, and sell their ware unreasonably. The husbandmen and fermours take their ground at a small rent, and dwell not on it, but lett it to poore men for treible the rent they take it for, and sell their fleshe, corne, milke, butter, etc<sup>e</sup>, at unreasonable prices. The gentleman, constrayned by necessite and poverty, becommeth a fermour, a grasier, or a shepmaster; the grasier, the fermour, the merchaunt become landed men, and call themself gentlemen, though they be churles. Yea, the fermour will have ten fermes, some 20, and woll be a pedlare marchaunt; the artificer will leave the towne, and for his more passetemps will live in the countrie; yea, and more than that, will be a justice of peax, and will thinke skorne to have it denied him, so lordly be they now adaies. For now they are not content with 2,000 sheep, but they must have 20,000, or els they think themselves not well<sup>1</sup>; they must 20 mile square their owne land, or full of their farmes, and 4 or 5 craftes to live by is to(o) litle, such helhoundes be they. For idle persons<sup>2</sup> their were never I thinke more than be now; the

<sup>1</sup> This alludes to the great rural grievance of the day, the conversion of arable land into pasture, in order to increase the production of wool; which occasioned the several insurrections regarding inclosures. It had commenced in the days of sir Thomas More, in whose *Utopia* occurs this passage: "Your sheep may be said now to devour men, and unpeople not only villages, but towns." The number of 2000 sheep was that limited by law to one master; and a proclamation against keeping more, and against the other "enormities" enumerated in the text, was issued in May 1551, as described by the King in his *Journal*, *antea*, p. 318.

<sup>2</sup> Bucer had presented to the King the following description of the multitudes of Englishmen that were brought up in idleness: "Atqui audio à quamplurimis bonis atque

warres (men thinke) is the cause thereof, wich persons can do nothing but robb and steale. But slake execution of the lawes hath bene the chiefest sore of all. The lawes hath ben manifestly broken, the offendours punished,<sup>1</sup> and either by bribery or folish pitey escaped punishement. The dissension and disagreement both for private matters, and also in matters of religion, hath bene no litle cause, but the principall hath bene the disobedient and contentiouse talking and doying of the folish and fond peple, wich for lake of teaching have wandred and broken, wilfully and disobediently, the lawes of this realme. The lawers also and judges have much offended in corruption and bribery.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, they doe now adays much use to forestall not only privat markettes of corne and vitaile, wherby they inhauns the price thereof, but also send to the sea to aborde shippes and take the wine, sugare, datis, or any other ware, and bring it to London, wheare they sell double the price. What shal I say of those that by and sell offices of trust, that impropriat benefices, that destroy timber, that not considering the sustayning of men of their (corn<sup>3</sup>), tourne till-ground to pasture, that use excesse in apparell, in diet, and in buylding, of enclosures of wastes and commons, of those that cast fals and sediciouse

*religiosis viris, ocio in hoc regno nimis multos perire. Non enim nobiles modo, verum etiam quosdam episcopos et prælatos nimiam ociosorum hominum turbam alere, horumque ocium reliquos quoad possint imitari; eaque causa fieri, ut et præfecti sacris ecclesiarum ac scholarum ministeriis sint ad docendum tam segnes et parci; opifices adeo pauci, et inter hos tam non multi artifices; agricultura remissior, operum et operarum precia tam aucta et in dies excrescentia. Cùmque adeo multi ex tenuibus hominibus ocio sese dedunt, consequitur ut à sacro connubio et procreatione liberorum permulti abstineant: quo non solum numerus extenuatur civium, verum ab his etiam dum nullis honestis incumbunt negociis, et non propter regnum cælorum, sed ignaviam suam, vitam ducunt cœlibem, perquam grave, ut dixi, pudicitiae periculum creatur pestisque infertur. Porro hæc illa sunt flagitia, propter quæ venit ira Dei," &c. De Regno Christi, lib. ii. cap. xlviii.*

<sup>1</sup> Misprinted "banished" by Burnet.

<sup>2</sup> Here occurs another line which has been carefully defaced.

<sup>3</sup> The King has here omitted a word that bishop Burnet supplies by "corn:" which may have been what the writer intended, in the sense of "by their corn."

billes, but that the thing is so tedious, long, and lamentable to entreat of the particulars that I am weary to goe any further in the particulars (*sic*). Wherefore I will cease, having told the worst, because the best will save it self.

Nowe I will begin to entreate of a remedy. The ill in this commonwealth,<sup>1</sup> as I have before said, standeth in deceitful working of artificers, using of exchaung and usury, making vent with hoyes only into Flaundres, conveying of bullion, lead, belmetall, coper, wood, iron, fishe, corne, and catell beyond sea, enhaunsing of rentes, using t(w)o artes<sup>2</sup> to live by, keeping of many sheep and many fermes, idlenes of peple, disobedience of the lower sort, byijng and selling of offices, impropriating benefices, tounring till-ground to pasture, exceding in apparell, diet, and buylding, enclosing of commons, casting of ill and sedicious billes.

Thies soores must be (amended, *altered to*) curid with these medecins or plastres: 1. Good education; 2. Devising of good lawes; 3. Executing the lawes justly, without respect of persons; 4. Example of rulers; 5. Punishing of vagaboundis and idel persons; 6. Encouraging the good; 7. Ordering wel the customers; 8. Engendring frendship in al the partis of the commonwealth. Thies be the chief pointes that tend to order well the hole commonwelth. And for the first, as it is in ordre first, so it seamith to be in dignitie and degree. For Horace saith very wisely, *Quo est imbuta recens servabit odorem testa diu*. With whatsoever thing the new vessel is imbrued it will long kepe the savour, saith Horace, meaning that for the most part men be as they be brought up, and that men kepe longest the savour of their first bringing up. Wherefore seing that it seamith so necessary a thing we will shew our device therein. Youth must be brought

<sup>1</sup> —“uti sunt crudeles illæ usuræ, monopolia, portentosæ fraudes mercium, vitia monetarum, et fraudulentæ numismatum permutationes: iniquissima rerum, operum et operarum precia: interceptiones et vitia, auctaque iniquè precia annonæ, et rerum omnium quibus vita præsens carere non potest.” Bucerus de Regno Christi, lib. ii. cap. lx.

<sup>2</sup> Misprinted by Burnet “no arts.”

up, some in husbandrye, some in working, graving, gilding, joyning, printing, making of clothes, even from their tendrest age, to th'intent they may not when they come to man's estate loyter as they doe now adays and neglect; but thinke their travell swete and honest. And for this purpose wold I wishe that artificers and other were either commaundid to bring up their sonnes in like trade, or els have some places appointed them in every good toun where they shuld be prentises, and bound to certein kind of conditions. Also that those vagaboundis that take children and teach them to begge, shuld according to their demerites be worthely punished.

This shal well ease and remedie the deceitful working of thinges, disobedience of the lower sort, casting of sedicious billes, and wil clerely take away the idlenes of peple.

2. Devising of good lawes. I have shewed mine opinion heretofore what statuts I thinke most necessary to be enacted this sessions. Nevertheles I wold wishe that beside them, hereafter, whan time shal serve, the superflous and tedious statutes were brought into one summe together, and made more plaine and short, to th'intent that men might the better understaund them, wich thing shal moch help to avaunce the profit of the commonweale.

3. Neverthelesse, when all thies lawes be made, established, and enacted, they serve to noe purpose except they be fully and duely executed. Bi whom? Bi those that have autorite to execute. That is to say, the noblemen and the justices of peax. Wherefore I wold wishe that after this parlement were ended they noblemen, except a few that shold be with me, went to their countreis, and their should see the statutes fully and duely executed, and that those men shuld be put from being justices of peax that be touched or blotted with thos vices that be against thies new laws to be established. For no man that is in faut himself can punish another for the sam offence. *Turpe est doctori cum culpa redarguit ipsum.* And thies justices being put out, their is no dout for the execution of the lawes.



## II. MEMORIAL FOR COUNCIL BUSINESS, SEPT. 1551.

[State-paper office, Domestic, vol. xiii. art. 50.]

*Indorsed*, Memory(all) for the K<sup>e</sup> Ma.

The first portion of this document is in Cecill's hand.

Cōmissionars<sup>1</sup> in the Causes of y<sup>e</sup> B. of { Chichestr.  
Worcest<sup>r</sup>.S<sup>r</sup> Roger Cholmeley chief justice.S<sup>r</sup> Richard Rede knight.

/ Doctor Olyver.

M<sup>r</sup> Goodrick.M<sup>r</sup> Gosnold.

D. Lyell.

M<sup>r</sup> Chidly.

Below the King has written—

|   |                                     |    |
|---|-------------------------------------|----|
| + | The Bishop of London.               | 4. |
| A | Sir Roger Cholmley chief justice.   |    |
| c | M <sup>r</sup> Gosnald sollicitour. |    |
| f | (b) M <sup>r</sup> Staumford.       |    |
| d | (a) M <sup>r</sup> Goodrike.        |    |
| e | M <sup>r</sup> Chidley.             |    |
| b | M <sup>r</sup> Rede.                |    |
| g | M <sup>r</sup> Liel.                |    |

In Cecill's hand:

Men eligible for the 2 Archbishopricke

in Ireland : <sup>2</sup> v<sub>3</sub> Armachan 200<sup>li</sup>.Cassille 200<sup>mrk</sup>.<sup>1</sup> See the note in p. 345.<sup>2</sup> This matter forms the subject of chapter xxviii. of book ii. of Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer. Cecill wrote to the archbishop to nominate some worthy persons: and Cranmer, on the 25th August, 1552 (nearly a year after the date of the document here printed), returned him this answer: "Though in England there be many meete men for the archbushopricks of Ireland, yet I knowe veraye fewe that wil gladlie be perswaded to go thither. Nevertheless I have sent you the names of iiij, viz.

[Armachan.] Mr Doct. Turner<sup>1</sup> of Cantirbury.  
 Sr Thomas Rosse<sup>2</sup> abyding in Norfolk.  
 Mr Dethick<sup>3</sup> kynsmā to Garter the heralde.

mr. Whiteheade of Hadley, mr. Tournier of Caunturbury, sir Thomas Rosse, and sir Robert Wisdome, which being ordinarily called I thincke for conscience sake wil not refuse to bestowe the talent committed unto theim wheresoever it shal please the Kinges majestie to appointe theim. Among whom I take mr. Whiteheade for his good knowledge, special honestie, fervent zeale, and politick wisdom to be most meete." This was David Whitehead, afterwards pastor of the English congregation at Frankfort, but whose preferment in the reign of Elizabeth was finally checked by non-conformity.

<sup>1</sup> "And next him (continues the archbishop) mr. Tournier, who, besides that hee is merry and witty withal, *nihil appetit, nihil ardet, nihil somniat, nisi Jesum Christum*, and in the lively preaching of him and his wourde declareth such diligence, faithfulness, and wisdom, as for the same deservethe much commendation." Richard Turner was one of the six preachers of Canterbury cathedral and vicar of Dartford. He was the person actually nominated for the see of Armagh, as shewn in the text, but he evinced such unwillingness to accept the charge, that he was eventually excused. Cranmer sent him to Cecill on the 19th September, 1552, with a letter in which he wrote, "Now at the last, agaynst his will, Turner is come up unto the courte. He preched twice in the campe that was by Canterbury: for the which the rebells wolde have hanged him, and he semed then more glad to go to hangynge, than he doth now to go to Armachane; he alleged so many excuses, but the chiefe is this that he shal preach to the walls and stalls, for the peple understand no English. I beare him in hande Yes, and yet I dowte whether they speak English in the dioces of Armachane. But if they do not, then I say that, if he wil take the paine to learne the Irish tounge (which with diligence he may do in a yeare or two), than both his personne and doctrine shal be evermore acceptable not only unto his dioces, but also thoroweout al Ireland. I commytt hym to your cure, praying you to help hym to have as ready a dispach as may be, for he hath but a little money." Instead of Ireland, Turner went into exile at Basle. In Elizabeth's reign he returned to Canterbury, and did not attain any higher preferment.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Rosse was a zealous protestant, and had incurred some persecution for his zeal at an early stage of the Reformation in 1532. Again in the reign of Mary he suffered imprisonment, but at length escaped beyond sea. He never had any high preferment. In the reign of Edward VI. he was vicar of West Ham in Essex, and in that of Elizabeth preacher at Luton in Bedfordshire, where he died at a very advanced age.

<sup>3</sup> I do not identify master Dethick.

Mr Leverosse<sup>1</sup> abiding in Ireland.

[Cassilles.<sup>2</sup>] Mr Goodacre<sup>3</sup> Chaplē w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> B. of Wynchest<sup>r</sup>.

*The marginal words " Armachan " and " Cassilles " are added by the King.*

### III. MATTERS FOR THE COUNCIL, JAN. 18, 1551-2.

[MS. Cotton. Vespasian F. xiii. p. 171. Entirely in the King's autograph.]

Certain pointes of waightly matters to be immediatly concluded on by my counsell. 18<sup>o</sup> Januarij, 1551<sup>o</sup>.

1. The conclusion for the payment of our dettis in February next comming.

2. The matter for the stiliard to be so considered that it may be to our profit, and wealth of our subjectis.

3. The matter for the duke of Somerset and his confederates to be considered as aperteineth to our surety and quietnes of our realme, that by there punishement and execution, according to the lawes, example may be shewed to others.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Leverous had been tutor to the heir of the Fitzgeralds, and was really a papist, as was shown by his accepting first the deanery of St. Patrick, and afterwards the see of Kildare, from queen Mary. He was deprived in 1559, and died in 1577, in his 80th year. (Ware's Bishops of Ireland, fol. 1739, p. 391.)

<sup>2</sup> The see of Cashel was vacant by the death of Edmund Butler on the 5th March, 1550-1. Eventually it was not filled again during king Edward's reign.

<sup>3</sup> After the four named in his first letter, Cranmer adds, " There is also one mr. Whitacre, a man both wise and wel learned, chaplain to the bishopp of Winchester, veray meet for that office, if he might be perswaded to take it upon him." Strype concludes that the archbishop wrote " Whitacre " in error for Goodacre: and that suggestion is confirmed by the original of the document here printed, in which Cecill at first wrote " Whitacre," and afterwards corrected the name to Goodacre. Hugh Goodacre, B.D. was a chaplain of bishop Poinet. After having been first nominated for the see of Cashel, he was actually appointed to Armagh, and was consecrated in Christchurch, Dublin, on the 2d Feb. 1552-3, together with John Bale, bishop of Ossory. He died on the 1st May following: whereupon his predecessor George Dowdall, who was still living on the continent, was restored by queen Mary. (Ware's Bishops, p. 94.)

4. The resolution for the bishops that be nominated.
5. Mony for our ambassadours' diettes to be sent them forthwith.
6. Dispatching our commissionars to Guisnes to see the state thereof.
7. Taking some order with the Londoners that they that come to our parliement may not be holly discouragid, empovrished, or woried with their attendaunce,<sup>1</sup> wich order can not be well taken (as me thinketh) without punishing th'offendours.
8. The matter for th'exchaung to be well wayed and considerid.<sup>2</sup>
9. The bishop of Durham's matters to be executid according to our lawes.<sup>3</sup>

Cecill appears to have preserved this paper with especial care, probably on account of the important testimony it affords, under the King's own hand, that he was consenting to "the punishment and execution, according to the laws," of the duke of Somerset and his confederates. The duke was beheaded four days after the date of this document. The cautious secretary has further ratified it by the following endorsement:—

"These remembrances within written wer delyvered by the Kynges Matie to his Privee Counsell at Grenewiche in his Maties Inner Prive Chamber, the mondaye being the 19 of January, 1551, A<sup>o</sup> 5<sup>o</sup> of his Maties reigne. They were written with his Maties owne hand, and receved of his Maties own handes by the marques of Wynchester, being then lord thresorer, being present theis following:—

|                          |                    |                              |
|--------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|
| The Lord Thresorer.      | Lord Admyrall.     | Mr. Comptroller Wynfeld.     |
| Lord Great Master.       | Lord Chamberleyne. | Mr. Vice-chamberleyne Gates. |
| Lord Prive Seale.        | Lord Cobham.       | The ij. Secretaries.         |
| Duke of Suffolk.         |                    | Mr. Sadler.                  |
| Lord great Chamberleyne. |                    | Mr. Mason.                   |
| Erle of Penbrooke.       |                    | Mr. Bowes."                  |

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* by "unreasonable prices," on which subject the Londoners were severely lectured in the following June: see p. 424.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 406.

See pp. 427, 465.



## IV. REMEMBRANCE FOR THE COUNCIL, FEB. 1551-2.

[State-paper office, Domestic Edw. VI. vol. xiii. art. 10.]

## Remembrance for the Council.

The placyng of some fitt man in Mr Morysynes roome with the Emperor.

Named, Mr D. Wotton.

Mr Hobbye.

Mr Shelleye.

The discharge of the Myntes in London. Appoyntment of one in Sir Jhon Yorkes roome.

Named, Jhon Freman.

Mr Egerton.

Mr Pyrrye.

The motion to the Kinges matie for sir Thomas Palmer<sup>1</sup> graunted. for his pardon and delyverie.

The lady Richmontes sute for license for her father<sup>2</sup> to write to the Kinges matie for mercye.

The word "graunted" is added by the King.

## V. ACTS PROPOSED FOR THE PARLIAMENT IN 1551-2.

[State-paper Office, Domestic Edw. VI. vol. xiv. art. 4. In the King's autograph.]

## Actes for this parliemente:—

1. An act that no patron shal give lesse to the parson then the hole benefice, nor reserve therof any commodite to himself.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Palmer's pardon was dated on the 18th Feb. 1551-2: see note in p. 404.

<sup>2</sup> The duke of Norfolk, who remained a prisoner in the Tower throughout this reign.

<sup>3</sup> "The bill for reservations upon spiritual promotions" was brought into the house of Commons and read the first time on the second day of the session, Jan. 25; read 2<sup>o</sup> and committed to mr. fitzchamberlayn Jan. 27; 3<sup>o</sup> Feb. 11. But this was superseded by "The new bill for reservations upon benefices," which was read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb. 6; 2<sup>o</sup> on the 12th; 3<sup>o</sup> on the 18th Feb. as "the bill for [*i. e.* against] reservations of rents or other profits for the giving of any benefice—*Judicium*" (*i. e.* as revised by the judges). Taken

2. An act that no spiritual (man *erased*) person make leas for longer then 21 yeares, nor yet of none of his desmeanes of his principal house longer then for his owne time.<sup>1</sup>

3. An act against regrating of merchaundice, First no man to be a marchaunt without he have ben five yeares a prentice. Secondly no bankar to buy of th'aventurar except he sel it by retaile. Thirdly no marchaunt aventurar to buy any of like ware as he bringeth in himself, til that be first sold.<sup>2</sup>

4. An act against severing land from howses.<sup>3</sup>

to the Lords Feb. 20; read 1° Feb. 27; 2° March 14; and committed to the duke of Suffolk, earl of Shrewsbury, the bishops of London and Gloucester, and the King's solicitor. On the 17th the duke of Suffolk brought up certain articles extracted from it, "for the reservation of rents, or any other profit, for the gift of any benefice," and they were committed to mr. Saunders, serjeant at law, to be reduced into the form of an act. On the 2d of April a bill was read 1° in the Lords, "that no person shall grant the advowson of any benefice before the death of the incumbent;" read 2° April 4; and 3° April 5, the earls of Derby, Rutland, and Sussex, viscount Hereford, and the lords Mountegle, Sandes, Windsor, and Evers dissenting. It was sent to the Commons by the solicitor-general; read 1° April 7, and 2° April 11, under the title of "the bill to avoid Simony, and reservations upon spiritual promotions," but did not come to a third reading.

<sup>1</sup> No bill was introduced for this object.

<sup>2</sup> Two acts were passed: cap. xv. against regratours, forestallers, and engrossers of corn and other provisions; and cap. xvi. against regratours and engrossers of tanned leather (see them in Statutes of the Realm, 1819, iv. 148, 150), but they do not contain the proposals written by the King under number 3.

<sup>3</sup> This was a measure directed against the tenure of two or more farms by one person, a practice severely deprecated in the King's essay, *antea*, p. 487. At the beginning of the session a "bill for [preventing] having plurality of farms or mansions" was introduced into the Commons' house, and read 1° Jan. 26, 2° Jan. 28, and committed to mr. Dyer and mr. Denton to draw articles. It was then deemed advisable to divide the measure into two parts, and on the 9th Feb. two new bills were read 1°, one "for avoiding of plurality of farms," more fully described as "the bill for [*i.e.* against] having of two mansion-houses with above six acres of land in farm;" and the other "the bill to avoid severance of land from houses, not leaving thirty acres with such house." They were read 2° on the 12th Feb., 3° on the 18th and 19th, having been examined by the judges; and were sent to the Lords on the 20th. The bill last named was there read 1° Feb. 27, and 2° March 14, being then committed to the bishops of Norwich and Gloucester, lords Windsor and Wentworth, and mr. Saunders, serjeant-at-law; after which it went no

### 5. To make carieng over of bullion felony.<sup>1</sup>

further. The bill "to avoid the having of plurality in farms and mansion-houses" was read 1° in the Lords Feb. 20, and committed to mr. Molyneux and mr. Saunders, serjeants-at-law; read 2° March 22; 3° March 23, and committed to be engrossed. But it was not placed on the statute-book. By the act 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 13 (presently noticed) no one could legally keep more than two farms.

Meanwhile much other legislation was in progress, which betrays the unsettled state of rural affairs, and the consequent sufferings of the country. The following bills occur in the Journals:—

The bill for decayed houses of husbandry and tillage, read 1° in the Commons Feb. 17, but of which we hear nothing more.

The bill that for ten sheep [every farmer was] to till one acre of land, read 1° in the Commons Feb. 17; 2° Feb. 20; 3° and argued Feb. 23.

The bill for not having above two thousand sheep. There was a similar enactment already in force, the 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 13 (alluded to by the King, *antea*, p. 486), whereby persons were limited to the same number of sheep (reckoning six score to the hundred), excepting those required for private consumption, with several other exceptions, whereby its provisions were probably easily evaded. (See Chronological Index to the Statutes, fol. 1828, p. 758.) The present bill was read 1° in the Commons Feb. 15; 2° Feb. 24, and ordered to be engrossed; 3° March 7—*Judicum*. 1° in the Lords March 12; 2° March 15; but it stopped there.

Another bill for having [*i. e.* against having too many] sheep, [in order] to put land to tillage, was read 1° in the Commons March 2; 2° March 4; 3° March 5—mr. secretary Cycill; but did not go to the Lords.

One measure only of this kind was finally carried, after great controversy. It occurs first as the bill for converting pasture into tillage, read 1° in the Commons March 2; 2° March 4. A new bill for the same object 1° March 12; 2° March 15, and to be engrossed—mr. Cocke; 3° on the 18th—*Judicum*. It was sent to the Lords on the 19th; read 1° March 21, and committed to lord Mountague; 2° March 23, and committed to the lord treasurer, the duke of Suffolk, the bishops of Norwich and Gloucester, lord Dacre, and lord Willoughby. This committee seem to have entirely remodelled it, for on the 29th was read a new bill "for the maintenance of tillage and increase of corn;" 2° March 31: 3° April 2, *quæ communi procerum assensu conclusa est*. This went down to the Commons, and was read 1° April 4; 2° April 6; 3° April 7—*Judicum*. It formed the statute 5 and 6 Edw. VI. cap. 5, printed in Statutes of the Realm, iv. 134; but was repealed by a fresh act passed for the like purpose in 5 Eliz. (to continue ten years). See the same volume, p. 406, and the Chronological Index, p. 835.

<sup>1</sup> No such bill was introduced in this parliament, but in the next parliament, 7 Edw.

6. That no man shal ship at creakes, nor lie at the kay, but have al his ware brought to him by lighters.<sup>1</sup>

7. An act to be devised for preservation of timber.<sup>2</sup>

8. Th'act of subside.

So far is entirely in the King's autograph: the remainder is in that of Secretary Cecill.

9. Acte for apparell.<sup>3</sup>

10. for treasorors and receyvors.

VI. cap. vi. was passed an act reviving a statute made in 17 Edw. IV. and which had been continued in 20 Hen. VII. for twenty years, which declared the exportation of bullion felony, as proposed above. It was re-enacted for the term of twenty years.

<sup>1</sup> No such bill appears on the Journals.

<sup>2</sup> The anxiety to preserve timber arose, not from its use in building, shipping, &c. but from its being the staple article of fuel in the South of England, the price of which was considerably enhanced by the large quantities consumed in the iron foundries of the weald of Kent and Sussex. Strong prejudices were consequently entertained against that manufacture, and various bills introduced during this session into the house of Commons were aimed against it. Besides one "for planting and setting of woods and trees," read 1° March 9, 1551-2, and 2° March 30; and another "for the increase and preservation of woods," read 1° March 14, 2° March 25, and 3° March 31; on the 24th March was read 1° "the bill for hedge-rows under two acres in Middlesex and Hertfordshire not to be put to coals" (which went no further). On the 26th were read 1° a bill to avoid iron mills within twenty-four miles of London; and also a bill "to avoid iron-mills in Sussex from henceforth to be made;" and on the 8th March a bill "for [preventing the] consuming of wood in iron-mills near the Thames." On the 1st April was read 1° a bill to preserve the woods near Gulforde, &c. afterwards entitled "the bill to avoid iron-mills near Guldeforde, Farneham, and Goddalmeyne," read 2° and ordered to be engrossed April 5; on which day also a bill to avoid iron-mills near Reygate was read 1°; but on the same day "the bill to avoid the making of more iron-mills near Horseham, and in Sussex," on its third reading, *vacat per majorem numerum super questione*. This adverse division put a stop to the proposed legislation on this subject. It was a struggle frequently revived during the 16th century.

<sup>3</sup> A "bill for excessive apparel" was read 1° in the Commons, and ordered to be engrossed, on the 19th March, but did not proceed further. In the parliament of 1552-3 a bill for wearing of apparel was introduced by secretary Petre, and read 1° on the 17th March; passed, and sent to the Lords on the 24th March: but it did not become law. The proposed act was eventually passed in the first session of Philip and Mary: see the next page.



11. [for horses *erased*] prohibiting horses to bee caried owt of the realme.<sup>1</sup>

[12. *treatty erased.*]

It is remarkable that not any one of the measures here sketched out (unless it were "the act of subsidy") was enacted in this session of parliament. The particulars given in the foot-notes, from the Journals of both houses, convey the impression that the Lords and Commons were very far from acting in unison. This probably hastened the dissolution, which took place on the 15th April, 1552.

## VI. BILL FOR RESTRAINT IN APPAREL, 1551-2.

[MS. Petyt, Inner Temple Library. Wholly in the King's autograph.]

An "Acte for apparell" is the ninth item in the preceding document. Strype remarks, "There was a bill prepared (as it seems, this session of parliament) for the restraining of the excess of apparel, and for directing people's habits according to their qualities; though it took not effect. And the King's own royal pen drew it up, after the example of his noble father, who used to draw up many bills to be enacted in parliament, and to supervise, correct, and interline many more. And because our design is to preserve as many of the writings of this young and blessed Prince as we can, I transcribe it from the original and present it here." (Ecclesiastical Memorials, ii. 319.)

The present attempt to restrain expense in dress, though but an unfinished scheme, was one of a long series of such efforts, which were especially frequent in the sixteenth century. In Strutt's "Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England," 4to. 1796, will be found (at p. 221 of vol. ii.) a chapter devoted to this subject, entitled "A survey of the principal sumptuary laws respecting Dress established in the English Æra." Statutes for this object were passed in 37 Edward III., 4 and 8 Hen. IV., 3 and 22 Edward IV., 1, 6, 7, and 24 Henry VIII., and 1 and 2 Philip and Mary; of most of these, abstracts will be found in the "Chronological Index to the Statutes of the Realm," fol. 1828, pp. 23-31. Queen Elizabeth contented herself with enforcing the enactments of the two last acts of 24 Hen. VIII. and 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, which she did by frequent proclamations. The first of these was dated Oct. 21, 1559; an abstract of it is given by Strype, *Annals*, vol. ii. Appx. XLVI. Another such proclamation, dated Feb. 13, 1565, is printed at length by Strype, *Annals*, vol. i. Appx. xxxiv.; and an original copy is preserved in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries.

<sup>1</sup> See a note on this subject hereafter.

A third, dated 15 June, 1574, is also in that collection, and Strype gives the preamble, *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 356. Another, dated 12 Feb. 1579[-80], is printed in Nichols's *Illustrations of the Manners and Expenses of Ancient Times in England*, 1797, 4to., and is also at the Antiquaries'. There was still a fifth 13 Feb. 1587-8 (in the same collection), and a sixth 6 July, 1597, (there also,) for which last the instructions, under the Queen's signet, are printed at length in *The Egerton Papers*, pp. 247-256.

After all, the tide of fashion seems to have been uncontrollable. Stephen Gosson indignantly exclaims, "How often hath her Majesty, with the grave advice of her honourable council, sette downe the limits of apparel of every degree, and how soone againe hath the pride of our hearts overflowen the channel!" (*School of Abuse*, 1579.) Recurring fashion proved, in fact, something like the "recurring nature" of Horace; and the whole of this unprofitable legislation was at length repealed by an act of 1 James I. cap. 25. These documents, however, have furnished the most interesting materials to the historians of our ever-changing national costume.

No man but of the blood royal to weare cloth of gold of purple coulour, or any other purple.

Under a duke no man to weare cloth of gold tinsel.

Under an erle not to weare sables or blake jenettis, or cloth of silvar.

Under a baron no man to weare cloth of gold, or cloth of silver, or luzarnes fur (or any embrouderie of gold or silver, or damasken worke, or goldsmithes worke *added*).

Undre the degre of a knight of the garter, no man to weare blew or crimesin velvat, nor any cloth made out of this realme (nor embrouderie of silk *added*).

No man under the degre of a knight, except (squiers for the body *erased*,) and gentilmen that may dispend 500 li. land (weare any *erased*,) or gentilmen of the king's chaumbre weare any velvat or furre of marternes (or huge *added*), or any (other *erased*) furre grown out of the realme (or any kind of golds . . *erased*).

No man to weare satten or damaske except he may spend 100 li. during life,<sup>1</sup> or els be a gentleman and the King's sworne servaunt, nor yet to weare any (damasken worke *erased*,) ostrige fethers, (or any other goldsmithes worke *erased*,) nor furre of conies.

<sup>1</sup> The King instead of "during life" probably meant "per annum."

No man that is not worth (160 marcs *erased*) 200 li., or els 20 li. in living certain, to weare any kind of chamblet.

No serving man (undre the degre of a gentelman) to weare any furre save lambes furre, no tapheta nor sarcenet in his hose, no velat in his cappe, scabard, girdel, et<sup>ce</sup>, nor any cloth above 10 s. the yard.

No man undre the degre of a knight to weare any (gold or *erased*) gilt thing.

No man under the degre of a gentelman to weare any silk points.

No husbandman, shepard, et<sup>ce</sup>. to weare any cloth above (*blank*) s. the yard.

Their wives may weare that their husbands doe, and so may thair sonnes and daughters, being under their tuition.

The forfeiture is, to al that be gentlemen, the loss of the apparel, and the duble value therof. To al other it is the losse of th' apparel, and sitting five days in the stokkes.

In the court the usshar may sease the apparel; and if he commence not his action within fifteen days, then the lord chaumberlain. Likewise on the queen's side her usshars and chamberlain. Any man to sease apparel worne out of the court.

Proviso that al maires, baylifs, et<sup>ce</sup>. and al other that have accustomed one certain apparel of their office or vocation, to weare the same stil.

Proviso for embassatours, that their men cumming from beyondsea weare their master's livery that they ware beyondsea, til their masters give them new. Likewise for al such as be in service beyonsea.

Proviso for al to whom the King giveth any livre or apparel.

Proviso for playours.

Provided that upon cumming of great embassades or forein princes, the lord great master for the houshold, the lord chamberlain for the chamber, may give license, and assign unto thos that be under their charge, in the King's service, wither they be ordinary, or els extraordinary, to weare for the time of that present occasion such array as to them shal seem convenient.

The valu of their lands or goodes to be tryed by the valuation of the subtedy going last befor, if ther were any within three yeres before: otherwis to be tryed by their othes.

No husbandman to weare any died cloth, nor lether tanned or dressed out of the realme.

No man undre the degre of a baron to weare any gold that weieth not on(e) hole ounce.

They may wear in the trapping of their horse non other then they may were in their owne apparel.

The act to take place after Witsontide.

No man to wear any chaine that weieth lesse than ten ounces of gold.

#### VII. APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSIONERS, OR COMMITTEES OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL, IN MARCH 1551-2.

[MS. Cotton. Nero C. x. fo. 79. In the King's autograph.]

The King notices this partition of the labours of his privy council, in his Journal under the 3d March, 1551-2 (see p. 403).

The names of the hole council.

- |                                            |                                        |
|--------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 1. The bishop of Caunterbury               | 10. Th'eryl of Huntington              |
| 2. The bishop of Ely, L. Chauncellour      | 11. Th'erle of Penbroke                |
| 3. The L. treasaurour                      | 12. The vicount Hereford               |
| 4. The duke of Northumberland <sup>1</sup> | 13. The L. admirall                    |
| 5. The L. prevyseale                       | 14. The L. chaumberlaine <sup>3</sup>  |
| 6. The duke of Southfolk                   | 15. The L. Cobham                      |
| 7. The Marques of Northampton <sup>2</sup> | 16. The L. Riche                       |
| 8. Th'eryl of Shrewesbery                  | 17. Mr. Controuler <sup>4</sup>        |
| 9. Th'eryl of Westmurlande                 | 18. Mr. Treasaurour <sup>5</sup>       |
|                                            | 19. Mr. Vicechaumberlaine <sup>6</sup> |

<sup>1</sup> Lord great master of the King's household.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas lord Darcy.

<sup>6</sup> Sir Thomas Cheyne, K.G.

<sup>2</sup> Lord great chamberlain.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Anthony Wingfield, K.G.

<sup>5</sup> Sir John Gates.



|                          |                      |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 20. Mr. secretary Petre  | 26. Sir Rafe Sadleir |
| 21. Mr. secretary Cicell | 27. Sir Jhon Baker   |
| 22. Sir Phelip Hobbey    | 28. Juge Bromley     |
| 23. Sir Robert Bowes     | 29. Juge Montigu     |
| 24. Sir Jhon Gage        | 30. Mr. Wotton       |
| 25. Sir Jhon Mason       | 31. Mr. Northe       |

Those that be now callid into commission.

|                                    |                              |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| The bishop of London <sup>1</sup>  | Mr. sollicitour <sup>3</sup> |
| The bishop of Norwich <sup>2</sup> | Mr. Gosnald                  |
| Sir Thomas Wrothe                  | Mr. Coke                     |
| Sir Richard Cotton                 | Mr. Lukas                    |
| Sir Water Mildmay                  |                              |

The counceLOURS above named to be thus devided into several commissions and charges.

First, for hearing of those sutes wiche were wont to be brought to the hole borde.

|                      |                  |                     |
|----------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| The Lord prevyseal   | Sir Jhone Mason  |                     |
| The L. chaumberlaine | Sir Rafe Sadleir |                     |
| The bishop of London | Mr. Wotton       |                     |
| The L. Cobham        | Mr. Coke         | } Mrs. of requestis |
| Mr. Hobby            | Mr. Lucas        |                     |

Thies parsons<sup>4</sup> to heare the sutes, to aunswere the parties, to make certificat (at the fortnet ende<sup>5</sup>) what sutes they thinke mete to be graunted, and upon aunswere received of their certificat to dispache the parties. Also to geve full aunswere of denial to those sutes that be not reasonable, nor convenient. Also to dispache all matters of justice, and to sende to the common courtes those sutes that be for them.

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Ridley.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Thirlby.

<sup>3</sup> Edward Gryffyn.

<sup>4</sup> The commission for hearing, examining, and ordering suits and requests, dated 9 March, 1551-2, and directed to the earl of Bedford, lord chamberlain Darcy, lord Cobham, the bishop of London, sir John Mason, sir Philip Hoby, John Cockes and John Lucas, has been printed in The Egerton Papers, p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> These words are defaced.

For calling of forfeites done against the lawes,<sup>1</sup> [and] for punishing the offendours and breakers of proclamacions, that now stand in force.

The L. prevyseale  
Th'erle of Penbroke  
The L. chaumberlain  
Sir Thomas Wrothe  
Sir Robert Bowes  
Mr. secretary Petre

Mr. Hobby  
Mr. Wotton  
Sir Jhon Baker  
Mr. sollicitour  
Mr. Gosnald

Theis shal first see what lawes penal and what proclamaciones standing now in force are most meet to be executed, and shal bring a certificat therof. Then they shall inquire in the countries how they are disobeied, and first shal begine with the greatest offendours, and so afterwarde punishe the rest according to the peines setfurth. They shal receive also the lettres out of the shires of disordres there done, and punishe th'offendours.

[I wold wish a proclamation to be setfurth, to declare the lawes penal, and to setfurth th'offendours shal be punished.]

This last passage is defaced in the MS.; and the next passages are struck through by the King's pen, being repeated afterwards.

[For seing the state of the courtes of Exchequer, Augmentation, wardes, first frutis, and tenthes, the duchie, et<sup>c</sup>.<sup>2</sup> For seing also the payments how they have bene paid since the time the king that deade is went to Boleine.

Thos that be now in commission for the dettis,<sup>3</sup> after they have called them in, shal loke with what superfluouse charges the courtes be oppressed, what disordres be in the courtes, where ther be to(o) many officers, and wheare to(o) few, and thereof shal make certificat. Also they shal overloke the accomptes, and make a boke thereof.]

<sup>1</sup> See the instructions given to the commissioners on penal laws, p. 403.

<sup>2</sup> See the note in p. 433.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 383, 389.

## For the State.

|                                           |                                |
|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| [The bishop of Caunterbury <sup>1</sup> ] | The vicount Hereford           |
| The L. Chauncellour                       | The L. chaumberlaine           |
| The L. Treasaurour                        | Mr. vicechaumberlain           |
| The duke of Northumberland                | [Mr. treasaurour & controller] |
| [The duke of Southfolk]                   | Mr. Cicell                     |
| The L. prevy seale                        | Mr. Petre                      |
| The Marques of Northampton]               | Mr. Wotton                     |
| [Th'erle of Shrewsbery]                   | Sir Phelip Hobbey              |
| Th'erl of Penbroke                        | Sir Robart Bowes               |
| [Th'erle of Westmurland]                  | [Mr. Gosnald <i>erased</i> ].  |
| The L. admiral                            |                                |

Theis (only *erased*) to attend the matters of the state.<sup>2</sup> I will site with them ons a weke [upon tuesday at afternon, both to here the certificat of thinges past, and<sup>3</sup>] to here the debating of thinges of most importaunce.

Theis persons underwritten shal loke to the state of all the courtes, specially of the new erectid courtes, as the augmentation, the first frutes and tenthes, the wardes, et<sup>c</sup>., shal see the revenues aunswered at the hauf yeres ende, and shal consider with what superfluouse charges they be bürdened, and therof shal make certificat, which they shal deliver :—

|                        |                    |
|------------------------|--------------------|
| The L. Chaumberlaine   | Sir Richard Cotton |
| The bishop of Norwiche | Sir Water Mildmay  |
| Sir Thomas Wrothe      | Mr. Gosnald        |
| Sir Robert Bowes       |                    |

I understand it is a member of the commission that foloweth, but yet theys shal do wel to doe it for the present, bicause the other

<sup>1</sup> The names in brackets were inserted after the others.

<sup>2</sup> In effect, the appointment of a cabinet.

<sup>3</sup> *Struck through.*

shal have no leisir til they have called in the dettis, after wich done they may sit with them.

Thos that now be in commission for the dettis to take accomptes of al payments sins the 35 of the king that dead is,<sup>1</sup> after that they have done this commission they ar now in hand with.

Likewise for the Bulwarkes.<sup>2</sup> The L. Chaumberlain, Mr. Treasourour and Mr. Controller to be in commission in their several jurisdictions.

The rest of the councel, some goe home to their countrees straight after the parlement, some be sore sike, that they shal not be able to attend any thing [and for that cause are left out, *erased*] wich when they come [may *altered to*] shal be admitted of the counsell. Also that these counsels shal sit apart. Also that those of the counsell that have these several commissions (*end of the leaf, and what followed is not preserved*).

#### VIII. REGULATIONS FOR THE COMMISSIONERS OF REQUESTS.

[MS. Cotton. Nero C. x f. 60. In the King's autograph.]

Ceirtein thinges wich they commissioners for the requestis shal not medille withal.

1. Sutis for landes.
2. Sutis for forfeites amounting (to more then *inserted*) 40 li. valeu.
3. Sutis for pencions.

<sup>1</sup> See the commission of Dec. 10, 1552, in p. 469.

<sup>2</sup> See pp 404, 460.



4. Revercions of fermes, wich have more then (two *altered to*) one yeare to cume.

5. Leassis of manours.

6. Leassis for more then 21 yeare.

7. No offices of special trust in rekeninges of money, as customers, controllers, surveyours, receivours, auditours, treasaurors, and chauncellours, et<sup>ce</sup>, to be gieven otherwise then *durante beneplacito*. Also alle mintmasters, and others that have a doying in the mint, and such like. The bishops, juges, and other officers of judgement, *quam diu se bene gesserit*. Bailiwikes, stuardships, keping of parkes and houses et<sup>ce</sup>: to be graunted during life.

8. Sutis for forgevement of dettis.

9. Releasing of rent to be paide

10. Sutes for money to th'intent to pay dettis they owe elsewhere.

11. Sutis to buy lande.

12. Sutis for licences to cary over gold, silver, leade, lether, corne, woode, et<sup>ce</sup>, that be thinges unlawful.

13. Unresidence upon benefices.

They shal medle with bayliwikes and stuardships during life, leasses for 21 yeare, forfeites under 40 li. receivourships, wodwardships, surveyourships, et<sup>ce</sup>, during pleasur, enstalments of dayes for dettis. To those gentlemen that have well servid feefarmes to them and their heires masles of their body, paying the rente, and discharging th'annuetis due to al officers touching the same, keping of houses and parkes, ordinary offices, as yeomen of the croune, the houshold officis, et<sup>ce</sup>.

IX. REASONS FOR ESTABLISHING A MART IN ENGLAND,  
MARCH 9, 1551-2.

[MS. Cotton. Nero C. x. fol. 85. In the King's autograph.]

The motives which led to the scheme here developed are stated by the King in his Journal at p. 405. Dr. Nares has devoted the xxxth chapter of his Memoirs of Lord Burghley, vol. i. pp. 409—423, to an historical sketch of the state of commerce from the middle of the thirteenth century, introductory to Sir John Hayward's abstract of the present project, which Dr. Nares chooses to attribute to Cecill's contrivance and authorship.

The reasons and causes whi it is now most necessary to have a marte in Englaund.

1. Bicaus our vent of clothes might be open in all warris.
2. Bicaus our marchauntes goodes might be out of daunger of strangers, without feare of arresting for every light cause.
3. Bicaus it wold moch enrich the realme. For as a market enricheth a toune so doth a mart enrich a relme.
4. Bicaus for a need round sommes of money might be of them borrowed that haunt the marte.
5. Bicaus we should have a great multitude of shippes straungers to serve in the warris.
6. Bicause al straungers goodes, when warre is made, shuld be in our daunger.
7. Bicause we should by (buy) all thinges at the first hand of straungers, wheras now the Spaniardes sel to the Fleminges their wares, and the Fleminges to us.
8. Bicause the tounes toward the sea side shuld be much more populouse.
9. Bicause, wheras now they bring tapestry, pointes, glasses and laces, they wold then bring in bullion, and other substantiall marchaundice, to th'intent to have our clothe and our tinne.
10. Bicaus we should take from our enemies their power, and make that they shuld borow no money of marchauntes but whan we list, at lest no great summe of mony.

The causes whie this time is most commodious to erect a mart in.

1. The warres betwen the French king and th'emperour, and the shippes of either side, maketh the Italians, Genoais, Portugalles, and Spaniardes to forbere their trade to Andwarp. ij. The Frenchmen, the Stedis, the Sprusses, and shippes of Eastland, being against the emperour, wil not come neithier. iij. The French king invading Lorrain and fearing<sup>1</sup> Flaundres. iiij. And the Almaines liing on the river of Rhene, stoppeth the course of marchaundice out of Italy to Antwarp (and also Frankfort mart *added*). v. The putting of men of warre in the toun<sup>2</sup> maketh the marchauntis to forbear their trafique, and to loke to their lifes. vj. The breach of the last tem-past is like they say to make the chanel uncertain, and the haven naught. vij. The stope of th'exchaung to Lions<sup>3</sup> wil make many Fleminges bankruttes. Theis thinges wil decay the martes of Antwarp and Frankfort. But thos nations can not live without a vent. Therfor they wil now most willingly come hether if they had a free marte.

2. It ware an easier matter to cume to Southampton, for the Spaniardes, Britains, Gascoins, Lumbardes, Genoies, Normands, and Italians, then to goe to Antwarp.

3. It ware easier for the marchauntes of the Eastland, the Sprusses, the Danes, Shwethens, and Norwegians to cume to Hul then to Antwarp.

4. Southampton is a bettar port then Antwarp.

5. The Fleminges have allured men to make a mart there with their privileges, having but very litle commodités. Much easlier shal we do it, having clothe, tinne, seacole, lead, belmetal, and such other commodités, as few realmes christian have the like, nor they when they began had no soche opportunité.

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* threatening.

<sup>2</sup> *i. e.* Antwerp.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 406.

How the mart will be brought to pass.

1. First, our marchauntes ar to be staid from a mart or tow, under pretense that the(y) abstain bicause of the imposition.<sup>1</sup>

2. Then proclamation must be made in divers places of the realme where merchauntes resort, that their shal be a free mart kept at Southampton, with theis liberties and costoms. 1. The time of the marte to beginne after Whitsontid, and to hold on five wekes, bi wich meanes it shal nott lett saint James faire at Bristoe, nor Bartholomew faire in London. 2. All men cumming to the marte shal have free going and fre cumming, without arresting, except in cases of treason, murder, or felony. 3. For the time of the marte al sortes of men shal pay but hauff the coustome they do in other places of the realme. 4. No shipping shal be from any othir place, from Sout Wales to Essex, during that time. 5. In the shires of Hampsheir, Wiltshiere, Sussex, Surrey, Kent, Dorsetshire, et<sup>re</sup>. no bargaine shal be made of wares during that time, but in the mart toun. 6. A court to correct offendours, with liberties thereto. 7. Some one commodité must be assigned to the mart, or sume on(e) kind of clothe. 8. The marchauntes of the staple<sup>2</sup> must be bargained withal, and contentid with some honest offer, to th'intent by their liberties the(y) may not let<sup>3</sup> the marte. 9. Sume more liberties must be gevin to th'inhabitauntes of Southampton, and if money may be spared, sume must be lent them to beginne their trade withal. 10. Our shippes on the sea must loke as wel as they may, observing the treaties, to the savegard of the marchauntes whan thay cume. 11. If this prove wel, then may another be made at Hull, to begin after Stourbridge faire, to th'intent they may retourne before the great ises come on their sees.

<sup>1</sup> A new import duty imposed by the emperor.

<sup>2</sup> The Merchants of the Staple, incorporated by King Edward III.

<sup>3</sup> *i. e.* impede.



*The following is on a second sheet :*

The discommodités and lettes to the mart to be kept in Englaund.

1. Bicause straungers lake accesse hether by land, wich they have at Antwarp.

2. The ill working of our clothes, wich maketh them lesse esteemed.

3. The abundance of our clothes in Flaundres will make them lesse sought for heir.

4. The merchauntes have established their dwellingplaces at Antwerp.

5. That other nations wil stay ther comming hether for a while by th'emperour's commaundement.

6. The denial of the request of the marchauntes of the stiliard<sup>1</sup> will somewhat let the mart, if it be not loked to.

7. The poverty and litlenes of the toune of Southampton.

8. The goodlines of the Rene [Rhine].

The remedies and aunswers thereunto.

To the first point.

1. At this time, when the mart shuld beginne at Southampton, the French king and th'Almaines shal stop th'intercourse by lande, so that nothing shal come that way but in great daungeir.

2. When warre shal be made against us, then our navy may defend them.<sup>2</sup>

3. As the toune of Southampton lakketh the commodité of accesse of merchaundice by land, so it hath this commodité, that ther can be no accesse of enemies by land, wich may be at Antwarp, and men thinke wil be this yeare, wich (is) a great savety to the merchauntis.

4. The trafike that cummeth by land wil not much diminishe the mart, for it is only almost the Venetians' trafique, who shal moch easlier come hether by sea than to Antwerp, and with lesse daunger of the seas.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 401.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. fence the enemy off.

## To the second point.

1. The il making of our clothes wil be mete to be loked on this parlement, and order thereupon to be geven. The matter is come to some ripnesse already; the upper house hath one bill, and the nether house hath another in good forwardnes.<sup>1</sup>

2. As il as they be made, the Fleminges doe at this time desire them wonderfully, offering rather to pay th'imposition of th'emperour then to lake them.

## To the third point.

1. It ware very necessary that the shippes that (shall) be now (*altered to hereafter*) going ware staid til farther consideracion be had of them, if they be not already gone<sup>2</sup> (*altered to the mart* were come to some ripnesse).

2. The clothes hereafter might be bought up with our mony heir, and conveyed to Southampton, to be there uttered at the mart time; and so it shall help the mart very well.

## To the fourthe.

1. The daunger of their lives, wich they now feare very much, wil make them seke another harborow to rest in more safely.

2. They came from Bruges to Antwarp only for th'Englishe commodities, althoug(h) they ware (settled at Bruges.<sup>3</sup>)

<sup>1</sup> On this subject the session of parliament was indeed more productive than on any other. It passed enactments—"for the true makyng of wollen clothe," 5 & 6 Edw. VI. cap. vi.; an act "lymiting the tymes of buying and selling of woolles," cap. vii.; another "lymiting what parsons shall weave or make broade wollen clothe," cap. viii.; and a fourth "for the puttinge downe of gygg mills for the perching and burlinge of clothe," cap. xxii. (See them printed in the Statutes of the Realm, vol. iv. and the abstract of them in the Chronological Index, pp. 126, 914, 127, 356.) There had been a previous act in this reign "for the true making of woollen cloths," 3 and 4 Edw. VI. cap. 101, to be found in the same national work.

<sup>2</sup> They *were* already gone: see the Journal, p. 406.

<sup>3</sup> Worn away from the bottom of a leaf; but restored from Burnet.

3. The(y) have a great commodité to cum to Southampton, and a great feare of spoiling to drive them from Antwerp.

4. The merchauntes never assigne to themselves such a mansion, but for more gain they woll leve that and take another.

To the fift point.

1. Th'emperour is so driven at this time to his shiftes, that neither he shal be able to attend the stay of many from cumming to the mart, neither if he were able to attend he cold, I think, doe it now, the Flemminges being put in such feare as they be of the losse of all they have.

2. The Fleminges, and the Spaniardes wich be under him, can hardlier be without us then we without them, and therefor they wold hardly be brought to forbere our trafike.

To the sixte point.

1. It were good the Stiliard men ware for this time gentelly aunswerid, and that it were seen wither by any gentill offer of sume part of their liberties again, they might be brought to shipe. (at Neucastel *erased*) their wares to the mart. The Frenchmen also I thinke wold easly be brought to cume hether, having now non other trafique but hether. Thies tow nacions wold suffice to begin a mart for the first part.

To the seventh point.

1. It is not the abilité of the Englishe marchauntis only that maketh the mart, but it is the resort of other nations to sume on(e) place, when they doe exchaung their commodites one with another. For the bargaining wil be as wel amongst the straungers themselves, the Spaniardes with the Almaines, the Italiens with Flemminges, the Venetiens with the Dans, et<sup>c</sup>, as other nacions wil bargain with us.

2. The marchauntes of London, of Bristo, and other placis, wil come thether for the mart time, and trafique.

3. The merchauntis will make shift inowgh for their lodging.

4. Their may some of theis clothes that shuld now goe out (*altered to shal goe out hereafter,*) be bought with my mony, and so caried to Southampton to be their uttered.

To the 8 point.

1. Bruges, where the mart was befor, stode not on the river of Rhene, nor Antwarp doth not neither stand on that river.

2. Franfort mart may wel stand for a faire for hi Almaine, although Southampton serve for al nations that lie on the sea side. For few of those come to Frankfort mart.

At the foot of the page is a line of the King's writing carefully defaced.

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When the foregoing paper was composed, Antwerp was the great emporium of European commerce. "The exports from Antwerp consisted of jewels and precious stones, bullion, quicksilver, wrought silks, cloth of gold and silver, gold and silver thread, camblets, programs, spices, drugs, sugar, cotton, cummin, galls, linen, serges, tapestry, madder, hops in great quantities, glass, salt-fish, small wares (or, as they were then called, merceries) made of metal and other materials, to a considerable amount, arms, ammunition, and household furniture. From England, Antwerp imported immense quantities of fine and coarse woollen goods, as canvas, frieze, &c. the finest wool, excellent saffron in small quantities, a great quantity of lead and tin, sheep and rabbit skins, together with other kinds of peltry and leather; beer, cheese, and other provisions in great quantities; also Malmsey wines, which the English at that time obtained from Candia. Cloth was, however, by far the most important article of traffic between the two countries. The annual importation into Antwerp, about the year 1568, including every description of cloth, was estimated at more than 200,000 pieces, amounting in value to about 12,000*l.* sterling." Burgon, *Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham*, on the authority of Guicciardini, *Description de Tout le Pais Bas*, &c. printed in 1568.



### X. THREE SCHEMES FOR REMODELLING THE STATUTES OF THE ORDER OF THE GARTER, 1550 (OR 1551).

[MS. Cotton. Nero C. x.]

"As the Kings of this realm (remarks Elias Ashmole, in his History of the Garter, 1672, p. 194), immediately at their attaining the crown, do become Sovereigns of this most noble order of the Garter, and consequently the supream law<sup>1</sup> and interpreters thereof; so is the regulation of the whole their undoubted prerogative; and this hath been evidenced in nothing more fully than from their constant course in exercising the power, not only of making and establishing, but changing and altering the laws and statutes thereof; which, upon interest of religion, pleasure of the Sovereign, change of times, or any other fit or necessary occasion, hath from time to time been done by them. Upon this ground was it that King Edward the Sixth went about to alter and reform such things in the preceding Statutes as seemed not consistent with the religion he had established in England."

It has been noticed by Sir Harris Nicolas that the copy of the Statutes written for sir William Herbert, upon his election into the order in Dec. 1549, "shows that many material alterations had then already been made in them" (since those of 1522), "although they certainly do not appear to have been framed with any reference to the change which had taken place in the religion of the country."<sup>2</sup>

The actual date of those alterations has not been ascertained; but it is recorded that at the anniversary feast in the previous year a material modification of the religious ceremonies had been effected. This was done at a chapter<sup>3</sup> held at Greenwich on the 22nd April, 1548, in pursuance of the following letter from the privy council, addressed to those knights of the order who were not present at the council, and dated on the 20th of the same month:<sup>4</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> Liber Rubeus, pp. 119 and 122.

<sup>2</sup> Sir H. Nicolas describes these alterations, History of the Garter, p. 174. Sir W. Herbert's book is now in the British Museum, MS. Addit. 6288. The book which was made for sir Robert Dudley, K.G. 1559 (afterwards earl of Leicester), also in the British Museum, MS. Harl. 567, is accordant to the earlier Statutes in force in the reign of Henry VIII.; and which, subject to certain modifications, have continued to govern the order from their revival by Mary to the present time.

<sup>3</sup> Ashmole, History of the Garter, p. 473, from a MS. in the possession of Robert Earl of Ailesbury, p. 24 b.

<sup>4</sup> Ashmole, *ibid.* from MS. 4, penes Edward Walker, Garter. Mr. Beltz, in Memorials of the Garter, p. xcv. describes this document as "an ordinance of the Sovereign, dated

"After our most hearty commendations; forasmuch as the King's highness hath appointed a most godly reformation of divers abuses and rites in the Church to a more convenient and decent order, of the which some hath been used heretofore in the most honorable and amicable Order of the Garter, and being not reformed there should make a disagreeing from his Majesty's most godly proceedings, Therefore it is his Majesty's will and pleasure, by the advice of us the Lord Protector and other his Highness' council, that all such things as be not conformable and agreeing to his Majesty's injunctions, orders, or reformations now of late prescribed, should be also in that most noble order and the ceremonies thereof left undone and reformed as hereafter followeth:—

"First. That no procession be made with going about the church or churchyard, but the King's majesty's procession lately set forth in English<sup>1</sup> to be used.

"His Majesty and other knights of that honorable order sitting in their stalls, at the entry such reverence to be made to the King's majesty only as was heretofore.

"The offering to be in the box for the poor, without any other reverence or kissing of any paten or other thing; but only at the return due reverence to the King's majesty, as was used before.

"The mass of Requiem to be left undone; but yet, both upon St. George's day and the next day, a mass to be sung with great reverence; in the which, immediately after the words of consecration is said, the priest shall say the Pater Noster, and so turn and communicate all or so many of the order or other, after they have done, as shall be disposed godly at the same time to receive the communion, according to such order as is prescribed in his Highness' book of communion, and without any other rite or ceremony after the said communion to be used, except it be some godly psalm or hymn to be sung in English, and so to end the said service.

"All chapters and other rites concerning the said order not being contrary to these to remain as they have been prescribed and used, the which we have thought good to signifie unto you, that you may follow the same accordingly.

"From Greenwich, the 20. of April, 1548."

These alterations were for no long period considered sufficient; and at the next anniversary chapter, held at Greenwich on the 23d April, 1549, it was directed "That the lord St. John, the earl of Arundel, and sir William Paget should peruse over the Statutes

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20th April, 1548;" and sir Harris Nicolas, in his History of the Order, p. 171, terms it "an ordinance made by the privy council:" but, though it notified the will of the King in council, it appears that the new regulations were ordained in due form, two days after, by the Sovereign and Knights assembled in chapter.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* the litany. By the King's Injunctions of 1547, number 23, "any procession aboute the churche or churcheyarde" was forbidden, but the litany was to be sung or said in English, kneeling "in the middes of the churche."

of the Garter, and that the same should be reformed and made agreeable to the King's majesty's other proceedings, by the advice of the duke of Somerset, lord protector, and other companions of this noble Order."<sup>1</sup>

This was seconded by another order, made in chapter, also held at Greenwich, on St. George's day in the following year (1550), when it was agreed "that the book of Statutes should be reformed, and thereupon *the Sovereign delivered to the whole company a book wherein was contained certain Statutes*, by the same to be corrected and reformed as they thought best, until the next chapter."<sup>2</sup>

At the next feast, on the 24th of April, 1551, a further order past, empowering the duke of Somerset, the marquess of Northampton, the earls of Warwick, Bedford, and Wiltshire, to peruse over the Statutes and other books of the order, and the same to be reformed as aforesaid.<sup>3</sup>

This arrangement is also noticed by the King in his Journal, *antea*, p. 315.

It was on the last of these occasions that an incident is said to have occurred, which is thus related by Foxe the martyrologist, when noticing the death and character of King Edward the Sixth. The anecdote was related to him by Mr. Edward Underhill, "who, waiting the same time with the rest of his fellowes, pensioners, and men at arms, as sir Henry Gates, Mr. Robert Hall, Mr. Henry Harston, and Mr. Stafforton, heard these wordes betwene the Kinge and his counsaile. The 4. yeare of his raigne, being then but 13 yeares old and upward, at Greenwich upon S. George's day, when he was come from the sermon into the presence-chamber, there being his uncle the duke of Somerset, the duke of Northumberland, with other lords and knights of that Order, called the Order of the Garter, he said unto them, 'My Lords, I pray you what saint is S. George that we heere so honour him?' At which question the other lords being all astonied; the lord treasurer that then was (the marques of Winchester) perceiving this, gave answer and said, 'If it please your Majestie, I did never reade in any historie of S. George<sup>4</sup> but onely in *Legenda Aurea*, where it is thus set downe, that S. George out with his sword, and ran the dragon

<sup>1</sup> Liber Niger, p. 302.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 304.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 306 (Ashmole).

<sup>4</sup> In 1630 the fair fame of our national saint was vindicated by Dr. Peter Heylyn in his "History of the famous Saint and Soldier of Christ Jesus, St. George of Cappadocia," a book respecting which some curious particulars will be found in Dr. Heylyn's Life, prefixed to the edition of his History of the Reformation, by J. C. Robertson, M.A. 1849, pp. lxx.—lxxiv. Heylyn remarks that "the memory of this saint shines in our calendar prefixed before the public liturgy of the church of England, where he is specially honoured with the name of *Saint*, as is no other not being an apostle or evangelist but Saint Martin only." (History of St. George, edit. 2, p. 208.) But at the last review of the Prayer-book the designation was prefixed to some other names. In the Archæologia, vol. v. the history of Saint George was investigated at some length by the Rev. Samuel Pegge, LL.D. F.S.A.

through with his speare.' The King, when he could not a great while speake for laughing, at length said, 'I pray you, my lord, and what did he with his sword the while?' 'That I can not tell your Majestie,' said he. And so an end of that question of good S. George."

It was, however, evidently before the date last mentioned, and during the fourth year of the King's reign, which terminated on the 27th Jan. 1550-1, that the young Sovereign of the Order engaged himself in the composition of the following papers. They are characterised by the earnest Protestantism of the early part of his reign, whilst Cranmer and his coadjutors were encouraged by more sincere and serviceable support than they subsequently received from the leading members of the council. In these schemes we find the King not only conscientiously anxious to purge the Order of all papistical and superstitious practices, but entertaining the ulterior view of making the institution subservient to some objects more valuable than mere personal distinction, or even that loyal and chivalric association which had been its ancient boast. In order that it might promote the religion, learning, and general improvement of the country, its accruing revenues were to be devoted to the maintenance of scholars at the universities and the amendment of highways and making banks upon rivers. On the demise of the existing canons and queristers, their incomes were to be diverted to the pay of itinerant preachers.

The very name of Saint George was to be suppressed,<sup>1</sup> and the order called merely the Order of the Garter, or Defence of the Truth as contained in holy scripture. The annual feast was to be removed from St. George's day,<sup>2</sup> and kept early in December. This, in the adopted Statutes, was finally altered to Whitsuntide.

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<sup>1</sup> The saint, however, was not wholly destitute of friends. When the act for abolishing all holidays and fasting days, except those few therein mentioned, had nearly passed in the Parliament of 1551-2, some faithful knight arose in the House of Lords to raise the cry "Saint George to the Rescue!" The bill had been just read for the third time (on the 12th March), when it was respited for a proviso to allow the knights of the Garter to celebrate St. George's feast as they were accustomed: which proviso, authorising the feast to be kept on "the 22, 23, and 24 days of April, and at such other time or times as yearly shall be thought convenient by the Kinges highnes, his heirs, and successors," &c. will be found annexed to the act in question, in the Statutes of the Realm, and in Ashmole's History of the Order, at p. 474.

<sup>2</sup> The custom of holding the annual feast on the 23d of April had long been broken through. In the MS. Harl. 6074, on fol. 3, is a list of all the Saint George's days throughout the thirty-eight years of the reign of Henry VIII., and on fol. 3b a list of all the days upon which the feast had been kept. The King only once kept the feast in person, in his eleventh year, on the 29th of May; and he was only one year at Windsor on St. George's day, in his 22d year, and then the great feast was deferred to the 8th of May, and kept by his deputy the duke of Suffolk. The feast was usually kept in the month of May, and sometimes in June. In the MS. Arundel in Coll. Arm. XLVII. fol. 40, is



It was to be added to the oath of the Knights, that they would, to the utmost of their power, maintain God's word, put down men's wicked traditions, encourage learning, refuse the bishop of Rome's authority, and fight against his erroneous and pestilent heresies.

Two of the three schemes are in English, and the third is in Latin: and there are very remarkable differences in them all, as will be found on comparison.

These are among the most curious and interesting of the literary remains of King Edward the Sixth; and it is very remarkable that they have hitherto failed to attract the attention they deserve. The Latin scheme was published by bishop Burnet in the Appendix to his History of the Reformation, but the two English schemes are now printed for the first time. The recent historians of the Garter appear to have neglected them from a mistaken impression that the two English copies were mere translations from the Latin, or mere abstracts of the Statutes of 1552, but which in reality were subsequently compiled. Mr. Beltz (p. xcvi.), without consulting the Cottonian MS., presumes that it presents a draft of the Statutes resembling that by sir William Cecill in the State-paper office, hereafter noticed. Sir Harris Nicolas (p. 178) speaks of Edward having "translated the statutes into English," which certainly was not the process he adopted; and in p. 179, the same author treats the (second) English copy in the Cottonian MS. as a "contemporary abstract of the new statutes," whereas, as already intimated, it is a preliminary and in many respects a very different scheme.

In the passage already cited from the *Liber Niger* of the Order, it appears that "a book wherein was contained certain Statutes" was presented to the company of Knights assembled on St. George's day, 1550. It may be presumed that the contents of that book more nearly resembled the Sovereign's autograph scheme than the propositions subsequently enacted. The next date that presents itself is the following anniversary feast (1551), when, as we have seen, the proposed reformation was placed in the hands of the five most distinguished companions and councillors. After another year, the King enters in his Journal, on the feast of 1552, "April 24. The Order of the Garter was holli altered, as apperith by the new statutes." From this it might be supposed that the change was then complete: but further inquiry proves that this was by no means the case. From

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a similar list of the feasts in the reign of King Edward: they were all held at Greenwich, except in his 6th year, at Westminster. In 1567 an ordinance was made that St. George's feast should be kept wherever the Sovereign might happen to be at the time, attended by all the Knights companions that could be present: and "that no other solemnity, under the notion of St. George's feast, should thenceforth be celebrated at Windsor," *i.e.* that the substituted feast in May or June should be discontinued, which had been barely attended by the Sovereign's deputy and seldom more than two other companions, instead of which a full assembly would take place at court. This was in fact a revival of the punctual celebration of St. George's day, but a desertion of Windsor except for installations.

other copies of the proposed Statutes, one in the Ashmolean museum, another in the State-paper office, and a third which belonged to Anstis,<sup>1</sup> it appears that it was intended to hold a chapter for their ratification at the end of September 1552, on the King's coming to Windsor after his summer progress. Probably no such chapter was holden, for on the 28th, the day mentioned, the King removed to Hampton court; and three months later we find Cecill, as chancellor of the order, giving the following opinion, that he still considered the new Statutes incomplete :—

“ Rudimenta sunt hæc ordinis quæ potius colliguntur quam componuntur. Gulielmus Cæcilius Ord. Gart. Cancellar<sup>s</sup> 29 decēb. sexto Re. Edw. sexti.” (State-paper Office.)

The new Statutes were finally enacted and decreed “ at a solempne convocation at our chapter holden at our palaice of Westminster the xvijth of Marche, 1552 ” (1552-3), and the book of them closes with the following Memorandum :—

“ Be it remembred that at the Chapter mentioned in the begynnynge of this boke were present with the Soverayne these knyghtes of th' order folowing—

|                               |                        |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| Duke of Suffolke              | Marquys of Northampton |
| Duke of Northumberland        | Erle of Arrundell      |
| Erle of Derby                 | Erle of Huntynghton    |
| Marquys of Wynchester         | Erle of Penbroke       |
| Viscounte Hereford            | Lord Clynton admiral   |
| Sir Thomas Cheyny             | Lord Darcy of Chiche   |
| Lord Cobham                   | Sir Andrew Dudley.     |
| “ Mynisters {                 |                        |
| Sir W. Cecyll, Cancell'       |                        |
| Sir Phillipp Hobbie, Ussher   |                        |
| Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter.” |                        |

It is therefore clear when this reformation was finally accomplished, and that it was at least three years in hand. The King's schemes are undated, except that one which is apparently the earliest has the date partly filled up—“ the *fourth* year of our reign ” (28 Jan. 1549-50 to 27 Jan. 1550-1). This is the second copy, as bound in the Cottonian volume (commencing at fol. 97). The other English copy (commencing at fol. 93) is probably next in date. The Latin draft is incorrectly termed by Burnet a “ translation ”

<sup>1</sup> . . . . “ the collector (Anstis) hath a very fair exemplar of Statutes illuminated on parchment, dated at first on the 24 *Apr.* through which words a stroke is drawn with a pen, and instead thereof in the margin the following ones, *Windsorix*, 28 *Sept.* are entred with this King's own hand, with several other alterations made in the like manner; and this exemplar varies from the former draught made in 1551 [*i. e.* that printed by Burnet and in the present pages] not only in a more correct style, but in several particulars of the subject matter.” Anstis then proceeds to notice “ the draught of a larger design in his Majesty's Paper-office,” which is described above.—Register of the Garter, i. 439.

from the English, for it differs very materially from them both, though it most resembles that last noticed. The date of the year is expressed "155 .", which Burnet filled up by 1551. There are many corrections and interlineations in this draft of a very curious nature, which are wholly passed over by Burnet, but are shown in the impression now given.

The Statutes which were finally enacted on the 17th March, 1552-3, are not only considerably different from all the King's schemes, but of much greater length. They are printed by Anstis, Register of the Garter, 1724, Appendix, pp. xlv. — lii.

They were probably in great measure the work of Cecill, then chancellor of the order. Among the MSS. in the Ashmolean museum at Oxford are several drafts of them. No. 820, art. 1, is one corrected by Cecill, and showing that they were at first designed to be enacted "at Windsor the xxvijth of September in the year of the Lord 1552." No. 1119, xiii. is a second draft of the same, containing the names of the Knights and Ministers (or officers) present, written by Cecill, at the end. No. 812 is a third draft, subscribed by Cecill as chancellor.

Again, in the State-paper office (Domestic, Edw. VI. vol. xvii.) is a copy of the same Statutes in a Latin version, fairly engrossed on vellum, illuminated with colours and gold, and bound in crimson satin, but subsequently very largely corrected and altered. It is stated by Mr. Beltz to be in Cecill's handwriting, which I do not believe to be wholly the case, although the closing memorandum was apparently written by him in a careful set hand; but his more ordinary hand may be detected in other places in the corrections, and more manifestly in the following imperfect table of contents:—

*Sūma libri sequentis in capita quædam*

*siue locos cōmunes digesti.*

*Præmium in quo causæ conscribendorū ordinis statutorū expositæ sunt.*

*Cap. i<sup>a</sup>. de nomine ordinis.*

*Cap. 2<sup>a</sup>. de Supremo, ejus autoritate et officio.*

*Ca. 3<sup>a</sup>.*

The date "Habito itaque frequenti Concilio seu Capitulo Wyndesoræ 28<sup>o</sup> Septembris, et Regni nostri anno sexto," is altered to "Westmonasterij 17 Martij a<sup>o</sup> Dñi 1552, et Regni nostri 7<sup>o</sup>."

Nos. 772 and 774 in the Ashmolean collection are two copies of these Statutes (in English) fairly ingrossed upon vellum, with illuminated initials. A third of the same character exists in the MS. Harl. 394. There is also the latter portion of a fourth (in the same hand as the last) among Anstis's collections respecting the order in MS. Addit. 6298, at fol. 55.

In that volume, also, at p. 81, is a Latin version of the preamble, written in one hand and corrected by another, entirely differing in language (though not in sense) from the King's copy now printed, but nearly resembling that in the State-paper office. This was

made in prospect of the chapter held on the 24th April, 1552—"Capitulo 24° Aprili anno a Christo nato 1552 et regni nostri sexto."

A paper copy of the statutes (in English), dated 17 March, 1552, is in MS. Cotton. Faustina, D. 1.

It is remarkable that so many manuscript copies of these Statutes should have been preserved, considering that they had not been established for many months before the King's death overthrew a plan so directly founded on the principles of Protestantism, and that all record of them was shortly after ordered to be destroyed.

The feast of the Garter in the year 1553 would have been kept at Greenwich at Whitsuntide, in accordance with the new Statutes, but it was "not kept, for that the Kinge was syke." (MS. Arundel in Coll. Arm. XLVII. f. 40.)

In a chapter held in St. James's house on the 26th of September next following queen Mary's accession to the crown, it was among other things decreed and ordained, "That the said laws and ordinances, which were in no sort convenient to be used, and so impertinent and tending to novelty, should be abrogated and disannulled, and no account to be made of them for the future:" and, for the speedy execution of this decree, command was then also given to sir William Petre (who that day was admitted chancellor of the order) to see that they should be speedily expunged out of the book of Statutes, and forthwith defaced, lest any memory of them should remain to posterity; and only those decrees and ordinances which her father and his royal predecessors had established should be retained and observed.<sup>1</sup>

And King Philip, the third day after his investiture in the habits and insignia of the order, directed a more thorough removal of all modern innovations:—

"6 Augusti annis 1° et 2° illustrissimorum Philippi et Marie Dei gratia, &c. The Kinges highnes beinge present at a chapter holden at Windsour, it was there enacted and decreed, by the consent of all the noble compaignions of the moste honorable order then beinge present, that all the actes and decres being written in dyvers places of the great boke of the moste honorable order which were repugnant and dysagreable either with the auncient orders and statutes of the honorable order, or els with the lawes of the realme, should clerely be abolyshed and taken away by the moste noble and worthy the marques of Winchester, th'erles of Aroundell and Pembroke, and the lord Paget.

"And the same day it was also ordeyned and enacted that the same admonyssiones whiche be geven to forren princes and knightes at their admyssion to the noble order should hensfourth for ever lykewysse be geven to every knight and subject of this realme at his firste admission and installacion to the said noble order, and that there should be no difference in ceremonyes nor otherwysse among the noble compaignions of this honorable order at their investure or admyssion to the same." (MS. Addit. 6298, ff. 76 and 202 b.)

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<sup>1</sup> Ashmole's History of the Garter, p. 194, from the Liber Ceruleus.



*The King's first draft.*

EDWARDE the sixt, Forsomoch as it pleasith God to have unitee and concorde in his defence, that all Christians might be bounde together with the bounde of charitee, and joined with the couple of agreement, it hath semed good to our forfathers and the Kinges of Englande heretofore to sete and apoint an ordre among certen noble men that thei in token of unité and agreement in defending th'onour of God, the wealth of the realme, and the personne of ther head and ruler, shuld weare a garter aboute thear leaggess. Wich most honorable and lawdable order that serpent's craft (wich deceaved Adame,

*The King's second draft.*

EDWARD the sixt, by the grace of God, et<sup>c</sup>. Forasmouch as it pleaseth God to have unité and concord in his defence, that all christians might be bound together with the bond of charité, and joined with the couple of agreement, it hath semed good to our forfathers, Kinges of England, to apoint an ordre and compaignie of noble personages, wich in token of unité and concord in defending th'onor of God, wealth of the ream, and the person of their soveraine, shuld weare a garteir about their legges; wich most laudable and honorable ordre that serpentes craft wich hath deceived Adam,

*The King's Latin draft.*

EDUARDUS *sextus Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex, etc. Omnibus qui presentes videbunt literas salutem. Serenissimi majores nostri Reges Angliæ deliberantes et secumipsis cogitantes de eo officio quo uti debeant erga Deum, patriam, et eos qui suæ ditioni erant subjecti, satis facile invenerunt nihil (tantopere erased) tam ad suum officium pertinere quam ut bonos, pios, fortes, magnanimos, prudentes, et claros viros (pro singularibus eorum meritis) honore gloriaque afficerent, et amicitiam, societatem, et consensionem quandam in bonis rebus inter omnes, præcipue vero inter pares*

*The King's first draft.*

and hath since continualli as a roaring lion sought his pray, and studied to pervert good order into ill custome and supersticiousnes) hath darkened with doutfulnes and contrarietes, perverted with supersticiousnes and idolatrie, and finally almost destroyed it with bringing in of poperi and naughtines.

For the restoring therfore of this godlie and honorable order to the former meaning and statte, we tendring the setting furth of th'ordre in honestie and godlines have with the consent of chapter holden at the day of the fourth yere of our raigne, sette a reformation in th'ordre, and made divers other good and godly statutes, contained in articles that hereafter doth folow.

First, it is agreed by this chapter that, wheras heretofore this ordre was called th'ordre of S. George, by the wich name we did geve the reverence unto a (sainct *erased*) creature wich is dew unto God and his truthe, it shal be no more soe called, but *th'ordre of*

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*foverent. Honorem enim (ut certe est) præmium virtutis judicabant, concordiam vero fundamentum et autricem Rerumpublicarum existimabant. Hæc igitur illis perpendicularibus optimum visum est constituere societatem, cætum aut (ecclesiam *erased*) conventum aliquam eorum qui in domesticis pacis negotiis optime se gesserunt et in militaribus pugnis fortiter et prudenter se exercuerunt. Hosque voluerunt in signum concordie et unitatis tibias fascia quadam circumligare, quasi eo facto divulgantes, sese non dubitare patriæ, religionis et domini causa vitam et bona profundere, eamque ob causam Ordinem Garterii nominaverunt. Quem quidem ordinem omnium voce celebratum serpens ille humano generi infestus Sathanas, conspiciens tantopere ad virtutem homines incitare, conatus est penitus delere. In quo tantum elaboravit, tam diligenter prædam quæsivit, tam ingeniose et callide humanum genus decepit, ut tandem*

*The King's second draft.*

and continually like a roaring lion gapeth for his pray, and so studieth to pervert good ordre into evill custome and superstitiousnes, hath darkened with doutfulnes and contrarietés, hath perverted with superstitiousnes and idolatrie, and finally almost destroyed with bringing of poperie and abusion.

For reducing therefor of this godly and honorable ordre to the former meaning and state, we, tendering the setting fourth therof in honesty and godlines, have by a chapter holden at (*blank*) the . . . of . . . . . in the . . . . year of our reigne, reformed divers abuses, and mad many godly statutes as hereafter foloweth in certaine articles.

First, it is agreed that, wheras this ordre was called the ordre of saint George, whereby th'onour due to God was gevin to a creature, it shal no more be so callid, nor yet saint Georg reputed as patron therof, but it shall be callid *th'ordre of the gartier, or defence of the trueth*, in token wherof the knightes shal weare garters on ther

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*oppleverit decreta hujus societatis multis ambiguis, superstitiosis, papisticis et inter se contrariis sententiis. Putandum enim erat quod si evangelii lux non apparuisset de isto ordine penitus actum fuisset, saltem de his rebus in ordine quæ bonorum nomen meruissent. In dies enim crevit malum. Nos autem summopere commoti antiquitate, magnificentia et pulchritudine hujus ordinis, omnibus viribus elaboravimus ad eum reducendum ad statum pristinum. Quapropter in cætu quodam celebrato die a° D'ni 155-, regni vero nostri , ubi permulti milites ejusdem ordinis aderant, constitutum erat a nobis autoritate eorundem militum quod hi articuli infra scripti firmissime observabuntur ut hujus ordinis decreta.*

1. *Primum, conclusum statutumque existit quod hic ordo posthac appellabitur ordo Garterii, non ordo sancti Georgii, nec idem*

*The King's first draft.*

*the gartier or defence of the truthe holly contained in scripture,* in token of wiche thing the knightes shal weare a gartier upon thear legges, and aboute thear neake a king (*erased and hors.. written above, but erased*) graven, holding in one hand a swearde and in th'other a boke, and upon the swearde shall be written *Justitia*, and upon the boke VERBUM DEI.

2. Secundarilie, the number of the Englishe knightes shalbe six and twenty continually, and the number of the straungers may (if so please the knightes) be ever foure.

3. Thirdlie, that the King of Englande and his heires and successeurs for ever shal be souverayns of this ordre, and that he with the consente of 6 at the lest of the ordre may change, overthrowe, reforme, declare, and solute anything that is or shalbe hereafter made concerning this ordre.

*Georgius amplius posthac reputabitur nec nominabitur patronus ordinis, ne ille honor qui soli Deo debeatur cuidam creaturæ attribuat.*

2. *Item milites circumligabunt tibias garteriis (ut vulgo dicunt) quibus inscribent hæc verba Hony soit qui mal y pense, in collis autem cathenarum more gerent equitem sculptum altera manu tenentem gladium penetrantem librum, in quem gladium scribetur Protectio, in librum vero Verbum Dei, altera autem clipeum in quem inscribetur Fides, hac re significantes se concordēs protectores verbi divini et fideles existere. Cum enim ab Georgio eodem auferretur honor ille quod patronus amplius ordinis non erit, milites non amplius gestabunt eundem divum, post festum Michaelis proxime sequentis.*

3. *Arma tamen ordinis manent in eodem statu quo antea manere sunt solita, videlicet, crux rubea in campo argenteo, (idque ob has causas, Primum quod illa arma non sint propria divo Georgio, et*



*The King's second draft.*

legges, as the use hath beene, and about their nekkes a horsman graven, holding in one hand a sweard pearsing a boke, on wich shall be written *Verbum Dei*, and on the sweard *Protectio*, and in th'other hand a shield, on wich shal be written *Fides*, wich devise shal have a garter about it, on wich shal be written (*Assumite universam ornaturam Dei*, erased), HONY SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE.

2. Furthermore, the hole number of knightes of this ordre shal be but 26 with the souveraine, bicaus the more come to it the lesse honour it is esteemed.

3. That the King of Englaund, his heires and successours for ever, shal be souveraignes of this ordre, and he with consent of 6 of the ordre may chaung, overthrow, refourme, declare and solute anything that is or shalbe made hereafter concerning this ordre.

*quod pro fabula habeatur illum unquam talia gessisse arma. Deinde propter antiquitatem manere utilissimum existit. Tertio, quod si arma illa auferrentur magna esset mutatio universalis (militum enim Anglorum hoc est insigne) quas mutationes sine causa facere non oportet.* This passage is wholly struck through.)

4. *Numerus militum erunt viginti (sex erased, quinque also erased) quatuor præter præfectum. Si enim plures existant tum minori in honore habebitur collegam esse ordinis. Hi autem milites jam existunt.*

5. *Quod Rex Angliæ, hæredes et successores ejus, erunt hujus ordinis præfecti, quemadmodum et solitus est antehac. Et quia sæpe oriuntur ambiguitates, contentiones, et mutationes temporum, propter quas aut tolli aut definiri aut adjungi debent aliqua decreta hujus ordinis, sæpe etiam in mortuorum militum locum alii substituantur necesse est, idcirco conclusum est, quod liceat eidem Regi Angliæ, aliqua tali remota, advocatis 6 ex sociis ordinis cum eorum consensu celebrato in loco aliquo mutare, definire, addere aut*

*The King's first draft.*

4. Fourthlie, that to doe any of the foresaied thinges, or if any place be voide, the same King of Englande, et<sup>ac</sup>e, may at any time calle a chapter after this fashion. Within three dayes before th'assembling, or before three dayes (if it shal so like him) he shal send or cause to be sente to every knight that be neere hand, and may conveniently come, to come upon such a day, and thei having received the lettre shal come to the place apointed for the chapter to be kept in.

5. Fiftly, that the knightes, being so assembled, when any mane is to be elected to th'ordre, shal every one write three princes, that is to say, dukes, marcuses, and erles or vizcounts, thre barons, and thre knightes, of the wich the souverain shal chose that man that other is chosen by most voices, or els shalbe thought most conveniente; and also may pute them oute of the boke, where al the knightes names be registred, who have bene attainted of treason or heresy, or prouved to have by thear negligence and notable crime destroyed or much endomaged thear contrie, although thei have pardone for thear life.

6. Sixtly, that if the knight chosen be in the courte, he shal be brought in to the chaptre by tow of th'ordre, and the souverayn shal

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*detrahere ab hoc ordine, ut illis bonum videbitur, et etiam eligere in numerum militum alios omnes qui sint generosi (arma, erased) insignia gestantes (a parte patrum et matrum per tres progenies sive generationes, a subsequent insertion,) quoscunque arbitrabuntur maxime idoneos.*

6. *Omnes hi qui rei sunt inventi capitalium criminum, aut ignave a prælio aufugerunt, aut notabili crimine sunt contaminati, quamquam mors illis non infligatur, tamen milites ordinis esse desinent. Æquum enim qui esse potest, eum qui insigni et fædo aliquo vitio sit contaminatus, in bonorum societate aut cœtu manere? Capitalia vero sint crimina, pro quibus leges judicant debere mortis pœnam subire.*

*The King's second draft.*

4. For doing whereof the said King of Englaund may, three dayes at lest before assembling of the knightes, send to those that be nere hand, and may come, to be with him any day he list to appoint, and that they shal come upon receipt of the lettre.

5. Wich foresaid knightes being so assembled, if any place be voide for election, shal wright the names of three princes, az emperors, kinges, archiducs, ducs, marquesses, erles or viscountes, 3 barons, and three knightes, of wich the souveraine shal chose either him that hathe hade most voices, or elles is thought most meet.

6. Also the same knightes shal put out of the boke al such knightes as shal have been attainted of treason, murder, felony, heresie, or such like crimes, although they have pardon for there life.

7. But if the foresaid knight elect be in the court, that then tow compagnions of the order shal bring him in, and the souverain shal

7. *Si autem idem ordinis præfectus intelligat locum aliquem vacuum existere, aut aliquod ordinis decretum esse mutandum, mittet ad milites vicinos et propinquos ut certo quodam die adsint, hasque literas mittet triduum ante diem cælebrandi cætus, nisi forte adsint plus quam sex milites. (Quia milites accersiti debent venire die constituto, erased.)*

8. *Qui milites congregati in cætu quodam vestibus ordinis induti, si locus aliquis sit vacuus, scribent unus quisque nomina trium principum, v3. Imperatorum, regum, archiducum, ducum, marchionum, comitum aut vicecomitum, nomina tria baronum sive dominorum, et nomina trium militum aureatorum quos baccalaureos milites vulgo dicunt.*

9. *Cum nomina sint scripta, tum Rex Angliæ ordinis præfectus ex eorum numero eliget quem maxime idoneum arbitrabitur, ex antiqua illustrique familia natum, aut qui suis gestis præclaris nomen, famam,*

*The King's first draft.*

give him and pute upon his neke a (chaine *erased*) colair of SSS<sup>1</sup> with the image of a King graven as is aforesaide, and shal deliver to him a gartier to be pute upon his leage (and the boke of *erased*.) But if the knight chosen be absent, it shalbe differred til his presence at the next chapter.

7. Item, that to every knight shal be at his election delivered this boke of statutes of th'ordre, before his (election *erased*) stallacion, and that his executours shalbe bound after his death to rendre the same to the register of th'ordre.

8. Also that it shalbe determined and apointed bi the same chapter whear a knight is chosen, in what stalle he shalbe stalled, and placed.

9. Item, that every knight that shalbe stalled, shal have sent with him to the castel of Windsor from the souverain and th'ordre a deputy and tow assistants to stalle him, and there in the morning shal receive his mantel, hode and other garments, as hath bene heretofore used, and shal be placed in his stalle and take this othe before the deputy and assistants.

1. Wil ye swere and promise to revele and declare al conspiracies against the souverain of your ordre and his comenwelth?

I swere and promise.

2. Will you refuse the bishopes of Rome's auctorité, and fight in your countries cause against him and his erronious and pestilent heresies?

I promise and will performe.

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*et honorem summum acquisiverit. Nam in electione militum divitias respicere nullo modo oportet, sed virtutem et generis nobilitatem, primo autem in loco virtutem.*

10. *Miles electus cum proxime adsit adducetur in domum ubi*

<sup>1</sup> The King has fallen into the popular error of calling the collar of the Garter a collar of esses; in his second copy he describes it more accurately.



*The King's second draft.*

put a collar of (ss up . . *erased*) roses gartered about with th' image of a horsman graven as is aforesaid,\* apon his nekke, and the tow compaignions shal put a gartier on his legg. If he be not present, it shal be differred till his presence at the next chapter.

8. At wich time also shal be delivered the boke of the statutes of this ordre, wich at his death he shal redeliver.

9. That everie knight elect shal be apointed by the chaptre in what stall he shal sitt.

10. And then the souveraigne and ordre shal send to him a deputy and tow assistauntes to the castel of Windsor, wheare he shal receive in the morning his mantell, hood, and other garmentes, as hath ben used beforetime, and shal be stalled, and receive his othe, That to his power he shal help during his life the honors, rightes, quarelles and lordshippes of the souveraigne of th'ordre; that he shal be a maintenour of God's true word, a putter downe of men's wiked

*cætus celebratur, per duos (commilitones, erased) collegas, ordinis præfectus induet eum cathena sive collario rosarum circumligatarum fasciis, cum sculpta equitis imagine ut prædixi appendente. Duo vero collegæ fascia sive ut vulgo dicunt garterio tibiam circumligabunt. Tradetur etiam electo militi liber horum decretorum.*

11. *Miles vero electus ibit Windesoram et præfectus ordinis mittet ad illum substitutum suum, et duos coadjutores, qui collocabunt eum, si fieri possit sine aliorum militum detrimento, in sede ejus gradui nobilitatis apta et accommoda, et secundum veterem modum vestes recipiet, quas vulgo dicunt Anglicè the mantell, the cirtel, and the hode, et his vestibus indutus audiet preces divinas, in sede illi constituta, simul cum substituto et coadjutoribus communionem recipiens.*

12. *Post preces absolutas recipiet hoc jusjurandum, se pro viribus velle sustinere et defendere omnes honores, titulos, querelas et dominia Regis Angliæ ordinis præfecti. Velle etiam, quantum in se est,*

*The King's first draft.*

3. Will you, as much as in you lieth, extinguishe and pute downe al men's traditions against the Scripture, and alwaies defend the truth ?

I will do mine endeavour.

4. Will you promise to mantein learning, wich doth profite to the maintenaunce of the truthe ?

I promise and wil performe.

5. Wil you disclose al meanings against this ordre, and doe generally all thinges contained in the statuts of the same ?

I promise and swere to performe thies articles to the uttermost of my power, so help me God and his truth.

10. Item, that every knight shal have upon his stalle, during his life, his banner, swerd, helmet, and creste, in token he wil not stike to die in his countries and master's service, and against his enemies or the commen welthes cause; in wich service if he die, for a perpetual memory and continual remembraunce of him, and for an example to his successours, the same his banner, swerde, helmet, and creste shal be set on hie above the stalle after his death.

11. Item, that every knight shal leave his mantel, hode, et<sup>ce</sup>, in the castell of Windsore, or in some place neere unto it, for all sodaines.

12. Item, that every knight of this ordre shal cause his armes to be made in a plate of (silver *erased*) metall, and the same shal be sette at his bake in the castel of Windsore on his stalle, and it shal tary and abyde thear as long as the banner, swerd, helmett, and crest.

13. Item, that the same day every knight is stalled, after his stallation, he shal receive the communion (that is the faithful remembraunce of Christes death, which was once offered up for all, and dwellith not in man's temples—*this passage much defaced, but still legible*), with the deputy and th'assistans, in token that he is united and joined in concord with them of the honorable order.

*The King's second draft.*

tradicions, a setter up of lerning, and an encrease of th'onor of this ordre, to th'uttermost of his power.

11. Item, every knighte shal have on his stalle his banner, sward, helmet and crest, during his life, and after his death shal be wheare it hath ben used to be laid, and every knight shal have his armes in a plate of metall at his bake in the castel of Windsore.

12. Item, the day of his installacion he shal receive th'communion and heare the service apointed, with the deputy and assistauntes.

13. Furthermore, considering the feast of Saint George is to(o) nere summer, and a feast not to be kept bicause the dedication of th'ordre is holly taken from that, as before it appeireth, the general assembly shal be the 30 of November and the first of December, as before on saint George's day and even.

14. Wich knightes assembled shal, the last of November, heare the evensong apointed by th'ordre of Parliement (or otherwise by

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*protegere, amare et colere divini verbi studiosos, velle deponere humanas traditiones, et augere gloriam et honorem Dei.*

13. *Ille ordo qui institutus fuit olim de insignibus, gladiis, galeis et armis reponendis in cellis aut sedibus maneat in priori forma.*

14. *Adhæc, cum dedicatio ordinis auferatur a divo Georgio, et tempus anni non sit idoneum ad multos homines cogendos, et ex patria accersendos, præsertim vero ne ipsam dedicationem verbis auferentes re videremur retinere, idcirco statutum est cætum cælebratum fore, ut olim in vigilia et die Divi Georgii, sic nunc primo die sabbati et primo die dominico in mense Decembris, nisi forte primus dies mensis Decembris sit dies dominicus, tunc autem celebrabitur primo die sabbati, et 2º die dominico.*

15. *Primo vero die sabbathi, milites qui adsunt (omnes autem adesse debent nisi forte habeant licitam excusationem) audient preces vespertinas, institutas auctoritate parlamenti, vestibus ordinis induti, sedentes quisque in sede constituta. Miles autem electus, non collocatus in sede, stabit directe versus eum locum ubi collocabitur.*

*The King's first draft.*

14. Item, that the banner, sword, and helmet, if he die not in service, shalbe dilivred to his heires and successours.

15. Furthermore, considering now that the feast of S. George is to(o) nere the sommer, and also a feast not meate to be keapt, chefely seing this ordre is holly taken away from the dedication to him, bicause of dedicating to him shall come both idolatrie, against wich al scripture doth speak against (as in Ex. 20 a. and 22, in al the chapters almost of Deutonomie, and in the ... of Esay, and the 6 of Baruch, and the 4 of Mattheu, and divers other places, *erased*,) and also supersticiousnes and ypocrisi, mother of al vice. For thies considerations therfore before specified, it is agreed that the assemblie shal be the 30 of November at night, and 1 of December at the courte, as before it was the even and day of S. George.

16. Item, that the knightes so gatherid together shal be in the chapel, sitting or kneling in or by their stalles, wich stalles shal be made as in the castel of Windsore, the last of November, and hiere the prayers prescribed in the boke entitled the Boke of Commen Prayers; and the next morning, that is to say, the first of December, shal altogether, with as many more as wil come that be not of th'ordre, receive the remembraunce of Christis death (and his bodie and his blude spiritually bi sum mysteri . . . . *these words defaced*), in token that in the defence of Christiane doctrine, holly contained in Goddes worde, thei are so united that thei will defend itt even to the deathe.

17. Item, that if any knight have licence to remain at his owne house, and soe be absent from this assemblé at the courte, he shal be bounde to receive the supper of our Lord (otherwise called the communion, *defaced*), with at least 4 of his family or (*gestis erased*) straungers that come to him, and shal in the open church here al the praiers institute to be saied the last of November and first of December, by the foresaied boke of prayers.

18. Item, that thei that neglect and doe not theis tow last articles,



*The King's second draft.*

the souveraigne *erased*), and the first of December in the morning shal heare the prayers, and as many as can make themselves ready shal receive (the sacrament *erased*) communion altogether, and so likewise shal knightes absent heare the prayers and receive the communion with fowre at lest of their famyly or frendes at their houses (and shal sit or knele *erased*), and likewise the first day of December at evensong they shal heare the prayers setfurth or to be setfurth.

15. Moreover, the knightes shal sitt or knele in the chapel, according as they are placed in the stallis at Windsore, and shal sitt al of one side at diner in ordre the first of December.

16. The querestours and canons shal enjoy there living as long as they live, but after they die preachers shal enjoy there promotions or livinges in the castell aforesaid.

17. But the pore knightes shal continew in their former state of living, and the roomes shal be geavin to maymed or hurt souldiars,

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16. *Die dominico sequenti in aurora audient supradicti milites preces, et qui se paratos facere possint communionem recipient; vesperi etiam audient preces vespertinas.*

17. *Milites autem absentes tenebuntur eadem facere in suis ædibus, toto hoc tempore vestibus ordinis induti.*

18. *Præterea milites qui adsunt vestibus ordinis induti prandebunt omnes ab uno latere sedentes in eodem gradu quo collocantur Windesoræ in cellis. In cætum etiam intrabunt hoc die, ut si quid faciendum sit perficiant.*

19. *Cantatores et prebendarii fruentur suis possessionibus durante vita, post mortem autem eorum conferentur in concionatores, in castro Windesoræ.*

20. *Pauperes autem qui in eodem collegio manent habebunt omnia sua pristino more, loci autem conferentur in milites vulneratos, aut admodum senes viros, solum privabuntur superstitionis et canis cæremoniis quibus uti sunt soliti, ut oratione pro defunctis, et<sup>c</sup>.*

*The King's first draft.*

shal forfait to the boxe of poure men 9 poundes, and 20s. to the herauldis.

19. Item, that thei knightes shall sitte the first of December at diner as thei be placed in their stalles.

20. Item, the kinges Majesty is content to pay for all other chardges of them that entre into the same ordre, as for the chaine of SS. the image of a graven King, as is aforesaied, gartier, mantell, hode, sworde, banner, helmet, crest, the fie (fees) of the heroalds, and mony to (be) paied at the entrie of every knight to th'ordre and going out, so as the same knightes will pay a certain to exhibition to scolars and to th'amending of hie waies, that is to say, every duke, marquise, and erle yerely 20 markes, every vizcount and barone 10 ponde, and every knight other barennet or bachiler 10 markes; and that three hundred marke of it shal be bestowed upon exhibition to thirti scolars of Cambrige and thirty of Oxforde, and al the rest to be bestowed upon hie wayes, and making bankes upon rivers.

21. Item, that there shal be apointed by the chapter a tresaurier to receive this mony of all the knightes within or without Englande every yere, and also to distribut it to thes threscore scollars by equal porcions, that is to say, five marces by the yere apece, and that he shal reste countable to the knightes of th'ordre for the distribution of the mony.

22. Item, that it shal be apointed who in bothe th'universités shal chose the scolars by the chapter, and that he shal chose none but them to whom no exhibition hath heretofore bene given, and bee of the powriest (in riches, and richest in wiete, *erased*), and also shal advertise the chaptere when any is deede, or come to ripnes of yeris and lerning to take some benefice or chardge.

23. Item, that thei that will not pay the 1 of December shal every half yere multipli ther payment till thei pay.

24. Item, that there shal be apointed by the chaptre a master of

*The King's second draft.*

only they shal not use the supersticiouse ceremonies that have bene accustomed.

18. Also the monies that have bene used to be paid, that is to say, at the death of the knightes,—of the souverain to be paid for himself

| 8 li. 6 s. 8 d. and    | li. s. d. |                     | li. s. d. |
|------------------------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|
| for every straung king | 6 13 4    | an erle . . . .     | 2 10 —    |
| the prince . . . .     | 5 16 8    | a vicecount . . . . | 2 1 8     |
| a duke . . . .         | 5 — —     | a baron . . . .     | 1 13 4    |
| marques . . . .        | 3 15 0    | a bacheler . . . .  | — 16 8    |

Also at the comming into the ordre, the souverain to pay for himsel 40 marc, for a straung king 20 li.

|                   |                 |                     |                  |
|-------------------|-----------------|---------------------|------------------|
| A prince . . . .  | 20 marc.        | a vicecount . . . . | 5 li. 16 s. 8 d. |
| A duke . . . .    | 10 li.          | a baron . . . .     | 5 li.            |
| A marques . . . . | 8 li. 6 s. 8 d. | a bacheler . . . .  | 5 marc.          |
| An erle . . . .   | 10 marc.        |                     |                  |

*Quemadmodum vero soliti sunt missæ adesse, sic jam adsint in præcibus constitutis.*

21. *Sunt autem certæ summæ argenti quæ solent impendi, cum moriantur milites ordinis.*

|                                 | li. s. d. |                             | li. s. d. |
|---------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| <i>A Rege Angliæ . . . .</i>    | 8 6 8     | <i>A comite . . . .</i>     | 2 10      |
| <i>A rege peregrino . . . .</i> | 6 13 4    | <i>A vicecomite . . . .</i> | 2 1 8     |
| <i>A principe . . . .</i>       | 5 16 8    | <i>A barone . . . .</i>     | 1 13 4    |
| <i>A duce . . . .</i>           | 5         | <i>A milite baccalaureo</i> | 0 16 8    |
| <i>A marchione . . . .</i>      | 3 13      |                             |           |

*Adhæc cum milites eligantur solvendæ sunt hæ summæ pecuniæ.*

|                                 |        |                             |        |
|---------------------------------|--------|-----------------------------|--------|
| <i>A Rege Angliæ . . . .</i>    | 30     | <i>A comite . . . .</i>     | 6 13 8 |
| <i>A rege peregrino . . . .</i> | 20     | <i>A vicecomite . . . .</i> | 5 16 8 |
| <i>A principe . . . .</i>       | 13 6 8 | <i>A barone . . . .</i>     | 5      |
| <i>A duce . . . .</i>           | 10     | <i>A milite . . . .</i>     | 3 6 8  |
| <i>A marchione . . . .</i>      | 8 6 8  |                             |        |

*The King's first draft.*

workis, who shal take up in the Kinges name ~certain number of vagabunds to amend the hie waies and river bankis, and shal pay them monthlie with that mony that being all above the somme of three hundred markes shal be delivred to him by the treasorier of th'ordre, and shall moderate the time of hiring of men and the numbre according to the valew of the some of mony, and shal acount to the chaptre who (how) he hath bestowed the mony delivered to him.

25. Item, the queristers and chanons shal enjoy thear living as long as thei live, but after the fall of them thei shal be given to preachears that goe about the realme a preaching.

26. Item, that the continuance shal be of the 13 poore men for their living and remaining in the castell as hath heretofore ben used, and nothing of their living shal be touched.

28. Item, that thier shal be three other officers besides the treasorier and m<sup>r</sup> of the workis pertaining to the same order; the chauncelour, the registre, and the king of armes whose name shal be Gartier.

29. Item, that the chauncelour's office shal be to seele with the seele of the ordre al statutes now and hereafter to be made by the chaptre, and also al licenties to be away from the courte the 30 of November and 1 of December.

30. Item, that the seele of the ordre shal be on th'onside the armes of Englande, with this circumscription, *Verbum D'ni manet in æternum*; and on th'otherside shal be a king graven as the knightes weare about theare nekkes, and a garter with this superscription, *Hony soit qui mal y pense*.

31. Item, that the register shal take note of al knightes chosen and dede, of al statutis and ordinauncies to be made, and of al officers, scolars, and pore knightes chosen, and shal put them up in a boke wich he shal leve in the castell of Windsore.

32. Item, that the heroald Gartier shal take th'armes of al the



*The King's second draft.*

wich mony shal be employed as hath sometim heretofore used in bestowing on the pore; and the register shal bestow it, and make certificat or accompt how he hath spent it.

19. Item ther shal be fowre officers of th'ordre, the chauncelour, the register, the blake rode, and the king at armes, called Gartier.

20. The chauncellour shal seale with the seale of th'ordre (wich shal be, on the on side the armes of Englaund with this circumscription *Hony soit qui mal y pense*; and on th'other side a horsman graven as the knightes shal weare about their nekkes, with a gartier about it,) al kind of ordenaunces, licences, decrees, or letters missives touching th'ordre.

21. The register shal in a great boke take note of al knightes chosen and deade, of al statutes and ordenaunces made or to be

*Hæ prædictæ summæ colligantur, et quotannis pauperibus distribuantur, ut interdum solitum est fieri.*

22. *Rex Angliæ exolvat pecuniam quam peregrini principes debebunt propter articulum supra dictum.*

23. *Sed quia difficile est omnia hæc sine ministris idoneis fieri, igitur constitutum est fore quatuor ordinis hujus ministros, Cancellarius, Annotator sive Register, Præcessor qui nigram virgam gestabit, et præcipuus Rex armorum qui ab ordine nomen obtinebit Garter.*

24. *Sigillum ordinis habebit ex uno latere arma Angliæ et Franciæ simul cum armis ordinis, circumligata hac superscriptione Verbum Domini manet in æternum. ex altera parte equitem sculptum ut milites gestabunt, circumligatum fascia sive garterio.*

25. *Hoc sigillo Cancellarius sigillabit omnia decreta, licentias, constitutiones, literas et reliqua omnia quæ ad ordinem prædictum pertinent, aut ullo modo debent pertinere.*

26. *Annotator in magno libro annotabit Latine quibus temporibus quisque miles fuerit electus, quibus mortuus, quænam sancita erant*

*The King's first draft.*

knichtes chosen and stalled, and shal kepe note of their petigreis and descentis, and write it in a boke, wiche when he dieth he shal leve in the castel, and th'other that is made shal continew the wourke.

34. Item, that none of theis rules or statutis shal apertein to any straunger that is alredy chosen, but that thei may use al such maners as thei list.

35. Item, that when any straunger shal be chosen the copie of the statutis in Latine shal be sent unto him, sealed with the seale, and a lettre directed to him certifieng him of his election at the souverain's chardge; and if he be content to take th'ordre, that then tow of th'ordre shal bring unto him the garments, with the image of the King and the gartier, and shal pute them aboute hime, and, if he list, he shal be stallid by a procurer.

36. Item, that in the othe the first article towarde straungiers may be pute away, and this pute in the place: Wil you do in all thinges that thing that is most profitable for your contrie, and next shew frendshipe unto the souverain of this ordre?

37. Item, that all ordinauncis heretofore made of whom theis statutis make no mencion shal be clerely abrogated, and that theis statutis shal be sealid with the seale of the gartier, and laide up in the colledge at the castel of Windsore.

Laus Deo.

FINIS.

*decreta, quænam dissoluta, et si quæ erunt alia pertinentia ad ordinem supradictum. Hunc autem librum relinquet in castro Windesore suo successor in eodem officio.*

27. *Rex Heraaldorum et insignium Garter servabit nomina et cognomina, arma et insignia cujusque militis electi, eundem librum*

*The King's second draft.*

made, and of al thinges done touching the said order; wich boke he shal leave to his successour.

22. The king of armis Gartier shal keape the names, surnames, and armes of all knightes, chosen or to be chosen, and shal leave the said boke to his successour.

23. As for straungers they shal be bound to nothing except they list, neither othe-taking nor enstalling, but only to here such prayers as he hath in his countrey, wearing the mantell, hood, and other garmentes, and to receive the same of the handis of tow of th'ordre, wich shal be sent, and to be installed by a procurour, if the souverain geve not leave that he nead not to bee installid.

*relinquens suo successori, et si quæ sit ambiguitas de armis ipse dijudicabit.*

28. *Præcursor ordinis gestans virgam nigram præibit ordinem et ostium custodiet et eandem auctoritatem habebit qua antehac usus est.*

29. *Adhæc cum aliquis peregrinus Rex in militum numerum substituatur et eligatur, cæremoniis hujus ordinis non detinebitur, sed pro ut placet.*

30. *Post electionem vero præfectus ordinis mittet duos milites ejusdem ordinis, qui post præces in ejus patria vulgares induent eum vestibus illis quæ solent gestari, videlicet, Anglicè, the mantill, the cirtell, and the hode. In collum etiam imponent catenam rosarum cum equite sculpto appendente, et fascia vulgo dicta garterio.*

31. *Postea per procuratorem in sede collocabitur, nullum omnino juramentum recipiens, nec præces unquam alias quam solitas audiens.*

32. *Quod Rex Angliæ possit dispensare et veniam dare omittendi ullas ceremonias si causa postulet.*

*The King's second draft.*

24. Item that al statutes speaking of ordres for masses, prayeng for the deade, and such like superstitions, be clerely taken away and abrogated, and all other heretofore to the contrary of theise shal be abrogated and overthrowen (and also al those of wich theis statutes make clerely no mencion *erased*).

25. Lastly, that these statutes, sealed with the new seale,<sup>1</sup> shal be laied up in the colleg at the castell of Windsore.

Laus Deo.

Praise be to God.

(Ir. 23° A. . *erased*.)

Edwarde (nobis te . . *erased*).

33. *Quod hi articuli, ut monumenta, decreta, et leges ordinis, reponentur in collegio Windesoræ, omnes autem his contrariæ penitus abrogabuntur.*

*Finis. Amen. Finis.*

On a separate slip of paper:

*In vigesimo octavo articulo scribatur.*

*Quod si quis militum contumeliose et graviter offenderit, et ejus criminis in cætu fuerit convictus, præcursor ordinis cum Rege Heroaldorum eum exuent cathena et garterio.*

<sup>1</sup> Of this "new seal" (described in pp. 534, 535) no other memorial except these papers has been preserved.



XI. REASONINGS WHETHER AID SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE EMPEROR,  
SEPT. 23, 1552.

[MS. Cotton. Nero C. x. fol. 69.]

This paper is in the handwriting of Cecill, who was its author. The "conclusion" is in the King's autograph. It was laid up by the King in his desk (see p. 457), and is now bound up with the King's Journal: and an engraved fac-simile of the whole of it was published in Dr. Nares's *Memoirs of Lord Burghley*, 4to. 1828, vol. i. p. 400.

In the MS. Cotton. Galba B. xii. f. 230, is another copy, also in Cecill's handwriting, being his original draft. The "reasons" are the same, with the side-notes in English; but there are additional arguments, which are appended in p. 541.

Bishop Burnet printed these reasonings in his *History of the Reformation* "Upon this occasion (he remarks) the reader will find how the secretaries of state bred the King to the understanding of business, with relation to the studies he was then about; for secretary Cecill set down all the arguments for and against that league, with little notes on the margin, relating to such topics from whence he brought them: by which it seems the King was then learning logic."

1552.

Wyndsore 23 Septemb<sup>r</sup>. QUESTIONS.

6<sup>o</sup> Edw. 6<sup>i</sup>.

Whither the K. Matie shall enter in to the ayde of the Emperor.

Ans<sup>r</sup>. *He shall.*

1. The kyng is bound by the treaty, and if he will be helped by a pacto.  
that treaty he must do the reciproque.

2. If he do not ayde the emperor is like to wyne, and consequently the house of Burgundy come to the French possession, a periculo  
which is perillous to England, and herin the greatnes of the French vitando.  
kyng is dreadfull.

3. The French kyng bryngeth the Turkes into Christendome, and therefore th'enterprise is to be stayed. Religio  
Christiana.

4. If the emperor for extremité should agree now with the French, Periculum  
then our perill were dooble grettar. First, th'emperor's offence for violati pacti.

lack of ayde, the French kynges enterprises towards us, and in this peace the bishop of Roomes devotion towards us.

pro Repub.  
et Patria.

5. Merchantes be so evill used, that both for the losse of goodes and honour some remedy must be sought.

Pericula  
consequentia.

6. The French kynges proceedings be suspitiose to the realme by breakyng and burning of our shipps,<sup>1</sup> wich be the old strength of this isle. Declaration of Stukley's tale.<sup>2</sup>

Answe'. *He shall not.*

Difficile  
quasi impos-  
sibile.

1. The ayde is too chargeable for the cost, and almost to be executed impossible.

Solitudo in  
periculis.

2. If th'emperor shuld dye in this confederacy, we shuld be left alone in the warr.

Amicorum  
suspicio  
vitanda.

3. It may be the Germane protestantes might be more offended with this conjunction with th'emperor, dowting there owne causes.

Sperandum  
bene ab  
amicis.

4. The amytye with France is to be hooped will amend and contynue, and the commissionars comming<sup>3</sup> maye perchaunce restore.

Judicium.

Corollarium of a meane waye.

1. So to helpe th'emperor as we maye also joyne with other Christian princes and conspyre ageynst the French kyng as a commen enemy to Christendome.

Reasons for the commen conjunction.

Auxilia com-  
munia.

1. The cause is commen, and therefore there will be more parties to it.

Sumptus  
vitandi.

2. It shall avoyd the chargeable entre into ayde with th'emperor according to the treatyes.

Amicorum  
copia.

3. If th'emperor shuld dye, or breake of, yet it is most likely some of the other prynces and parties will remayne, so as the Kinges majestie shall not be alone.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 459, 463, 468.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 455.

<sup>3</sup> Those mentioned in p. 459.

4. This frendshipp shall muche avance the Kinges other causes in Christendome. Dignitas causæ.

5. It shalbe most honorable to breake with the French kyng for this commen quarrell of Christendome. Pro fide et religione.

Reasons against this conjunction.

1. The treaty must be with so many parties that it can nether be spedely nor secretly concluded. Inter multos nihil secretum.

2. If the matter be revealed, and nothing concluded, then consider the French kynges offence, and so may he at his leasure be provoked to practise the like conjunction ageynst England with all the Papistes. Amicitia irritatæ.

The remainder is in the King's hand:—

#### Conclusion.

1. The treaty to be made with th'emperour, and by th'emperour's meanes with other princes.

2. Th'emperour's acceptation to be understood bfore we treat anything against the French King.

The paper is indorsed by Cecill, *Pro Rege*.

In Cecill's draft (Galba, B. XII.) there follows, after his reasons as above printed:—

A third opinion upon this:

Whither it wer best to imparte to the Emperor by the imbassadour that the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup> meaneth not to neglecte the Emperor's estate, but will herin for the helpe and defence of the Lowe countries doo that he may.

And likewise to cause mr. Chamberleyne<sup>1</sup> practise that the Imperialls maye require and provoke hym to make this motion, forasmuch as they have alredy begon the lyke talke with hym. And in the meane season to permitt indirectly our merchantes to reprise upon the French. And to here the French commissionars.

To provide in the meane tyme both for mony and likewise the fortefieng and garding of the frontiers, with such other thynges fit for to enter the warr withall.

On another page, also in Cecill's writing:

Move the Emperor indirectly that, where the F. kyng induceth the Turkes, it might be

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Chamberlayne, the English ambassador in the Low Countries.

considered by his Matie and other prynces of Christendom how the said French kyng might be empeched from this his enterprise.

Reasons for this:

By this meanes we shall enter with mo than the Emperor, as with the Germaines and such other; and so, though th'Emperor shuld dye, yet the bande shuld not be without parties.

2. It shalbe also most honorable to breke with the French for so (*the paper burnt*) a quarrell for the faith of Christendome.

3. We shall hereby avoyde the costly and chargeable ayding of the Emperor according to the treaty.

There is a third leaf, also in Cecill's hand, accompanying the foregoing, and containing the following items, written before the determination was made, and whilst the writer was inclined to advocate the Imperial side:—

1. To consider by what meanes the Emperor shalbe induced [to ask] ayde ageyne of the Kyng.

2. If that can not be compassed, then to consider how the Emperor shall understand the Kynges contentation to ayde hym, and what personages shall execute this ether with th'Emperor or with the Regent.

3. To order that, upon this opened to the Emperor, our embassador with the French kyng maye withdrawe hymselfe secretlye.<sup>1</sup>

4. To consider how the princes Protestant of Germany maye have some intelligence and accorde with the Kyng.

5. Some devise to practise with the Scottis to further there [ill] contentation with the French.

6. Whither Stukly shall retourne into Fraunce and contynue his practise there for more intelligence.

7. To see the estate of Callise, Gwynes, and the marches well ordered and garded with officers, and helpe of other laches there, and therin to consider the reporte of the commissionars.

8. The like ordre for Barwike and the other frontyers upon Scotland.

9. To gyve order that the passages at Dover be well looked to.

10. To see to the garde of the Thamise.

Mr. Gonston }  
Mr. Wyntar } to take ij. pynnaces and kepe the Thamise.

At the back of the same leaf, still in Cecill's writing, are the following memoranda for a letter to be written to the Emperor on the same subject:—



The Regentes lettres.<sup>1</sup> The answer.<sup>2</sup> Kinges progresse. absence of the counsell.<sup>3</sup> Distance of th'emperor not requyred as it shuld be. Upon a newe assemblee more considered. amyte of both the howses. y<sup>e</sup> estate of bothe in friendship. proximitee. concord. amyte betwixte the Kynges father and th'emperor. The Christian worldle. y<sup>e</sup> Turke.

Concluded to stand to the treaty, upon sure hope of the reciprocque.

In the end, request of advice how to procede so as most advantage maye be, and, having here iij Frenchmen,<sup>4</sup> to conveye our embassadour away, for which purpose secretnes.

## XII. MATTERS FOR THE COUNCIL, OCTOBER 13, 1552.

[MS. Lansdowne 1236, fol. 19, entirely in the King's handwriting.]

Strype gave this paper, with a running commentary, in his *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. ii. book II. chapter xii., but without saying where he found it, and altogether dressed up and rearranged according to his own ideas.

A summary of matters to be concluded.

1. How a masse of mony may be gotten, to discharg the summe of 300,000 li. both for discharg of the dettis, and also to get 50,000 li. of treasur mony for al eventis.

2. Deminishing of the charges of the pensionars' table, the lord prevyseal's, the phisitions', and the M<sup>rs</sup> of houshold, giveng them reasonable recompens.<sup>5</sup>

3. Redeming the lesses partaineng to the livrees<sup>6</sup> at Westmyster, Whaltam, Reding, and Saint Albons.

4. Discharging in th'admiralte.

<sup>1</sup> Those mentioned by the King in his Journal, Nov. 24, 1552 (p. 472).

<sup>2</sup> "There was a letter of thankes written to the Regente," Nov. 30. (*ibid.*)

<sup>3</sup> The King, in his Journal (see p. 432), mentions that these excuses had been made in answer to the emperor.

<sup>4</sup> Who were here meant is not clear. This was probably written before D'Abrie and Duvall (see p. 459), and Villandry (p. 468), had arrived in England.

<sup>5</sup> Other tables had been recently abolished: see p. 458.

<sup>6</sup> *i. e.* the estates which had belonged to the several great abbeys named.

5. Provision to be made for the wardrobe, whearby the charg may be the lesse.

6. Discharg of the postes.<sup>1</sup>

7. Discharg of certein bulwarkes on the seaside wich be thought superfluous.<sup>2</sup>

8. Discharging (700 *altered to*) 1000 men in Irland<sup>3</sup> mo than be yet.

9. Discharg of (300 *altered to*) 500 men at Barwike when the fort shal be rearid<sup>4</sup> (and 200 at Guisnes for this winter *added*).

10. Bringing th'augmentation court into th'exchequer, and likewise the court of first frutes and tenthes,<sup>5</sup> and saving al thos fees that may be spared.

11. Examining wither by their patentis they have portage mony alowed them (and if they have it, how they gat it *added*).

12. Discharging the superfluous fees in the duchy, and the wardis (and also in the mintes *erased*).

13. Gathering and coining of the churchplate.<sup>6</sup>

14. Sale of certein landis<sup>7</sup> of chauntriis (colleges, houses, and Beaumont's landis<sup>8</sup> to the some of 5000 li. *added*).

15. Bringing in the remnaunt of (my *altered to*) the dettis.

<sup>1</sup> A "discharge of the posts" would have been one of the most retrograde and suicidal measures among the many of questionable policy that we find here suggested. Some curious notices of the posts employed in communication with the continent are given by Mr. Burgon, in his *Life and Times of Sir T. Gresham*, vol. i. pp. 109 et seq. vol. ii. 256.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 460.

<sup>3</sup> Among other acts of most improvident economy, the King states (p. 417) that it had been agreed to discharge one-fourth of the English soldiers employed in Ireland, and to permit as many more as would to leave their country's service, and to enter, at their option, into that of either of the contending parties on the continent—the emperor or the French king.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 439.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 433, note.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 410, note.

<sup>7</sup> See in p. 414 the commission appointed for this purpose, July 7, 1552.

<sup>8</sup> The land forfeited by the late master of the rolls: see p. 427.

16. Taking accountes of all thos that have had to doe with (my *erased*) mony sins the 36 yeare of K. H. 8.<sup>1</sup>

17. The stay of lead.<sup>2</sup>

18. The sale of the belmetal.<sup>3</sup>

19. Th'execution of penal lawes,<sup>4</sup> touching horses, ploughs, (poor-

<sup>1</sup> See in p. 469 the commission appointed Jan. 8, 1552-3.

<sup>2</sup> In a letter written to the duke of Northumberland from Antwerp on the 21st Aug. 1552, sir Thomas Gresham had proposed that the King should make a staple of lead, taking into his own hands all the lead in the realm, and prohibiting the exportation of any for five years; from which Gresham anticipated very beneficial results; since the price of that commodity, he said, would rise at Antwerp, where the King "might feed them," as they had need, from time to time. By these and similar means it was suggested that the King would keep his treasure within his realm, and extricate himself from the debts in which his father and the late duke of Somerset had involved him; and, adds Gresham, who was exercising his talents as a courtier no less than a financier, "your grace shall doo his Majesty soche servyce as never ducke dyd in England, to the renowme of your howsse for ever." See Strype, *Eccles. Memorials*, ii. 325; Burgon, *Life and Times of Gresham*, i. 94. The original letter is in MS. Cotton, Galba B. xii. f. 209.

Bells had been very numerous in England, and, as they were the objects of many superstitious usages, they were out of favour with the Reformers. The value of their material tempted spoliation, and the greater number (including all that belonged to monasteries, &c.) were seized by Henry VIII., and were placed in the royal stores, whence they were issued either for casting cannon, or for raising money by sale. In 1549 orders were sent down into Devonshire and Cornwall for taking down the bells of all the churches, on the ground that they had been used to foment the rebellion, leaving only one in each church, and that "the least of the ring;" and in Nov. 1550 there was a grant to Arthur Champernon and John Chichester of all the clappers of the bells commanded to be taken down within those counties, with all the iron and furniture thereto belonging. Even the church of the royal college of Eton, though allowed to retain its other church goods, was robbed of its bells (see the note in p. 459). The exportation of bell-metal was forbidden by a statute of 33 Hen. VIII., by a proclamation of July 27, 1547, and further by another statute of 2 & 3 Edw. VI., which enacted "that no person should carry or ship off beyond sea any brass, copper, lattyn, bell-mettall, pan-mettall, or gun-mettall, or shroffe mettall, whether it were cleane or mixed, tin and lead only excepted," upon certain forfeitures therein specified.

<sup>4</sup> The appointment of a commission for executing the penalties directed by certain statutes and proclamations has been noticed in p. 403. I am not aware that any records of its operations have been preserved; but Strype suggests, with much probability, that it was calculated to increase the oppressions, and consequent discontent, of the people; "and

folke *erased*) for riotes, oppressions, planting and graffing of trees, for the seise of wodde and billet, forstalling and regrating.

20. The offensis and forfeites of the merchauntis of the stilliard.<sup>1</sup>

21. The calling of a parliament,<sup>2</sup> for to get some subsidie, in respect of defence of th'Englishmen that be robbid by the Frenchmen.<sup>3</sup>

22. Sale of certein juels to the summe of 15,000 li.

23. Examining how the sale of the fustians is made,<sup>4</sup> and also of the copar.

24. The borrowing of the merchauntis clothes<sup>5</sup> (*erased*).

25. The borowing of the stapullers (*struck out, but rewritten as No. 24*).

26. Guidotte's obligations to be poursewed.<sup>6</sup>

27. Taking ordre for the mines in Irland.<sup>7</sup>

(he adds) I am apt to think the hand of Northumberland was with the King in this; whose father had put it into the head of the King's grandfather to take his advantage upon his subjects for the breaking of old obsolete laws, which had pecuniary penalties annexed to them. But it cost him his head." (Eccles. Memorials, ii. 345.) King Edward, however, anticipated that exacting forfeits from those who had "willingly devoured their neighbours, and broken the law," would "do much good:" see p. 550.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 402.

<sup>2</sup> The parliament, which had been continued from the first year of the King's reign, was dissolved on the 15th April, 1552. A new parliament was summoned, and met on the 1st of March following.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 450 (note), 459.

<sup>4</sup> In Aug. 1552, the King agreed to take 6,000 li. in fustians from the Fuggers of Antwerp, as a condition of their postponing the payment of their loan (Strype, Memorials, ii. 325). But, from the King's next paper, No. XIII. it appears that he was, in all, burthened with fustians which amounted to the nominal value of 14,000*l*.

<sup>5</sup> Of this transaction the King states the particulars in his Journal, Oct. 3, 1552, at p. 460. The "merchants adventurers," as the King there terms them, and the staplers, were probably the same parties, though more correctly these were the designations of two distinct corporations. The merchants of the Staple, which was fixed at Calais, were surpassed in the extent of their transactions by the Adventurers, who had their factory at Antwerp. See Burgon's Life and Times of Gresham, i. 187.

<sup>6</sup> Guidotti was an Italian merchant settled at Southampton, who had been favoured with peculiar privileges. See p. 256, note.

<sup>7</sup> See pp. 416, 425.



## For Religion.

1. A catechisme to be set furth for to be taughte in al grammer scholis.<sup>1</sup>

2. An uniformite of doctrine, to wich al preachers shuld set their handis toe.<sup>2</sup>

3. Commissions to be graunted to thos bishops that be grave, learned, wise, sober, and of good religion, for th'executing of discipline.<sup>3</sup>

4. To find faute with the sloughfulnes of the pastors,<sup>4</sup> and to deliver them articles of visitation, willing and commaunding them to be more diligent in their office, and to keap more preachers.

5. (Th'amending *altered* to) Th'abrogating of th'old canon law, and establishment of a new.<sup>5</sup>

6. The dividing of the bishoprike of Durham into tow, and placing of men in them.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This was done shortly after. It was not the Church catechism published in the Book of Common Prayer, but a considerably longer composition, written in Latin. There were three editions printed in 1553, by the three printers, Grafton, Day, and Wolfe; and the Articles of Religion were attached. Its author was Alexander Nowell, the master of Westminster school, and afterwards dean of St. Paul's. An English translation, by Thomas Norton, was printed in 1570. In the LXXIXth canon of 1603 it is named as "the larger catechism heretofore by public authority set forth:" see a full account of it in Beloe's *Anecdotes of Literature*, vol. iii. 22. It was edited for the Parker Society, together with Norton's translation, by the Rev. G. B. Corrie, B.D. 1853, 8vo.; and it is also reprinted (in English) in the Religious Tract Society's volume of the "Writings of Edward the Sixth," &c.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* the articles, upon which see a previous note in p. 377.

<sup>3</sup> On the large proportion of the bishops that could not be trusted see before, p. 478.

<sup>4</sup> Strype (*Eccles. Memorials*, ii. 342) interprets the term "pastors" as meaning bishops; but he is certainly mistaken. The term refers to rectors and incumbents of parishes, who in the articles of inquiry attached to the royal Injunctions of 1547 were required to preach, or cause to be preached, a sermon in their churches at least once in every quarter of the year.

<sup>5</sup> See the note in p. 397.

<sup>6</sup> This measure was provided by a private act of parliament 7 Edw. VI.; which,

7. The placing of Harley into the bishoprike of Hereford.<sup>1</sup>
8. The making of more homelies.<sup>2</sup>
9. The making of more injunctions.<sup>3</sup>
10. The placing of one in a bishoprike in Irland wich Turnar of Caunterbury hath refused.<sup>4</sup>

For the strenght and wealth of the realme.

1. The fortetieng of Portesmouth.<sup>5</sup>
2. The fortetieng of Berwike<sup>6</sup> to be accomplished.
3. The reparation of Beaucastel in Tyndal.
4. Fortification at the blakbanke.
5. Amending the peir of Dover.<sup>7</sup>

after dissolving the ancient bishopric of Durham, instituted two bisnoprics in its place, one at Durham with 2,000 marks annual rent, and one at Newcastle with 1,000: whereupon the dean of Durham, Robert Horne, was designated bishop of that see (see p. 464). But the King's death ensued before this arrangement was completed; the act of parliament was repealed, and bishop Tunstall reinstated.

<sup>1</sup> John Harley, who had been tutor to the duke of Northumberland's children, and was one of the King's chaplains (see p. 377), was consecrated to the see of Hereford on the 26th May, 1553, and shortly after deprived by queen Mary as being a married man.

<sup>2</sup> The first book of Homilies was set forth in the year 1547, and has been noticed in p. 214. Except two occasional homilies, on Rebellion in 1549, and on Pestilence in 1553, no more were issued in King Edward's reign. Certain homilies were set forth by bishop Bonner in 1555; but the second book of the Homilies of the Church of England was not issued until 1563; and the last homily in that book, directed against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion, was not added until 1571, having been put forth separately in 1570, in consequence of the rebellion in the North. See the Index to the Works of the Parker Society, p. 397. In 1850 the Syndics of the Press at Cambridge published an edition of the Homilies, which was prepared for them by the Rev. Dr. Corrie, Master of Jesus college and Norrisian professor of Divinity in that university; and the Rev. John Griffiths, late Fellow and Tutor of Wadham college, is now engaged in preparing another edition for the Delegates of the Press at Oxford.

<sup>3</sup> The King's Injunctions of 1547 have been noticed in p. 214. No others were issued by royal authority during this reign.

<sup>4</sup> As related in p. 488.

<sup>5</sup> See pp. 417, 443.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 439.

<sup>7</sup> In 1537, shortly before King Edward's birth, his royal father and mother went to inspect the pier at Dover, "to the King's great cost and charge then begun."

6. Amending Sandwich haven.
7. Repairing of Dover castle and haven.
8. Amending the gitty at Cales.
9. Fortifieng of (Risbanke *altered to*) Neumanbrige.<sup>1</sup>
10. Making of storehouses at Guines.<sup>2</sup>
11. To strenghthen the havens of Falmouth and Dartmouthe.<sup>3</sup>
12. The making of more great ordinaunce of the copar in the Towre, and the belmetal.
13. Provision for more armure.
14. Provision for more piques, hagbutes, staves, bowstafes, billes, et<sup>c</sup>.
15. Sending commissioners to vieu the state of the realme for keping of greathorses, wither they do observe the statute made concerning the same.<sup>4</sup>
16. To devise of tow martres, one at Hul, another at Hampton.<sup>5</sup>
17. To bring more artes into the realme,<sup>6</sup> so that al may not stand by clothinge.

*This paper is indorsed by Secretary Cecill,*

" 10. The Kynges Ma<sup>t</sup>. Memoryal. LXXXI. (13 Octob. 1552.)"

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<sup>1</sup> Risebank and Newmanbridge were fortresses outside Calais, one towards the sea, and the other on the land side: see p. 455.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 277, 278, 385, 490.

<sup>3</sup> This was probably suggested by Stukeley's story that the French had an eye upon those places: see p. 455.

<sup>4</sup> An act had been passed 1 Edw. VI. cap. 5, prohibiting the exportation of horses out of the realm, without the King's licence under his great seal or privy signet; and, in consequence of the wars on the continent, which created a demand for horses there, a proclamation was issued on the 5th Oct. 1552, to enforce the observance of that act. The same prohibition had been enacted by an act 11 Hen. VII. and by several statutes of Henry VIII.

<sup>5</sup> The project detailed in No. IX. of these papers, but never carried into effect.

<sup>6</sup> See the King's wishes in this respect described by him *antea*, p. 486.

## XIII. MEMORIALS TO WAYS AND MEANS, 1552.

[MS. Lansdowne 1236, fol. 21. In the King's autograph.]

Payments of dettis beyondsea . . . . . 200,000 li.

|                                    |         |               |
|------------------------------------|---------|---------------|
| My dettis owing me . . . . .       | 100,000 | } 200,000 li. |
| The subsedy . . . . .              | 80,000  |               |
| Church plate superfluous . . . . . | 20,000  |               |

I thinke this way best, bicause it shal make thinges to be loked for that els wold paraventure be lost, as church plate, wich as men say is dayly conveyed away; and so the bullion may remain still, and the land not sold, wich if it were to be spent were bettir bestowed hereafter on those that have served, than sold to auditours or penmen, who having store of mony wold bye it.

20,000 in the houshold.

10,000 of the mintes.

10,000 of mychelmas rent.

|                                  |             |
|----------------------------------|-------------|
| The treasure I have of . . . . . | 100,000 li. |
| The bullion . . . . .            | 34,000 li.  |
| The land . . . . .               | 3,000 li.   |
| The fustians . . . . .           | 14,000 li.  |

The forfaites, wich being asked of those persons that have willingly devoured their neighbours, and broken the law, wil doe much good.

The arrerages of the surveiours and auditours of the courtes, shal be left for a treasure, or not dismembrid by theis payments.

At the back, in Cecill's hand—

36 No. XL.  
K. Edw<sup>ds</sup>  
Memoryall.

In another hand—

11 A°. 1552.  
The King's Memorials.

The financial operations of sir Thomas Gresham were wonderfully successful in liquidating this debt. "As for exsampell: the exchange in Kinge Edwardes time, when I



beganne this practise, was but 16 s. Dyd I not raise it to 23 s., and paid his whole detts after 20 s. and 22 s.? Wherby wooll fell in price from 26 s. 8 d. to 16 s., and cloths from lx li. a packe to xl and xxvj li. a packe, wythe all other our commodities, and forayners': whereby a number of clothiers gave over the making of cloths and kerseys. Wherein there was touched no man but the merchant, for to serve the prince's turn; which appeared to the face of the world that they were great losers; but to the contrary, in the end, when things were brought to perfection, they were great gainers thereby."—Sir T. Gresham to sir W. Cecill, 1 March, 1558-9, in *Burgon's Life and Times of Gresham*, i. 261. In a memorial addressed in the same year to queen Elizabeth, Gresham relates the course of his dealings in these transactions. First, he practised to overthrow the corporation of the Steelyard, whose interest it was to keep down the rate of exchange, being then at xv s. and xvj s. the pound, and the current money of England not in value x s.; and whose advantages were so great that, where other merchants paid xiv d. on the exportation of a cloth, they paid but ix d., and on the importation of wares they paid but iij d. (?) where other merchants paid xij d. (?), being a difference of v li. in the hundred. Next, Gresham "practissed with the Kinges majestie to come in credit with his owne marchantes; and when time servid I practised with them at a sett shippinge, the exchange beinge still at xvj s. thatt every man showld paye the Kinge xv s. upon a cloth in Anwerppe, to paye at doble usans xx s. in London, whiche the Kinges majestie payd them riallye, which did amountte to the some of lx M<sup>l</sup> li. Ande so, vj. monthes after, I practissed the like upon ther comodities ffor the some off lxx M<sup>l</sup> li. to paye ffor every pounce starlinge xxij s.: so by thes meanes I maide plenty off mony and scarstie, and brought into the Kinges handes, which raised the exchange to xxij s. iv d. And by thes meanes I did nott only bringe the Kinges majestie your brother out off deptt, wherby I savid hime vj or vij s. upon the pounce, but savid his tresore within the reallme, as ther in mr. secretary Sissille was most privie unto." (*Burgon*, i. 484: derived from the *Burghley papers*, but through a transcript, which is perhaps not perfectly accurate, either in its figures or in some of its expressions.)

"A brief declaration of the whole account of your Ma<sup>ties</sup> servant Thomas Gressham, mercer, of all such sums of money as he hath received and paid in the town of Antwerp for your Ma<sup>ties</sup> behoof, since the 1st of March anno 1552, until the 27th of July, 1552," is partly printed by *Strype*, *Memorials*, ii. 326, and is preserved in MS. Cotton. Galba, B. xii.

XIV. ARTICLES FOR THE DESPATCH OF CAUSES BY THE PRIVY COUNCIL.  
JAN. 15, 1552-3.

[MS. Cotton, Nero C. x. fol. 81.]

Bishop Burnet, when editing this paper in his History of the Reformation, remarks, "This seems not to be the King's hand, but is interlined in many places by him." I am, however, of opinion that it is in the King's autograph, and a specimen of his best penmanship.

Certein articles devised and delivered by y<sup>e</sup>  
kinges M<sup>ty</sup>, for the quikker, better, and  
more orderlie dispatch of causes, by  
his M<sup>ties</sup> prevy counsel.

[15 Janu. 1552. R. E. 6<sup>th</sup>. 6<sup>to</sup>.]

First, his M<sup>ty</sup> willeth, that al sutes, petitions, and commen warrauntis, delivered to his prevy counsel, be considerid by them (on the Mondays in the morning, *inserted*), and aunswered also on the Mondays (*altered to Saturdays at afternon*), and that that (*altered to thos*) day, and none others, be assigned to that purpos.

Secondarilie, that in aunswering of thos sutes, and bils of petition, hede be taken that so many of them as partaine to any court of his M<sup>ties</sup> lawes, be as much as may be referred to those courtes whear by order they are triable. (*Added*, such as cannot be endid without them be with expedition determined.)

Thirdly, that in making of thos warrauntis for mony that passe by them, it be forsene that thos warrauntes be not such as may alredey be dispatched by warraunt dormaunt, least by meanes of such warrauntes the accomptes shuld be uncertain.

Fourthly, his M<sup>ties</sup> pleaur is, that on the Sondays<sup>1</sup> they intend the publique affairs of this realme, they dispatch aunswars to lettars for the good ordre of the realme, and make ful dispatches of al thinges concluded the weke before.

<sup>1</sup> Provided that on sondays they be present at common prayer.—*Sidenote added in the King's current hand.*

Fifthly, that on the Monday in the morning (*altered to afternone, and then to Sondag night*) the secretaries, or on of them, shal deliver to his M<sup>ti</sup> a memorial of such thinges as ar to be debatid by his prevy counsel, and then his M<sup>ti</sup> to point certein of them to be debatid on several days, videlicet (Monday afternone, *inserted*), Tuesday, Wenesday, Thursday, and Friday (and Saturday morning *added, but struck out*).

Sixtly, that on (Saterdag in the morning, *altered to*) Friday at afternone they shal make a collection of such things as have bene done the fowr days past, how many of thos articles they have concluded, how many they have debatid but not ended, and how many the time suffered not to peruse, and also the principall reasons that moved them to conclude on such matters as semith doutful.

Seventhly, that on Saterdag (at afternone, *altered to*) morning they shal present this collection to his M<sup>ti</sup>, and know his pleasure upon such thinges as they have concluded (and also upon al the privat sutes, *added*).

Eightly, that on (Monday, *altered to*) Sondag night again his M<sup>ti</sup>, having received of the secretaries such neu matter as hath arisen upon neu occasion, with such matters as his counsel have left, som not determined, and sum not debatid, shal point out what matters, and on wich days, shal be determined the next weke folowing.

Ninthly, that non of them depart the (*altered to his*) court for longer then tow days, without there be left hiee at the least eight of the councaile, and that not without geving notice therof to the Kinges M<sup>ti</sup>.

Tenthly, that they shal make no maner of assemble or meting in council without ther be to the number of fowre at the least.

11. Furdermore, if they be assembled to the number of 4 and under the number of sixe, then they shal reason and debat things, examen al inconveniences and daungers, and also commodites on each side, make thos thinges plaine wich seme diffuse at the first opening, and

if they agre amongst them selfis, then at the next ful assemble of sixe they shal make a parfaiete conclusion and end with them.

12. Also, if ther rise such mater of waight as it shal please the King's Majestie himself to be at the debating of, then warning shal be given, whearby the more may be at the debating of it.

13. If such matter happen to rise as shal require long debating and reasoning, oreare it cum to a ful conclusion or ende, then his M<sup>tis</sup> counsel shal not entermedil other causes, nor fal to other matters for that day, until they have brought it to some (good, *struck out*) end.

14. When matters for lakke of time be only debatid, and yet brought to no (goo *erased*) ende, then it shal be notid how farre and to what point the matter is brought, and wich have ben the principal reasons on eche side, to th'intent when the matter is treated or spoken of again, it may the soner and easlier come to conclusion.

15. In matters that be long, tedious, and busie, ther may be pointed or chosen tow or thre, or more, or lesse, as the case shal seme to require, to prepare, set forth, and make plain thos matters, and to bring report therof, whearby the things being lesse cumbrous and diffuse, may the easlier be dispacht.

16. Finally, if upon advertisments, lettars, or other occasions whatsoever, ther arise matters of great (expedition *erased*) importaunce that require hast, his M<sup>tis</sup> meaninge is not but that such matters be waied, considered, and determined,

notwithstanding the articles pointed

to several days, so that neverthe-

les this ordre be not ge-

nerally or communly

broken.

FINIS.



The following were afterwards added in the King's running hand:—

17. That al warrauntis for reward above 40 li. and for his busines or affaires above 100 li., passe not but undre his signature.

18. That no privat sute be entermedlid with the great affaires, but hard on the Mondays alone.

19. If ther be under 4, and a matter of expedition arise, they shal declare it to the Kinges M<sup>ti</sup>, and before him debat it, but not send aunsware without it require wonderful hast.

*Indorsed, apparently by the King himself:*

For the counsail,  
15 Januarij, 1552°.   
R. R. E. 6<sup>1</sup> 6°.

#### XV. HISTORICAL NOTES RESPECTING THE ENGLISH OCCUPATION OF FRANCE IN THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SIXTH.

[MS. Cotton. Nero C. x. fol. 89. In the King's autograph.]

We have no evidence to determine whether these papers were compiled merely as an historical exercise, or whether the King's attention was directed to them with some political view, which is possible, considering the threatening posture of France in the latter part of his reign. The King appears to have derived his information from the collections formed by William of Worcestre, the secretary of sir John Fastolfe, K.G. when that renowned captain was governor of the county of Mâyne, in Normandy. A large volume of those collections is among the Arundel MSS. in the College of Arms, No. 48; and a book of transcripts of others (made in the seventeenth century apparently, and not in the reign of Henry VIII. as the Catalogue states,) is among the MSS. of the Society of Antiquaries, No. 41. The contents of those two volumes have been described in Black's Catalogue of the Arundel Manuscripts, 8vo. 1829, pp. 83 et seq., and in the Catalogue of the Manuscript of the Society of Antiquaries, 4to. 1816, pp. 17—19. King Edward must have had before him some other portion of the same collections.

Jhon duke of Bedford, 1427 et 28.<sup>1</sup>

[5] erlis in Normandy.

6 barons.

74 knightes.

Of wich knightes th'erl of Ormondes sonne after (erl), th'erl of Arrondel's brother after erl, 3 barons sonnes, 8 banerets, 61 knightes bachalairs.

Gien,—3 barons, 2 bannerets, 6 knightes.

Lordes of Fraunce that cam in,—

3 dukes, Jhon of Burgoin, Phelip of Burgoin, Duke of Cleve.

7 barons.

19 knightes.

The revenu of the realme of Fraunce,<sup>2</sup> besid allowances to officers, bildings, and reparations, and other necessary charges, is 129,240 frances; wich, rekening 9 frances to the pound English (as then it was), cam to 14,360 poundes, out of wich was paid in pensions by the treaty 50,040 frances, wich maketh English 5,560 poundes, also to counceLOURS attending upon the regent 20,520 frances, wich is English 2,280 poundes. To officers in the law, keepers of recordes, of houses, wardrops, gardens, lions, to herolds, workmen, embassators, postes, and to th'erl of Warwik for laying siege to Pontarson 79,410 frances, wich maketh English 8,823 li. 6 s. 8 d. Item for keping of 25 fortresses in Fraunce allowed to the capitaines 45,550

<sup>1</sup> "A declaration of all the severall sortes of chivalry and others which were in France with the duke of Bedfforde," will be found in the Society of Antiquaries' volume, at fol. 50. It resembles the above, but not entirely. The five English earls were Warwick, Salisbury, Arundel, Suffolk, and Essex.

<sup>2</sup> At fol. 54 of the same volume is "A declaration of the Revenewes of Fraunce, Normandie, and the counties of Mayn, Harecourte, and Dreux, in the time of John duke of Bedford, Regent of Fraunce, from the first day of October, 1427, untill the last daye of September, 1428:" evidently a similar document to that seen by King Edward. The first total sum, however, is 128,240 francs, or 14,248 pounds; and the following statements, though similar, are not identical.

francs, wich is English 5,061 li. and one france over. Summa totalis of the charge being 175,000 fr. that is to say, 19,444 li. 8 s. 10 d. ob. q. excedeth the revenu wich is but 129,240 f. 14,360 li. by the summe of 40,561 fr. : *id est* 5,173 8 s. 10 d. ob. q. besides 8,000 francs wich came by a new crew, so that the hole overcharg is, 6,062 li. 2 s. 10 d. ob. q.

The revenu of the Duchy of Normandy, together with a subside graunted by the three estates of 160,000 fr., amounteth in the yeare of our Lord 1433 to the summe of 320,000 francs, wich maketh English 35,555 li. and 5 francs odde.

Out of wich in special payments by treatyes, pensions, officers of the law, heraltes, messangers, et<sup>c</sup>. 123,600 francs, wich is English 13,733 li. 6 s. 8 d. Item for soldiours wages and garrisons 250,260 francs, wich is English 27,806 li. 13 s. 4 d. So that the overcharge of Normandy commeth to 53,860 francs, wich maketh English 5,984 li. and four francs odde.

*Memorandum.* Ther were 57 capitaines of fortresses, and they had 367 lances on horsbake, of wich ware 4 knightes bannerets, and 20 knightes bacchalairs. They had 389 lances afoot, and 2,415 archers. The wages of a lance afoot lakked somewhat of sixpence a day, and was more then 5 (d.) ob. The archiers had every yeare nere about 6 li. 16 s. As for the lances on horsbake, bicause ther be ceirtein bannerets and knights that had more then the rest, it can not be perfaitly judged what they had. But it shuld appere they had after the rate of 14 de. by the day, and so ther is left 141 li. to be destributed upon the knightes wages.

The revenu of the county of Mayne and cite of Mans was 56,200 francs, wich is English 6,244 poundes and 4 francs odde, the yeare of our Lord God 1434.

Out of wich payd to 121 lances on horsbak, 34 lances afoot, and 510 archers in 4 garrisons, of wich one was kept but seven monthes, and had in one lance on horsbake tow on fote, and 30 archiers, the somme of 55,362 francs, wich is English 6,151 li. 8 s. Item paid

to juges, baylifs, and counceLOURS 725 fr. wich maketh English 80 pound and 5 francs, so that the overcharge of Mayne was 112 francs, that is to say, 12 li. 6 s. 8 d. English.

*Notandum.* That the regent in recompens of sarvice gave away land to the value of 60,000 francs. Also in thos garnisons, and also ther was no difference of wages bitwext the enseinberer, wifler, (and) muster master. No man had more wages on(e) then another, except he were a capitaine of a fort, a knight, or a lord.

Sir Jhon Fastol's counsel.<sup>1</sup>

That the offre made by the French at Arras, wich was that Henry the sixt shuld enjoy peasably the duchie of Normandy as of the French king, shuld be refused.

*Ratio* 1<sup>a</sup>. Bicause the title to Fraunce by this treaty shuld be lost. 2<sup>a</sup>. Bicause the king shuld be said to be of no power. 3<sup>a</sup>. Bicause the French, seing avauntage, wold breake and winne Normandy. Bettir war it for us to take our avauntage.

2. If the king wol no warre, then ceirtein forraine princes, to (be) assigned equally by both parties, to take up the mattier, and not to stand to the enimes limitation.

3. If warre be to be made, then this way to be followed—

1. First, no siege to be laid except upon some notable strait passage or way, whearby as moch land may be conquered withal as wil beare the chargis therof. For laing of sieges spendeth men, money, and time, and winneth litle cuntree.

2. That tow noble men be sent ech with 700 spearis, and they to march severally 10 leagues in distaunce, and upon necessiti to joine, and to burn and wast the countrie as they goe, sparing nothing. For, offre being made to the French that men of warre shuld only medle with men of warre, and not spoyle the countree, they refused

<sup>1</sup> A long paper of sir John Fastolfe's counsel, given to Edward duke of Somerset in 28 Hen. VI. occurs in the MS Soc. Ant. 41, but it is not identical with the above.



it. Also they, bicause they have ben rebellis to Harry the sixt, must in no wise be sparid.

(*Another sheet.*) Part of sir Jhon Fastolf's councel.

3. That 500 spears besides the garnisons be left in Normandy, both to spoile, wast, and subdew the countreys of Anjow, Maine, Chartrayne, and Britaine, as also to soccoure and relieve the garnisons if any invasion shuld be made. Thies nombres of 1,900 spears to be kept only thies monthes, July, August, September, October, November.

4. That the sea be strongly kept, and that the tounes of Normandy and England put-to their helping handes.

5. That no sanctuary shuld serve traitours, conspiratours, or rebels.

6. Bicause Flaunders is under the duke of Burgoine, who favourith the French, that alliaunce be made with Venise or Jenoa, for uttring our clothes.

7. That the great tounes of Normandy be bettir fortified.

8. That the duchy of Normandy be governed by Englishmen, and not to(o) much by Frenchmen borne.

9. If siege be to be leid to any place, than an army to be levied, both to socour the siege and also to resist the enemy if he shuld invade another way.

#### FINIS.

Articles <sup>1</sup> desiered by Richard duke of York, for the gouvernaunce of Fraunce when he received the same by endenture 18<sup>o</sup> H<sup>i</sup>. 6<sup>i</sup>.

1. To have like power or commission as the duke of Bedford had.

2. To have thre of theis nine, of every estat on(e), to be of the council of Fraunce.

|                          |                        |                    |
|--------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| The bishop of Lincolne.  | The vicount of Bemont. | Sir Rauf Botiller. |
| The bishop of Norwich.   | The L. Fannhop.        | Sir Jhon Stourton. |
| The bishop of Salisbury. | The L. Hungerford.     | Sir Jhon Popham.   |

<sup>1</sup> The document from which this is abstracted will be found at length at fol. 52 of the same volume.

3. To have 20,000 li. redely, truely and at dayes payd to him, out of England in time of warre. If truce cam, then to rebate the greatnes of that charge; likewise if townes were to be besieged, and great armies levied, then to be augmented to him.

4. Item, for his owne diet he desired 36,000 francis, wich is 4,000 li. English.

5. He desired 6 great gunnis, iiij dd. of stones of Maideston, 12 great foulers likwis fornisht, 12 last of saltpetre, 12 gonners, 2 maistre gonners, and 12 yemen gonners, 1,000 speris, 4,000 bowes, 12,000 shevis of arrows, 200 gross of strings, 200 long panes of ordinaunce, 2,000 of lead, with cariage for the same.

6. He desired in case he shuld besiege Hareflew or Diep, a navy might be sent of 2,000 men, both to let the hering fish, wich is a great comfort and vitayling to Diep, and also to give fre passage for Englishmen that wold trafique to Roane.

7. He desired licence to carie vitaille to soch tounes as by seage or otherwise shuld have nead, out of England, paijng therefore.

8. He required to have a good bande of knightes and squiris, of such as might be forborne and entreatyd to goe.

9. If he die in service, then none accompt to be asked of him of that receipt of mony.

10. If any of theis articles be brokin, and the king certefied therof, then the said duke to leave his regency and come into England.

11. Bicause divers men having keping of castels in Fraunce for terme of life were not resident theron, ordre to be taken that if he were not resident another shuld be pointid to his place.

12. If mischaunce fal by battaile or rebellion, the said duke doing his devoire, that it be not laid to his charge.

13. To have such lettars as he shuld thinke good, under the king's great and priveseal.

FINIS.

## XVI. DEVISE FOR THE SUCCESSION TO THE CROWN, JUNE 1553.

[MS. Petyt, Inner Temple Library, vol. 47, f. 317. In the King's autograph.]

In pursuing the productions of King Edward's pen to the close of his life, we are now arrived at that extraordinary paper, which he was induced to frame on the suggestion of the duke of Northumberland, in the hope of securing the maintenance of the Protestant faith, and for which purpose he was content to disinherit both his sisters, as well as his cousins of Scotland.

Several acts of parliament passed in his father's reign had encouraged a theory that the succession to the crown was in the sovereign's power of appointment.<sup>1</sup> By the 28th Hen. VIII. cap. 7, it was limited to the issue that might arise from the King's marriage with queen Jane (Seymour), and in default thereof it was enacted "that your highness shall have full and plenar power and authority to give, dispose, appoint, assign, declare, and limit by your letters patent under your great seal, or else by your last will made in writing, and signed with your most gracious hand, at your only pleasure, from time to time hereafter, the Imperial Crown of this Realm." By the 35th Hen. VIII. cap. 1, the ladies Mary and Elizabeth, though both then illegitimate by former acts of parliament, were placed next in succession in default of issue of their brother or further issue of the King, but "with such conditions as by his highness shall be limited by his letters patent, under his great seal, or by his majesty's last will in writing, signed with his gracious hand." On the failure of all the King's three children and their issue, the succession in reversion or remainder was to be limited by the King's appointment as before, according to the terms already recited of the act 28 Hen. VIII.

In pursuance of the enactment of his 35th year, King Henry VIII. made a will, and by that will the crown was to devolve, 1. on his son Edward, and the heirs of his body; 2. on his own heirs by queen Katharine (Parr), or any other future wife; 3. on his daughter Mary; 4. on his daughter Elizabeth; 5. on the heirs of the body of his niece the lady Frances; 6. on those of her sister the lady Eleanor; 7. on the next rightful heirs. In the event of either the lady Mary or the lady Elizabeth marrying without the consent of the privy council, they were respectively to be passed over as if dead without lawful issue.

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<sup>1</sup> A review of the various embarrassments in which the question of the succession was involved by the many inconsistent enactments of Henry VIII. is given at the commencement of Mary's reign by the historian Rapin, who justly remarks, that those laws had been successively framed, not in justice or equity, nor with a proper regard for the welfare of the country, but entirely in compliance with the arbitrary dictation of a monarch to whom it was dangerous to refuse anything.

These, then, formed the precedents on which the duke of Northumberland assumed that the succession might again be modified according to the wishes of the reigning monarch, expressed by letters patent; and by a last will—to be confirmed by act of parliament, as the opportunity for such ratification might arrive.

The main difference of King Edward's devise from King Henry's settlement consisted in the total exclusion of his two sisters.<sup>1</sup> In the exclusion of the descendants of his aunt Margaret queen of Scots, on whom the crown ultimately devolved after the lapse of half a century, he merely followed the precedent of his father's will.

But one of the most remarkable features of this Devise is this, that, as originally drawn, it contemplated only a male successor. We have to remember that England had as yet obeyed no reigning Queen. The empress Maud, and Margaret countess of Richmond, had been instances of heiresses living whilst their sons sat on the throne; and the claims of the heiress of the house of York, though secured by marriage, had received no such acknowledgment of a joint title as a monarch more generous than Henry VII. might have conceded.<sup>2</sup> Henry VIII. had indeed bequeathed the crown in contingent remainder to his daughters; but, after them, the next remainder created by his will was "to the heirs of the body of the lady Frances" his niece, not to the lady Frances herself. Thus the duchess of Suffolk had been already passed over by Henry VIII. as she was now again by King Edward. Following the like scheme throughout, all the other female heirs were passed over in favour of their male issue not yet born. Now it was an extraordinary circumstance in the state of the blood royal at this period, that, whilst the living descendants of Henry VII. were (exclusive of the Scottish line<sup>3</sup>) seven in

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<sup>1</sup> They are not even named in the King's devise: but in the final settlement, or letters patent, their title as founded on their father's will is first recited, and then declared inadmissible on these three grounds,—1. their illegitimacy; 2. their being of half-blood to the King; 3. the probability of their marrying a stranger born out of the realm. It is worthy of remark, that their right of inheritance had been recognised by parliament during their brother's reign; in the act passed in 1548, for the attainder of lord Seymour of Sudley, in which the lady Elizabeth is termed "second personne in the remaynder of the state of successyon to the Crowne of this Realme after your Majestie and theires of your bodye."—Act 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 18. Statutes of the Realm, iv. 63.

<sup>2</sup> England had not hitherto known what John Knox shortly after called "the monstrous regiment of women," except that Henry VIII. on his expeditions to France, had left his queens as regents. The office of regent in Flanders, however, was at this time ably administered by the emperor's sister. Spain had honoured her Ferdinand and Isabella, as England was shortly to acknowledge her Philip and Mary.

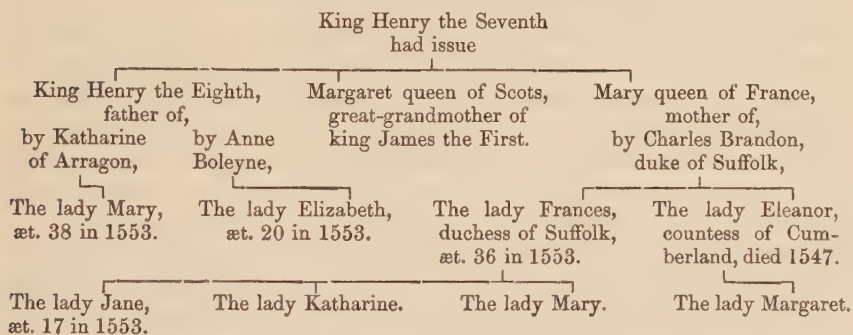
<sup>3</sup> Henry VIII. had already preferred the descendants of his younger sister the queen of France to those of his elder sister the queen of Scots, who were considered as debarred from the inheritance as aliens by birth. In contrast to which, it was "called to our



number of the female sex, there was not one male except King Edward himself.<sup>1</sup> It was this fact that conferred genealogical importance, in the political speculations of the time,

remembrance (as King Edward is made to say in his letters patent) that the daughters of the lady Frances and the lady Eleanor were "of the whole blood and naturall-born within the realm."

<sup>1</sup> Table showing the heirs female in remainder to the Crown, named in the Will of Henry VIII. and the Devise of Edward VI.



Queen Elizabeth, when she died in 1603, in the 70th year of her age, was the survivor of all these ladies.

The duchess of Suffolk, having been remarried to her servant Adrian Stock esquire, died in 1559.

The lady Jane, for nine days queen in 1553, came to her untimely end in the following year.

Her sister the lady Katharine, having been rejected by her betrothed husband the lord Herbert of Cardiff, secretly united herself to the earl of Hertford in 1561, and died a state prisoner in 1567. Her representative is the duke of Buckingham and Chandos.

The lady Mary (following rather the example of her mother's alliance with Adrian Stock than the apparently more hazardous steps of her sisters) demeaned herself by a secret match with Thomas Keyes, the queen's serjeant porter, in 1565, but her punishment was no less, for she was also a prisoner so long as her husband lived, that is, until 1571; she died, without issue, in 1578.

The lady Margaret was married in 1555, with queen Mary's sanction, to Henry lord Strange, afterwards the fourth earl of Derby, and died in 1596. Her eldest heir of blood is believed to be the earl of Jersey: see "Royal Descents, a Genealogical List of the several persons entitled to Quarter the Arms of the Royal Houses of England. 1845." 4to.

Of the descendants of Margaret queen of Scots there were living in 1553: 1. her granddaughter Mary Queen of Scots, then in her 11th year, and affianced to the Dauphin of France; 2. her daughter Margaret countess of Lennox, then in her 38th year; and 3.

on the earl of Devonshire, as a male descendant of King Edward IV. and on cardinal Pole, as the male descendant and representative of George duke of Clarence.

The first limitation of King Edward's settlement was to the lady Frances's issue male, born before the King's death, and in default of such issue to the lady Jane's heirs male. This arrangement would have fully answered the duke of Northumberland's ambitious views, had King Edward survived the birth of a son to the lady Jane. In that case the infant would have succeeded to the crown immediately on King Edward's death, and Northumberland would have been grandfather of the actual monarch and invested with sovereign power as his Protector or Regent.

But the rapid decline of the King's health did not allow time for this project to arrive at maturity. It became necessary to name some existing person as an immediate successor, and to terminate an arrangement, which, designating only a future and unborn heir, might have the effect of placing the crown in abeyance. Under these circumstances, the obvious course would have been to prefer the lady Frances, she being the first in order of the heirs female already nominated. This did not suit Northumberland's purpose. It would have had the effect of transferring his own power into the hands of the duke of Suffolk, the lady's husband. Besides, the duchess of Suffolk was still a young woman (she was seventeen months younger<sup>1</sup> than the King's sister Mary,) and might live long. She might even yet have a son, if not by her present by a future husband, and thus totally exclude Northumberland's posterity.

The next alternative was to appoint the lady Jane to be the positive heir to the throne. This was actually done, by altering the words

——— "to the L' Janes heires masles,"

into "to the L' Jane and her heires masles."

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Henry lord Derneley, the elder son of the countess (afterwards married to the queen of Scots), then in his 8th year.

The claim of the queen of Scots, as coming of the elder sister, was not forgotten by the emperor, who attributed the French king's countenance of the proceedings in favour of the lady Jane to the circumstance of "monsieur le Dolphin having the daughter of Scotland," and consequently wishing to set aside the daughters of Henry VIII. Letter of the English ambassadors at Brussels, 20 July, 1553.

The lady Margaret, countess of Lennox, could not be desired by the Protestants, for she was considered more hostile to their religion than even the English Mary herself, as is mentioned in a letter of bishop Jewel to Peter Martyr, in the Zurich Letters. She was a favourite companion of Mary.

<sup>1</sup> The lady Frances was born 16 July, 1517. (Lodge's Illustrations, i. 27.) She was now therefore thirty-six; and Lord Orford was wrong in supposing her "not past thirty-one," in his remarks cited by Nicolas, *Memoir of Lady Jane Grey*, p. cviii.

In the King's autograph "Devise" a pen is drawn through the letter *s*, which still remains on the paper, and the words "and her" are written above the line.<sup>1</sup> The duke of Northumberland's immediate object, namely the succession of the lady Jane, was thus attained; and, for consistency's sake, her sisters the ladies Katharine and Mary were placed in the like condition of personal inheritance, in the letters patent, though this does not appear in the Devise; whilst the lady Margaret (Clifford) was still passed over, as in the Devise when first written, and (like the lady Frances) was named only as conveying a contingent remainder to her male issue.

It is obvious that the Duke of Northumberland embarked on an enterprise which had to pass many difficult stages before it could result in success. In the first place he had to reconcile the King to his views, next the council, thirdly the lawyers, fourthly the parliament, fifthly, and above all, the nation. In the first of these processes he had, so far as we know, little or no resistance: the King, probably chiefly influenced by religious arguments, not only assented to his minister's suggestions, but exercised his personal authority to

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hallam, in his Constitutional History, i. 40, has made some remarks on this alteration. "It appears (he observes) that the young King's original intention was to establish a modified Salic law, excluding females from the crown, but not their male heirs." Then, after quoting the "Devise," as given in Strype's Cranmer, and this decisive alteration, as shewn in Nares's Burghley, Mr. Hallam adds, "Mr. Nares does not seem to doubt but that this was done by Edward himself; the change, however, is remarkable, and should probably be ascribed to Northumberland's influence." It is obvious that the whole scheme, from first to last, is to be ascribed to Northumberland's influence; but it might be suspected that the decisive alteration was made by Northumberland after the paper had passed from the King's hands. Still, if the letters patent were afterwards duly read to him, he would be fully aware of this provision; but whether such was actually the case cannot be determined, nor, since the original of that document was destroyed, do we know whether Edward's signature prefixed to it was made by his own hand or by a stamp. Though the letters patent are dated the 21st June, there is reason to believe that many of the 101 signatures were not affixed until some days later (see p. 570). By the letters patent each of the daughters of the duchess of Suffolk were, in succession, made capable of inheriting the crown, the several remainders created being as follows:—

1. to the eldest son of the lady Frances that should be born into the world during the King's lifetime;
2. to the lady Jane;
3. to the lady Katharine;
4. to the lady Mary (Grey);
5. to the eldest son of the fourth daughter of the lady Frances (a person only *in posse*);
6. to the eldest son of the lady Margaret (Clifford);
7. to the eldest son of the eldest daughter of the lady Jane;
8. to the like of the lady Margaret;
9. to the like of the lady Mary;
10. to the like of the imaginary fourth daughter; and
11. to the like of the lady Margaret.

coerce the council and the lawyers. How the project was carried with these parties we are informed, by the apology of archbishop Cranmer,<sup>1</sup> and by the respective narratives of secretary Cecill<sup>2</sup> and chief justice Mountagu.<sup>3</sup> With a parliament, as parliaments were then, there can be little doubt of its success had it come to the trial. With the nation, when the struggle arrived, the duke's failure was entire, for no minister was ever more unpopular, or more generally hated, than this "tyrant" as he was called,<sup>4</sup> the merciless

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<sup>1</sup> Printed in Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, Appendix, No. lxxiv., and in the Parker Society's edition of *Cranmer's Works*, vol. ii. p. 442. The following is the substance of what passed on his interview with the King. "What I said therein, as well to the council as to himself, divers of your Majesties council can report: but none so wel as the marquess of Northampton, and the lord Darcy then lord chamberlain to the Kinges Majesty. Which two were present at the communication between the Kinges majesty and me. I desired to talk with the Kinges majesty alone, but I could not be suffered: and so I failed of my purpose. For if I might have commoned with the King alone, and at good leisure, my trust was, that I should have altered him from his purpose; but they being present my labour was in vain. Then, when I could not dissuade him from the said will; and both he and his privy council also informed me that the judges and his learned council said, that the act of entayling the crown, made by his father, could not be prejudicial to him, but that he, being in possession of the crown, might make his will therof; this seemed very strange unto me. But, being the sentence of the judges, and other his learned council in the lawes of this realm (as both he and his council informed me), methought it became not me, being unlearned in the law, to stand against my prince therin. And so at length I was required by the Kinges majesty himself to set-to my hand to his will, saying that he trusted that I alone would not be more repugnant to his will then the rest of the council were. Which words surely grieved my heart very sore. And so I granted him to subscribe his will, and to follow the same. Which when I had set my hand unto I did it unfainedly and without dissimulation."

<sup>2</sup> Printed in Nares's *Life of Lord Burghley*; in Howard's *Lady Jane Grey and her Times*, p. 310; and in Tytler's *Edward VI. and Queen Mary*, ii. 192.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in Fuller's *Church History*, Book viii. section 2.

<sup>4</sup> Among various proofs of this feeling see particularly the "Epistle of poor Pratte," printed in the Appendix to *The Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary*; and the examination of Elizabeth Huggons, noticed in the King's *Biographical Memoir*. We find Noailles attributing queen Jane's ill-success rather to the people's hatred of the overbearing duke than to their love for Mary—"toutes ces choses sont advenues plus pour la grande hayne que l'on porte à icelluy duc, qui a voulu tenir un chacun en craincte, que pour l'amitie que l'on a à ladicte royne." *Ambassades*, ii. 80.



"bear of Warwick." Besides, such was the people's sense of justice, and so entirely was their opinion of hereditary right involved in that sentiment, that even zealous and devoted Protestants were, from their honest and conscientious loyalty, among the most faithful supporters of the lady Mary.

To return to the mode of procedure in framing the legal settlement, as evidenced by the existing documents. The first step must have been some dictation to the youthful monarch, either in a written or oral form. The next was the King's drawing out, entirely with his own hand, "My devise for the succession" (the document which follows).

This Devise, "fyrst holly wrytten with his most gracious hande," was "after copied owt in his Majesties presence, by his most high commawndment, and confirmed with the subscription of his Majesties own hande," which was attached "in six severall places," probably to each of its six articles; and then it was "by his highnes delyveryd to certayn judges and other lerned men, to be wrytten in full order."<sup>1</sup> How these learned men undertook the task we are informed by the very curious narrative of the chief justice of the common pleas, sir Edward Mountagu. He relates that on the 11th June he received a letter from the council, summoning him to Greenwich on the morrow, and to bring with him sir John Baker (once attorney-general and then chancellor of the exchequer), justice Bromley, the attorney-general (Gryffyn), and the solicitor-general (Gosnold). They obeyed, and were brought into the presence of the King, with whom were the lord treasurer, the marquess of Northampton, sir John Gates, and one or two others of the council.

"And then and there the King by his own mouth said, that how in his sicknesse he had considered the state of their lives, realm, and succession, which, if he should decease without heir of his body, should go to the lady Mary, who was unmarried, and might marry a stranger-born, whereby the laws of this realm might be altered and changed, and his Highnesse' proceedings in religion might be altered. Wherefore his pleasure was that the state of the crown should go in such forme, and to such persons, as his Highnesse had appointed in a bill of articles now<sup>2</sup> signed with the King's hand, which were read, and commanded them to make a book thereof accordingly with speed."

Sir Edward Mountagu and his brother lawyers immediately found divers faults, not only for the uncertainty of the articles, but also because the Devise was directly against the Act of Succession, which, being an act of parliament, could not thus be taken away. Notwithstanding, his Highness would not otherwise but that they should draw a book

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<sup>1</sup> These expressions are quoted from the engagements of the leading members of the council, and their legal advisers, to maintain the settlement agreed upon, which is inserted hereafter, p. 572.

<sup>2</sup> "not signed," as printed by Fuller, but an evident error for *now*.

according to the said articles, "which he then took them," *i.e.* caused them to take, and they were dismissed with commandment to make speed.

On consultation on the morrow the lawyers were all agreed that it were the best and surer way to say to the lords that not only the execution of this Devise after the King's death would be treason, but that the making of it was presently treason, as well in the whole council as in them; and so they determined to make their report. They communicated this resolution to sir William Petre, at Ely-place; where the duke of Northumberland, being informed of their answer, suddenly "cometh into the council-chamber before all the council there, being in a great rage and fury, trembling for anger; and, amongst his ragio<sup>as</sup> talk, called sir Edward Mountagu traitour, and further said that he would fight in his shirt with any man in that quarrel." The lawyers, standing to their opinion, were soon after dismissed, but departed in great fear for their personal safety.

Northumberland found it necessary again to employ the supreme influence of the King's personal authority. In a council held at Greenwich on the next day, the 14th, it was resolved to summon the lawyers to attend a second time before their sovereign. They arrived at court by one of the clock in the afternoon of the 15th, and were "conveyed into a chamber behind the dining-chamber there, when all the lords looked upon them with earnest countenance, as though they had not known them, so that they might perceive there was some stedfast determination against them;" and at length they were brought before the King himself, the whole council being present.

The King, with sharp words and angry countenance, demanded of them why they had not made his book, according to his commandment; and still refused that to do? Sir Edward opened unto his Highness the cause why they did it not, and which they had before declared to the council,—that if the writings were made, they would be of no effect nor force, but utterly void when the King should decease, whilst the provisions of the Statute of Succession would be not impaired nor hurt; for the latter could not be taken away but by the same authority by which they were made, and that was by parliament. To that said the King: "We mind to have a parliament shortly;" not telling when, which was the first time that sir Edward had heard of any such intention. He then said, If his Highness's pleasure were so, all might be deferred to the parliament, and all perils and dangers saved. Whereunto the King replied that he would have this done, and after ratify it by parliament. Then he commanded them very sharply upon their allegiance to make it; and there were divers of the lords that stood behind sir Edward that said—"and if they refused to do that they were traitors." Sir Edward, being then "in great fear as ever he was in his life before, seeing the King so earnest and sharp, and the duke so angry the day before—who ruled the whole council as it pleased him, and they were all afraid of him (the more is the pity!) so that such cowardliness and fear was there never seen amongst honourable men—being an old man and without com-

fort, he began to consider with himself what was best to be done for the safeguard of his life." The chief justice bethought himself what legal loopholes there might be to excuse his compliance: "remembering that the making of the said writing was not presently treason by the statute of *anno primo*, because this word 'succession' would take no place while the King was living;" and also remembering that the lady Mary, on succeeding to the crown, "should come as a purchaser by the law," and "might not lawfully punish treason or contempt committed in the King's life;" he then said unto the King that, having served his most noble father many years, and also his Highness during his time, and being loath to disobey his commandment, he, for his own part, would obey it, provided that his Highness would grant to them his commandment, license, and commission, under his great seal, for the doing, making, and executing of all things concerning the same, and if further, when the things were done, they might have a general pardon. To these terms the King consented, saying it was but reason that they should have both the commission and the pardon. Sir Edward adds that the commission passed the great seal, and the pardon was signed and (so far as he knew) sealed.

The other lawyers were then put to the test. Mr. justice Bromley engaged to obey the King's commandment. The King then said to sir John Baker, "What say you? you said never a word to-day." He then (as sir Edward Mountagu believed) complied. The attorney-general Gryffyn was not present in this second interview with the council. "The solicitor (Gosnold) required a respite, for he was not yet persuaded to do the thing required: how the said duke and the earl of Shrewsbury handled him (adds Mountagu) he can best tell himself." At sir Edward's motion, the King "gave him license to be advised until upon the morrow," and then he was content to obey. "And so the doers and makers of the book, with sorrowful hearts, and with weeping eyes, in great fear and dread, devised the said book, according to such articles as were signed with the King's proper hand, above, and beneath, and on every side." The "book," when drawn on paper, was conveyed from the council to be engrossed on parchment, and to pass the great seal.

When the "book in parchment," as sir Edward terms it, or the actual letters patent, had received the great seal (on the 21st June), sir Edward Mountagu was again summoned to court, together with all the judges.<sup>1</sup> He then signed it, as did the chief justice of the King's bench (sir Roger Cholmley), the chief baron (Henry Bradshaw), sir Humphrey Browne, and sir William Portman, two of the judges. With them signed sir John Baker chancellor of the exchequer, James Dyer the King's serjeant, and John Gosnold the solicitor-general. The attorney-general (Gryffyn) seems already to have disappeared between the 12th and the 14th of June, and he consequently retained his place under Mary. The letters patent were signed in due precedence by the great officers of state

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Edward Mountagu says "all the judges," but the signatures of those lawyers only who are mentioned above are attached to the letters patent.

and peers, by eight heirs apparent of the great peers, and by lord Thomas Grey, younger brother of the duke of Suffolk; by the officers of the household; the secretaries of state, Petre, Cecill, and Cheke; then by the lawyers; by the remaining privy councillors; the knights of the privy chamber; and lastly by the lord mayor of London, with eighteen of the principal citizens, and the sheriffs of Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent. Altogether the document received 101 signatures: but there is reason to believe that they were not all attached at once, but rather as the parties could be found, notwithstanding that the due precedence was maintained throughout. It would seem that the hands of the citizens were not affixed until they were summoned to Greenwich on the 8th of July,<sup>1</sup> two days after the King's death, in order to be informed of that event. But the letters patent are dated on the 21st of June, on which day their first execution by the council and great lords must have taken place.

The original instrument was preserved until the reign of James the First, and was among the many important national records which, *per fas aut nefas*, came into the hands of sir Robert Cotton: but in the year 1611 he was required to deliver it to be cancelled; which was done, after a copy had been made of it by Ralph Starkey, which is now in the MS. Harl. 35, f. 364. From that copy it was first published by the present Editor in "The Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary," printed for the Camden Society in 1850, at pp. 91—100.

"Thus (to adopt the graphic summing up of the sententious but acute and judicious Fuller) through the pious intents of this Prince, wishing well to the Reformation; the religion of Queen Marie, obnoxious to exception; the ambition of Northumberland, who would do what he listed; the simplicity of Suffolke, who would be done with as the other pleased; the dutifulnesse of the lady Jane, disposed by her parents; the fearfulness of the judges, not daring to oppose; and the flattery of the courtiers, most willing to comply; matters were made as sure as man's policy can make that good which is bad in itself. But the commons of England, who for many years had conn'd loyalty by heart, out of the statute of succession, were so perfect in their lesson, that they would not be put out of it by this new started designe; so that every one proclaimed Mary next heir in their conscience; and, five days after King Edward's death, all the project miscarried. Of the plotters whereof some were executed, more imprisoned, most pardoned, all conquered, and—queen Mary crowned. Thus, though the stream of loyalty for a while

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<sup>1</sup> "The 8. of July the lord maior of London was sent for to the court then at Greenwich, to bring with him sixe aldermen, as many merchants of the staple, and as many merchant adventurers, unto whom by the counsell was secretly declared the death of King Edward, and also how hee did ordaine for the succession of the crowne by his lettres patents, to the which they were sworne, and charged to keep it secret." Stowe's Chronicle.



was violently diverted, to run in a wrong channel, yet with the speediest opportunity it recovered the right course again." (Church History of Britain, book viii. section 1.)

My devise for the succession.<sup>1</sup>

1. For lakke of issu (masle *inserted above the line, but afterwards erased*) of my body (to the issu (masle *above the line*) cumming of thissu femal, as i haue after declared *inserted, but erased*). To the L Fraūceses heires masles, (For lakke of *erased*) (if she have any *inserted*) such issu (befor my death *inserted*) to the L' Jane s (and her *inserted*) heires masles, To the L Katerins heires masles, To the L Maries heires masles, To the heires masles of the daughters wich she<sup>2</sup> shal haue hereafter. Then to the L Margets heires masles. For lakke of such issu, To th'eires masles of the L Janes daughters. To th'eires masles of the L Katerins daughters, and so forth til yow come to the L Margets (daughters *inserted*) heires masles.

2. If after my death theire<sup>3</sup> masle be extred into 18 yere old, then he to have the hole rule and gouernaūce therof.

3. But if he be under 18, then his mother to be gouuernres til he entre 18 yere old, But to doe nothing w'out th'auise (and agrement *inserted*) of 6 parcel of a counsel to be pointed by my last will to the nombre of 20.

4. If the mother die befor th'eire entre into 18 the realme to be gouuerned by the coūsel Prouided that after he be 14 yere al great matters of importaunce be opened to him.

5. If i died w'out issu, and there were none heire masle, then the L Fraunces to be (regēt *altered to*) gouuernres. For lakke of her, the her eldest daughters,<sup>4</sup> and for lakke of them the L Marget to be

<sup>1</sup> This paper is printed, as far as possible, in fac-simile of the original, including the contractions, and the letter *u* for *v*, in which I have not thought it generally desirable, in the greater part of this volume, to follow the King's manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> "she," *i. e.* the lady Frances (duchess of Suffolk), whose three living daughters, Jane, Katharine, and Mary, have now been enumerated.

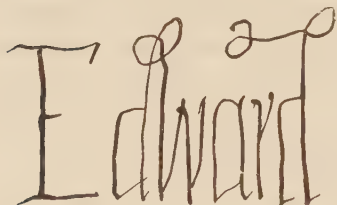
<sup>3</sup> the heir.

<sup>4</sup> "the her eldest daughters," *sic MS. probably for* then her eldest daughter,—*i. e.* the

gouuernres after as is aforsaid, til sume heire masle be borne, and then the mother of that child to be gouuernres.

6. And if during the rule of the gouuernres ther die 4 of the counsel, then shal she by her letters cal an assēble of the counsel w<sup>in</sup> on month folowing and chose 4 more, wherin she shal haue thre uoices. But after her death the 16 shal chose emong themselves til th'eire come to (18 *erased*) 14 yeare olde, and then he by ther aduice shal chose thē.<sup>1</sup>

The engagement of the Council and others to maintain the Succession, as limited by the King, is preserved in the same repository in the hand-writing of Secretary Petre, the signatures being all autographs. It is as follows:—



[Inner Temple Library, MS. Petyt 47, f. 316.]

Wee whose names be underwrytten, having hertofore many tymes harde the Kinges ma<sup>tie</sup> our most gracious soveraygne lordes earnest desire and expresse commawndment toching the limitation of the succession in the imperiall crowne of this realme and others his majesties realmes and dominions; and having seen his majesties owne devise toching the sayd succession, fyrst holly wrytten with his most gracious hande, and after copied owt in his majesties presence by his most high commawndment, and confirmed with the subscription of his majesties owne hande, and by his highnes delyveryd to certayn judges and other lerned men, to be wrytten in full order: Doo, by his majesties speciall and absolute commawndment, eftsones given us, agree, and by these presentes signed with our

lady Jane. This clause is wholly erased, and there is nothing in the letters patent corresponding to it; for it was rendered unnecessary when the arrangement had been admitted that the lady Jane should immediately succeed in the event of her mother having no son at the time of King Edward's decease. Still, as appears from the King signing "in six several places," there were six paragraphs in the fair copy of the Devise.

This clause, though (like the preceding) erased in the King's draft, is retained in the letters patent, but the council was to consist of thirty instead of twenty members.

handes and sealed with our seales,<sup>1</sup> promys by our othes and honours to observe, fully performe, and kepe all and every article, clause, brawnche, and matter conteyned in the sayd wryting delyveryd to the judges and others, and subscribed with his majesties hande in six severall places; and all suche other matter as his majestie by his last will shall appoynt, declare, or commawnde, toching or concerning the limitation of the succession of the sayd imperiall crowne. And wee do further promys by his majesties said commawndment never to varie or swarve, during our liefes, from the sayd limitation of the succession, butt the same shall to the uttermost of our powers defende and mayntayne. And if any of us, or any other, shall att any tyme hereafter (which God forbydd) varye from this agreement, or any part therof, wee and every of us doo assent to take, use, and repute hym for a breaker of the comen concord, peax, and unite of this realme, and to doo our uttermost to see hym or them so varying or swarving punisshed with most sharpe punisshmentes according to their desertes.

|          |                            |                  |                |               |             |
|----------|----------------------------|------------------|----------------|---------------|-------------|
| T. CANT. | T. ELY, CANC. <sup>2</sup> | WINCHESTER.      | NORTHUBRLAND.  | J. BEDFORD.   | H. SUFFOLK. |
|          |                            | W. NORTH.        |                |               |             |
|          |                            | F. SHREWESBURY.  | F. HUNTYNGDON. | PENBROKE.     |             |
|          |                            | E. CLYNTON.      | T. DARCY.      | G. COBHAM.    |             |
|          | R. RYCHE.                  |                  | T. CHEYNE.     |               |             |
|          |                            | JOH'N GATE.      | WILL'M PETRE.  | JOAN'. CHEEK. |             |
|          | W. CECILL.                 | EDWARD MOUNTAGU. |                |               |             |
|          |                            |                  |                | JOHN BAKERE.  |             |

EDWARD GRYFFYN.<sup>3</sup>      JOHN LUCAS.  
JOHN GOSNOLD.

<sup>1</sup> The document has no seals. It was probably intended to be executed again on vellum, with seals appendent.

<sup>2</sup> These two signatures precede the four next, and in the same line of the original; but so much in the margin that they appear to have been written after the great lords who were the movers of the attempted change.

<sup>3</sup> These signatures of the lawyers, not members of the council, are placed, with due humility, at the extreme foot of the paper.

## XVII. THE KING'S MINUTES FOR HIS LAST WILL.

[Inner Temple Library, MS. Petyt 47, f. 416.]

These minutes exist in the hand-writing of secretary Petre; but they were probably transcribed by him from the King's autograph, as we are told (see p. 567) was done with the Devise for the succession, or "taken from the King's mouth, as suggested by Strype" They present what seem to have been the personal wishes of the pious and well-meaning prince, and it was evidently intended that they should be combined with the more important directions relative to the succession, and a nomination of executors or council, in order to form a Will resembling that left by his father.

To bee conteyned in my last will, as parcell thereof :

First, thatt during the yong yeres of any my heyre or successour, my executours shall nott agree to enter into any warres, except uppon occasion of invasion to be made by enemyes : nor, to the best of ther powers, shall suffer any quarrell to be onjustly pyked by our subjectes wherof any warre may ensue.

Seconde, our sayd executours shall not suffer any peece of relligion to be altred, And they shall diligently travayle to cause godly ecclesiasticall lawes to be made and sett forthe : suche as may bee agreeable with the reformation of relligion now receyved within our realme, and that doone shall also cause the canon lawes to bee abolisshed.<sup>1</sup>

Thyrdly, our sayd executours shall nott only follow the devises allredye begoon and agreed uppon for the payment of our debtes,<sup>2</sup> butt also by other good meannes devise for the spedie payment of our sayd debtes.

Fowrthly, they shall consider to bee discharged all superfluous charges, bothe in th'excessive expenses of our howshold and chamber, and in the overgreatt number of cowrtes, by uniting the same<sup>3</sup> according to the statute provided in thatt behalf, and such other superfluous charges.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 397.<sup>2</sup> See p. 543.<sup>3</sup> See pp. 433, 544.



Fyftly, my will is, that my sistars Mary and Elizabeth shall follow th'advise of my executours, or the more part of them, in ther mariages, And if they so doo, and will be bownde to lyve in quiett order, according to our appoyntment, and as by our sayd executors shall bee appoynted, we will thatt they, and eythar of them, shall have of our gifte one thousande powndes yerly, by way of annuité, owt of our cofers. And if they doo mary by th'advise of our sayd executours, or the more part of them, then we will thatt eythar of them shall have towards ther mariages, of our gift, ten thowsande powndes, over and above the money for ther mariages given by our father's bequest.

Syxtly, our pleasure is, thatt our sayd counsaylours shall nott agree to give any landes or tenementes to any person in fee-simple or fee-tayle other then excheted landes: nother shall they grawnt any landes in fee-ferme, nor annuities, butt only to suche as have served us, (and eythar hadd charge of vC men in the felde, or have hadd charge of some sort uppon our frontyours, or have byn captaynes of shippes uppon the sees *erased*) (or shall serve our successour for the tyme being in some place of speciall trust *inserted*;) nor any leasses in reversion to any, other than to the servantes of our succeessour for the tyme being.

All our debtes to be payd with as moche speed as may be.

All injuries, if any have byn doone, to be recompensed; and the parties, ther heyres, or chyldren, recompensed, according to equite and good justice.

The college of S. Jones in Cambridge to have of our gifte in landes Cli. by yere, towards the mayntenaunce of ther charges.<sup>1</sup>

A new college to be erected,<sup>2</sup> to be endowed in landes to the

<sup>1</sup> " This was out of good-will to Cecill his secretary, and Cheke his tutor, both of St. John's college." (Strype, Memorials, ii. 431.)

<sup>2</sup> Of this intention the present is the only memorial. In the general spoliation of the times, even colleges and schools of ancient foundation were in danger, and in some instances suffered. Dr. Fuller tells the following story: " A covetous courtier complained

dooble yerly rentes of the sayd college of St. Jones, to be buylded upp and made by discretion of our executours, within the space of vij. yeres.

The grawnt made to the maior and cytey of London toching the Savoy and landes therof to be performed.<sup>1</sup>

All such as have hadd grawnt of us of any landes, offices, or fees, to enjoy our grawnt.

All such as have payd ther moneys uppon any bargayn for landes, to have ther bookes and bargaynes performed.

To bee bestowed in high wayes, and to the power (poor), by discretion of our executours, the summe of (*blank*).

The king my father's tombe to be made upp at (*blank*).

Monumentes to bee made of the burialls of E. the iiij. and H. the vj<sup>th</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

to King Edward the Sixth, of Christ college in Cambridge, that it was a superstitious foundation, consisting of a master and twelve fellows, in imitation of Christ and his twelve apostles. He advised the King also to take away one or two fellowships, so to discompose that superstitious number. Oh no, said the King, I have a better way than that to mar their conceit, I will add a thirteenth fellowship unto them; which he did accordingly, and so it remaineth unto this day." (Mixt Contemplations in Better Times, xxxvi.) The same author relates this story at greater length in his History of Cambridge: but see Mr. C. H. Cooper's remarks on the transaction in his Annals of Cambridge, ii. 72.

<sup>1</sup> The revenues of the hospital of the Savoy were to be granted to the city in aid of the hospital of Bridewell, but queen Mary stopped this intention, and re-established the hospital on its ancient foundation.

<sup>2</sup> This, as well as in the preceding item, alludes to a non-executed clause in the will of his father King Henry; who, after directing his own tomb at Windsor, which was then "well onward and almoost made therefore alredeye, with a fayre grate about it," to be completed, adds, with reference to two of his predecessors interred in Saint George's Chapel, "Also we will that the tombes and aultars of King Henry the vj. and also of King Edward the Fourth, our great-uncle and graunt-father, be made more princely in the same places where they now be, at our charges." All these directions were finally disregarded.

## ADDITIONAL NOTES.

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Page 10. *Lady Tyrwhitt* was the only child of Thomas Oxenbridge esquire, and granddaughter of sir Goddard Oxenbridge. She was eleven years old on her father's death in 1540, and consequently under age at the period of the anecdote. See an article on the family of Oxenbridge by Wm. Durrant Cooper, esq. F.S.A. in the *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. viii.

P. 50. *The King's letter to the duke of Somerset*.—"1547, xiiij Septembre, at Otelands. Sir Michael Stanhop, one of the chief jentylmen of the privey chambre, had warrant to deliver xxv li. to sir Thomas Wroothe, sent Northwards with letters to the lord Protectour's grace." (Privy council register.)

P. 220. The joint commissioner of the musters was sir Thomas Holcroft; but he had been before knighted, at Leith, in 1544. Sir John Holcroft, knighted at Roxburgh, was his elder brother: see the pedigree in Ormerod's *Cheshire*, ii. 75.

P. 227. *The war with France*.—The original of the following letter, written on the declaration of war with France, is wholly in the handwriting of mr. secretary Petre, and in the possession of Robert Cole, esq. F.S.A. :—

After our ryght hartly commendacions to youre good lordshipp. Thys daye the Frenche Embassadr hath bene with us, and declaryd unto us that the Frenche kyng hath revoked hym, and hath declared open warre agenst the Kynges majestie and all hys subjects. Wherefore thys ys to wyll and requyre you to gyve order with all spede possyble to all the ports of the countrey of Kent, and all other places of your jursydycion, that thei have good gard and care to the ports in all places where the enemy maye dyscende, and also to the countre to be readye to the defence yf thei shall lande in any place. And that thei doo stey all Frenchemen's marchandyse, shyppes, and goods what soe ever thei be, beyng not denysens, and ther personnes also, as enmys to the Kynges majestie, and put them in saff custody tyll further order be taken as apperteyneth. Thus we pray you fayle not. Fare ye most hartely well. From Westm<sup>r</sup>, the viij<sup>th</sup> of August 1549.

Your lovyng frend, EDWARD SOM'SETT.

Post script.—And fforasmoche the Frenche kyng hath now declaryd hym self open enmye to the Kynges majestie, hys majestie gyveth lycence to all maner hys subjects fourthwith to arme them selves and ther vessells to the see, and to make pryse of any Frencheman's wares.

*Address*, To our lovyng frende Sir Thomas Cheyne knyght, Treasurer of the kyngs  
majesties most honorable houshold, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports

hast post hast

hast

for lyff

for lyff

for lyff

for lyff.

P. 228. *There was a rumour that I was dead.*—The narrative of Edward Underhill “the hot gospeller,” which is quoted by Strype on several occasions, and which is about to be printed entire by the Camden Society, affords us some particulars of this false report. It was traced to one Robert Alen, whom Underhill calls “Alen the prophesyer, thorowe whom there was a brute in the cittie that the Kinge was deade.” Having discovered where this prophet had a chamber, Underhill went to inform the lord mayor, who sent two of his officers with the informant “to seke Alene, whome we mett withall in Poles, and toke him with us unto his chamber, wheare we founde fygyres set to calke (calculate) the nativitie of the Kynge, and a jugementt gevyn of his deathe, wheroff this folyshe wreche thought hym selfe so sure, that he and his consolars the papistes bruted it alle over. The Kynge laye at Hamtone courte the same tyme, and me lorde protector att the Syone; unto whome I caryed this Alen with his bokes of cunojuracions, cuarkles (circles), and many thynges beloungynge to thatt dylvyshe (devilish) art, wiche he affyrmed before me lorde to be a lawfull syens (science),” &c. &c. The remainder is a curious development of the necromancy of the day, but contains nothing more about the King: see Strype, *Memorials*, ii. 114.

P. 245. *Pluking downe of boltes and barres at Westmuster.*—The foundation of the charges upon which the earl of Arundel was first attacked, is perhaps supplied by a circumstance mentioned by Strype, *Eccl. Memorials*, ii. 195. At Christmas 1549-50 an accidental fire happened in the kitchen and adjacent offices of the palace of Westminster. On this occasion “bolts and locks” would be hastily “plucked down.” Strype quotes a warrant to pay for plate bought for the King’s use, and for new making and gilding certain vessels burnt at Westminster at the feast of Christmas, together with mending of plate, the sum of 1687 li. 16 s. 11½ d.

P. 247. *Sir John Arundel*, the subject of note <sup>2</sup>, married Elizabeth, daughter of Gerard Danet, esq. It was his son of the same name who married Anne dowager lady Stourton, daughter of Edward Stanley earl of Derby: see Collins’s *Peerage*, edit. 1779, vii. 42.

P. 255. *My lord Somerset was deliverid of his bondes.*—This means his recognizance given on the 6th of February, the terms of which are stated in p. 243.

P. 255. *Mons. de Funette.*—This name, rather than Fernin, is confirmed by the following entry: “To James Graine, man at armes, for his charges and paines in conducting from



thence [Calais?] of a Frenche gentleman called Mons<sup>r</sup> de Fuinet hither to the court, the sum of iiij marc." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 66.)

P. 257. *A blind legat from the pope.*—"The blynde Scott that nameth himself bisshopp of Armachan is departed from Rome with his dispathe towards Irelande. I woold to God my lorde deputie might by summe meane give him summe honest welcomme into the countrey." Sir John Mason to the council from Chateau Briant, 11 June, 1551. See further of Wauchop in Jewel's Works (Parker Society), iv. 905, 1056; and Tytler's History of Scotland, 1842, vi. 52.

P. 267. *The soldiars should return to their mansions.*—By "mansions" the King did not mean barracks, as suggested in the note. The soldiers were disbanded, and in fact were to return to their parishes, or "settlements," as we should now say. In the words of the proclamation, dated May 4 (of which the substance is given by Strype, Eccl. Memorials, ii. 221), they were to "return to their native countries, or the places where they last dwelt by the space of three years together; according to the tenour of a statute in that behalf, concerning the order of aged impotent people, and for punishing vagabonds and idle persons."

Page 279, note<sup>1</sup>. *Syon* belonged to the duke of Somerset until his attainder. The mansion of the earl of Warwick, at which he gave the entertainment noticed in this page, was probably that of *Chelsea* (formerly the residence of queen Katharine Parr), in the church of which village his monument remains.

P. 281. The church of the Austin friars given to the *foreign Protestants* was divided between the German and French, each of which had two ministers. The names in this note intimate their country, and they had other surnames. Gualterus de Boemis was Delvin or Deloenus (Zurich Letters, iii. 575, 587 n.); Martinus Flandrus was Micronius (ibid. pp. 570, 587); Franciscus Riverius was ; and Ricardus (*not* Rodolph) Gallus was Vauville (pp. 339 n. 565 n). Mr. J. S. Burn's interesting volume on the History of Foreign Protestant Refugees, 1846, 8vo. does not supply this information.

P. 291. *The lady Mary came not thither, i. e.* to the lord chancellor's at Leeze, in Essex, according to the engagement mentioned by the King in p. 288.

P. 292. *Maclamore in Irland, before a rebel.*—The form of oath taken by Mac Arte More on his submission is preserved in the State-paper office in the Irish correspondence, under July 1551. See also sir James Croft's letter of the 28th of that month.

P. 294. *Council of Trent.*—On the proposed re-assemblage of this council there is an Italian book addressed *Al serenissimo Re d'Inghilterra Edoardo Sesto. De portamenti di Papa Giulio III. Et quale habbia ad essere il concilio, che egle intende di fare.* Et audivi post me vocem magnam tãquam tubæ dicētis: Quod vides scribe in libro, et mitte Ecclesijs. *Apoc. cap. i.* Quarto, thirty leaves. Concluding with the date, *Nel Mese di Nouembre, l'Anno M.D.L.* No date of place, but a printer's mark of a naked woman standing on a dolphin, and holding above her head a sail. This shows that it came from the press of Froschover of Zurich. There is a copy in the British Museum.

P. 309. *To give license to sinne was sinne.*—Strype's interpretation of this passage of the King's Journal is countenanced by the letter addressed by the council to the lady Mary on the Christmas day preceding, in which the same terms occur, in the following passage: "Upon earnest desire and entreaty made in the emperor's name, thus much was granted, that for his sake and your own also *it should be suffered and winked at if you had the private mass used in your own closet for a season*, until you might be better informed (whereof there was some hope), having only with you a few of your own chamber, so that for all the rest of your household the service of the realm should be used, and none other." Foxe has a very apocryphal story respecting this stage of the long struggle which the lady Mary, supported by the emperor, sustained for the continuance of the mass in her household: representing that Cranmer and Ridley were employed by the council to overcome the King's scruples, and that from Edward's "zealous hart" and "singular constancy in maintaining true religion" (in the words of Foxe's marginal notes) they were unsuccessful. The passage is as follows: "In the daies of this King Edward the sixt, Carolus the emperour made request to the said King and his counsell to permitte ladie Marie to have masse in her house without prejudice of the law: and the counsell, on a time sitting upon matters of pollicie, having that in question, sent Cranmer, then archbishoppe of Canturburie, and Ridley, then bishop of London, to intreate the King for the same; who comming to his Grace alleadged their reasons and persuasions for the accomplishment thereof. So the King, hearing what they could saie, replied his answeare againe out of the Scriptures, so groundedly, gravely, and fullie, that they were inforced to give place to his replication, and grant the same to be true. Then they, after long debating in this maner with his majesty, labored politickely in another sort, and alleadged what dangers the denying thereof might bring to his grace, what breach of amitie of the emperor's part, what troubles, what unkindnes, and what occasions sundrie waies it would inforce, &c. Unto whome the King answered, willing them to content themselves, for hee would (he said) spend his life and all he had, rather than to agree and grant to that he knew certainly to bee against the truth. The which when the bishops heard, notwithstanding they urged him still to grant, and would by no meanes have his naie. Then the good King, seeing their importunate sute, that needes they woulde have his majesty consent thereto, in the ende his tender hearte bursting out in bitter weeping and sobbing, desired them to bee content. Whereat the bishoppes themselves, seeing the King's zeale and constancie, wept as fast as he, and tooke their leave of his grace; and, comming from him, the archbishoppe tooke master Cheke his schoolemaster by the hand and saide, Ah, maister Cheke, you maie be glad all the daies of your life that you have such a scholler, for hee hath more divinitie in his little finger then all wee have in our bodies. Thus the ladie Maries masse for that time was staied."

This view of the transaction (which is retailed in other words, and with further embellishments, by Heylyn,) can scarcely be true in any of its particulars. While the picture it gives of the King's polemical zeal is perhaps not overcharged, it is very unlikely that Cranmer and Ridley played the part it represents, or did more than deliver, in answer to

the interrogations of the council, the resolution intimated—somewhat obscurely—by the King in his Journal. Foxe's anecdote is in fact a parallel to that he relates respecting the sacrifice of Joan Bocher, quoted *antea*, p. 264. In both the imaginary virtues of the young King are magnified to the unjust disparagement of Cranmer. In the Journal, at pp. 366, 432, and elsewhere, and again in the document at p. 541, it will be seen how quietly and gravely Edward would set down conclusions in "matters of policie," without any such ebullitions of passion or compunction as the martyrologist attributes to him. On the other hand, Foxe's own narrative of the lady Mary's treatment amply shows how very little toleration was allowed her by the council; the indulgence which the influence of the emperor's ambassador for some time procured her was gradually withdrawn, and in Jan. 1551-2 (see p. 387), on an audience given to him by the King, it was wholly refused for the future.

Page 318. *One Stuart*.—In the State-paper office is a letter of the French king to Edward VI. dated April 28, 1551, stating that he had instructed his ambassador, the sieur de Chenault, to request the delivery of one Stuart for a conspiracy against the queen of Scotland, his daughter (in law). A plot had been discovered for poisoning the young Scottish queen: the traitor reported to be an ambassador of the Scotch guard. Letter of sir John Mason, April 29, 1551. (French correspondence.)

P. 324. *The Royal Navy in 1552*.—The following is the document referred to in the note:—

[MS. Harl. 353, p. 55.]

The charge of wages to be dewe to certaine capitayns, maisters, marriners, and gonners servinge in divers of the Kinges Majesties shippes arrived in Irland, and in other his highnes shippes purposed thither the xiiij<sup>th</sup> daye of Aprill, an<sup>o</sup> 5 Regis Edwardi Sexti.

Sea wages.

|                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Shippes.</i><br>The Hart.<br>The Newe barke.<br>The Gerfawcon.<br>The barke of Bolloigne. | Imprimis for the dyettes of iiij. capitaines serving in the same shippes, by the space of vij. weekes, begun the first daye of March last, and to ende the xviiij <sup>th</sup> daye of this present Aprill, at xliij s. everie of them, is xiiij li. xiiij s. And more for wages of CCCC. and iiij <sup>xx</sup> souldiers, marriners, and gonners servinge under them, for lyke tyme, at xiiij s. every man, deadshares and rewardes in the same accompted, is CCCC.xxxvi li.—Soma is . . . . . CCCL li. xiiij s. |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Wages in harbore.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Shippes.</i><br>The great barque.<br>The Pawncey.<br>The Sweepstake.<br>The Antelop.<br>The Murryon.<br>The Mary Hamboro.<br>The Phawcon.<br>The Moone.<br>The Seven Starrs.<br>The last made pynnas. | Item for wages of M.CCC.xxx. maisters, marynners, and gonners serving the Kinge his Majestie in the same shippes by the space of v. weekes, begunne the xvij <sup>th</sup> daye of Marche laste, and to ende the xix <sup>th</sup> daye of this present, at x s. everie man, deadshares and rewardes in the same accompte.—Some is . . . vijC.xv li. |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

## Conduct money.

Item for the conducte of viijC.lxxx. marryners and gonners to be discharged, over and besides CCC. men appointed to serve in the Antelope and the Fawcon for wasters. And CCl. men appointed to serve in the shipps for the transport of grayne, at vij s. vj d. everie man.—Some is . . . . . CCC.xxx li.

Some totall of all the charge aforesaid . . . . . M.CCC.iiij<sup>xx</sup>. xv li. xiiij s.

Page 325. *The embassy with the Garter to France*.—The following is the journal of this embassy to which the note refers. It occurs, in a contemporary hand, in the MS. Cotton. Julius C. ix. p. 79; and there is a second, but later, copy in MS. Harl. 295, fol. 153 b:—

The voiage of my lorde marques of Northampton into France, and the names of the nobillmen and gentillmen whyche accompanied hem in the same jorneye, 1551.

The xv<sup>th</sup> daye of May, in the v<sup>th</sup> yere of the reign of Kinge Edwarde the vj<sup>th</sup>, was sent be his Majestie and his mooste nobill counsell into France to Henry secounde, the Franche Kinge, in commyscion, my lorde marques Northampton, my lorde the byssop of Ely, sir Phellipp Hoby knight, sir Wylliam Peckering knyght, sir Thomas Smyght knight, maister docteur Olevier, sir John Masson knight, who was therde parson in the commyscion, and ymbassadure resedent with the Franche Kinge at our commynge unto the Franche courtte.

The names of the nobillmen whoo accompanied my lorde marques in that jorneye: my lorde th'erle of Worcester, th'erle of Rutlande, th'erle of Ormounde, the vicecounte Fitzwatter, the vicecounte Lysle, the lorde Bourgavene, the lorde Braye, the lorde Evers, mr. Throgmarton, and mr. Sednay, both of the King's ma<sup>tes</sup> previe chamber.

The names of the knightes in the same jorney: sir Wylliam Cobham knight, sir John Cuttes knight, sir John Perrot knight, sir Anthony Guidot knight, sir Gylbarde Dethike knight, *alias* Gartier pryncepsall kinge of armes.

The names of the gentillmen in the same jorneye: mr. FitzWylliam, mr. Carre, mr. Knolles, mr. Edmonde Warnay, mr. Francys Warnay, mr. Yonge, mr. Wylliam Thomas secretary unto the lordes commyscionars, mr. Nycolles Alexander, mr. Loucus Frengare, and Chester herault of armes, and Rougedragon poursevant of armes.

The holle nombre of the nobillmen and gentillmen with thare traynes was tow hundrith and lx.

My lorde marques ded areive at Callais, and from thens he tooke his jorneye to Bollaine, whare he was right honorabley receyved, whare mett with hem one mons<sup>r</sup> Demandose,<sup>a</sup> whoo was of the Frenche King's chambre, and appointed thare for the counducke of my lorde marques unto the Franche Kinge. And at every greате towne in France whare my lorde ded areive he was ryght honorabelly receyved with the princepalls of the townes with presentes of wyne and spices.

<sup>a</sup> See p. 324.



And at my lordes comyng unto Orleance he was ryght honorabelly receyved of thaem of the towne, and presentes made unto hem, and to all other the commyscioners, of wyne and spices, whiche was every daye for the tyme of thare remayne. And thare in like wise met with my lorde one of the Franche Kinges chambre, whoo had prepared sartaine wesselles to transporte my lorde marques and all the holle trayne unto Nanttes, in Brytanie, by watter.

Whare also my lord marques and all the trayne was honorabelly receyved at his firste areivall with grette gonne shotte; and afterwarde with wyne and spices, according unto thare custome.

And shortly after my lordes areivall in the towne thare met with hem mons<sup>r</sup> de Chattellon, whoo came frome the Kinge, and ded accompanye my lorde marques frome Nanttes unto Chatteaubryane, and by the waye ded feaste my lorde marques.

And as my lorde marques and all the other lordes was very near Chatteaubryane, a lettell withowte the towne, thare mett with hem mons<sup>r</sup> de Aungiene,<sup>b</sup> with a xxx. or fortie horse, incompanied with dyvers nobillmen; and at the towne gate thare mett my lorde marques mons<sup>r</sup> de Omaylle,<sup>c</sup> with dyvers other nobyllmen with hem, and brought him unto the castell, whare the King was. And assonne as my lorde marques was frome his horse, he and all the lordes and gentillmen was brought in the Kinges presens, whoo at his previe chambre dore taryed for thaem, in the companye of the cardenall of Lorane and the cardenall Chattellon, and the duc of Guiyes and the counestabill, with dyvers other nobillmen of France.

And as sonne as my lord marques was entered into the chambre of estate, the Kinge eshowed owte of his previe chambre, and mett my lord marques, and ymbrassed hem, and all the other nobillmen and gentillmen of Ynglonde.

And after a litell whyle my lorde marques did present unto the Franche Kinge his lettres of credet frome the Kinge, the whyche very thankfully the Kinge receyved.

And after that the Kinge had commouned a litell space with my lorde marques and with dyvers other nobillmen, he commandet that my lorde shoulde be broght unto hys chambre, whyche was within the courtte; this was on Frydaye the xix<sup>th</sup> of June, where he rested hem that nyght.

And uppon the morowe, whyche was the xx<sup>th</sup> of June, mr. Gartier and Chester herault, with other that had the charge in the Kinges behalfe, went unto the chappell, and there prepared a place for the Kinges ma<sup>te</sup>, souveraine of the nobill ordre of the Gartier, and in like wise a place for the Franche Kinge, and a place for the lorde marques, and one place for the connestabill, bothe knightes of the order of the Gartier.

And uppon Sondaye, the xxi<sup>th</sup> of June, mr. Gartier and Chester herault brought the robes of the Gartier for the Franche Kinge into the quyenys greatte chambre, whyche was appointed for the same, where my lorde marques and the connestabill of France ded put on thare robes of the Gartier.

<sup>a</sup> The count d'Enghien; see p. 253.

<sup>b</sup> The duc d'Aumale; see p. 270.

And mr. Gartier ded put on the Kinges majesties cotte of his armes; and before the tow knightes of the ordre he brought the robes of the Gartier for the Franche Kinge into his presence chambre, wharen entered my lorde marques and my lord of Ely, and noo moo of the commysioners of Ynglond; whare my lorde of Ely mayde a proposicion unto the Franche Kinge for the delyverye of the robes of the Gartier from the Kinges majestie. And thane the cardenall of Lorane made aunshare unto my lorde of Ely of thankes in the Franche Kinges behalfe.

That seremonye donne, my lorde marques ded delyvre unto the Franche Kinge the George, Gartier, robes and collare, whare was delyvered unto mr. Gartier the Franche Kinges gowne,<sup>a</sup> whyche was of blue sattaine, with xlvij. payer of aglettes of golde, sett with pyrles, and a chyne of golde of tow hundrith Franche crounes.

And at the commyng owte of the Kinge of his previe chambre every gentillman and nobillman tocke his place afore the Kinge unto the chapill: furste the gentillmen of France and Ynglonde, and then the nobillmen of the ordre of France and the commysioners of Ynglonde, whare sir John Masson knight placed himselfe with Mons<sup>r</sup> de Omalle above all the other commyscioners, as ymbassadure resedent; and thane my lorde marques and the connestabill, before whome went Chester herault, with the Kinges majesties cotte of armes; and after thaem the Kinges sargantes at arms; and before the Franche kinge, Gartier pryncepall kinge of armes; and on ether hande the Kinge a cardenall; and after the Kinge thaem of his chambre. And soo comme unto the chappell, whare was a sollome mase, after the Franch facion, with holly watter and holly breade, and paxe, with the recedew of unhollynes (*altered by a second hand to all hollynes*).

And, after the service donne, returned unto the Kinges chambre of estate, whare dyned with the Kinge my lorde marques and the connestabill of France.<sup>b</sup>

And the other nobillmen of Ynglonde and France dyned togyders in a greate chambre at one table, whyche was appointed for thaem for that daye.

Uppon Tewsdaye, the xxx<sup>th</sup> of June, the Kinge removed towards Nantes, whare the xiiij<sup>th</sup> daye of July he made his entre; and all the tyme that the Kinge was coomyng to Nantes from Chattellbryane my lorde marques, with dyvers nobillmen of Ynglonde, remained with the Kinge, and all the traynes remained at Nantes to his commynge; and from Nantes the Kinge removed to Aungers with my lorde marques, and all the nobillmen of Ynglonde tooke thare leve of the Kinge, whyche was uppon the xix<sup>th</sup> of July.

And uppon Saturdaye, the xxv<sup>th</sup> of July, my lorde marques ded arive at Parys home-wardes, whare he taryed sartaine dayes, and thare receyved the France Kinges rewarde, and in like wise all the other commysioners afore named.

*Indorsed*—The bill of the jorney with my lorde marques of Northampton into Fraunce.

A more extended narrative of this embassy might be compiled from the despatches of

<sup>a</sup> See note in p. 325.

<sup>b</sup> The dinner is described in the despatch printed by Tytler, Edward VI. and Mary, i. 390.

the commissioners, which are preserved in the State-paper office, and portions of which have been published by Mr. Tytler in his Edward VI. and Mary:—

The following are notes of documents respecting it:—

On the 1st May the sum of a thousand marks was ordered to be paid to the marquess of Northampton towards his diets in his journey appointed into France, and CC li. to the bishop of Ely. On the next day CC li. to sir Philip Hoby, and C li. to William Thomas, one of the clerks of the council, both going to accompany the marquess. On the 4th C li. to sir Thomas Smith; on the 6th, 1,680 l. to various noblemen (as already noticed in p. 316). On the 10th MM li. to the lord marquess and other commissioners. (Privy-council register.)

May x. A warraunt to sir William Cavendishe to deliver to sir Gilbert Dethick, *alias* Garter kinge at armes, for provision of a helme garnished with fine gold, a croune of copper gilten, an arming girdell to the same, and a plate of mettall with th'armes of the Frenche Kinge engraven for his installacion, xx li. (Ibid.) The warrant itself is printed by Ashmole, History of the Garter, Appendix, Num. cxxxi.

May 5. A letter to th'erle of Wilteshire declaring that the Kinges ma<sup>ties</sup> pleasure is that he call to him sir Walter Mildmay knight, and of sutch treasure as remayneth in his handes in the Towre of London to deliver to the lord Clinton oone coller of gold of th'order of the Garter, with a George thereunto appendant, taking of him so much gold of the same fynes [fineness] as the same coller shall amount unto, or the vallew thereof. And that he deliver also to the lord marques of Northampton oone Garter with a George of the best sorte, the same coller and Garter to be employed upon the Frenche King.

May 6. A lettre unto the Frenche King declaring that the Kinges ma<sup>tie</sup>, and other of his honorable [order of the] Garter, hathe elected and taken him in the same ordre the xxiiij<sup>th</sup> of Aprill last, according to the old and auncient custome. (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. fol. 91 b.)

May 11. A passeport for the lord marques of Northampton, sent ambassadour to the Frenche King, to repaire to him with his trayne, and with all theire mulets, horses, and other necessities.

A warraunt to sir William Cavendishe knight, etc. to pay to the said lord marques for his dietes from the xxix<sup>th</sup> of Aprill last untill the day of his returne to the Kinges presence inclusive, tenne poundes by the day, and to advaunce him two monethes before hand; and further t'allowe him, upon his lettres subscribed with his hand, for the posting and transporting of him and his train outwards and whomewards, and for sending of lettres in post or otherwise to the Kinge or his counsaile.

A like warraunt to the sayd sir William Cavendissh knight to pay to William Thomas, oone of the clarkes of the counsaile, for his dietes from the sayd day untill his returne inclusive, xls. by the day, and to advaunce him before hand in prest the some of oone hundred poundes; and further, *ut supra*.

A like warraunt, undirected, to pay to sir Phillip Hobbie knight, for his dietes from the sayd day untill his returne to the Kinges presence inclusive, v. markes by the day, and t'advauce him before hand two hundred poundes; and further, *ut supra*.

A like warraunt to the said sir Will'm Cavendishe knight, to pay to the bishop of Elie, for his dietes from the sayd day untill his returne unto the Kinges presentes inclusive, v li. by the day, and t'advauce him before hand two hundred poundes; and further, *ut supra*.

A warraunt, undirected, to deliver to the said lord marques of Northampton towardes his charges of his journey into Fraunce the some of vj M. crownes. (Ibid. f. 94.)

May 12. A warraunt to sir William Cavendisshe knight, etc. to pay to sir Gilbert Dethick knight, *alias* Garter principall King of armes, attending on the lord marquess of Northampton in his ambassade to the French king, for his dietes from the xxviiij<sup>th</sup> of Aprill last untill his returne to the King's presentes, for his reward, xx s. by the day, and t'allow him for his posting and transporting both outward and whomewarde of him and his traine, and also for certaine robes of th'order and other thinges necessarie, sutche somes of monie as by his bill subscribed with his hand he shall signifie unto you. And further t'allow him for the dietes of Chester herald v s. by the day, and v s. in rewarde by the day. And for the dietes of Rouge Dragon pursuyvaunt ij s. vj d. by the day, and ij s. vj d. in rewarde also by the day. And also for their posting monies according to the tenour aforesayd.

A warraunt to sir Ralfe Sadler knight, etc. to deliver to the said sir Gilbert Dethick, etc. iij. yardes of clothe of gold, ij. yardes of clothe of gold tisshew, and xvj. yardes of blue vellat, which shalbe for the banner, for the mantells of the helmet, and the lynning of the same, for th'enstallation of the French King. (This warrant is printed in Ashmole's Appendix, Num. cxxx.)

May 13. A warraunt to sir William Cavendishe knight, etc. to pay to sir Thomas Smyth knight, sent in to Fraunce, for his dietes from the xxix<sup>th</sup> of Aprill last untill his returne to the King's presens inclusive, iij li. by the day, defalking out of the same Cli. which he hath all redye receyvid in preste. And further t'allow him, upon his letters subscribed with his hand, for the posting and transporting of him both outwards and whomewards, and for sending of lettres in post or otherwise to the Kinges majestie or his counsaile.

A passeporte to the bisshop of Elie to goe in to Fraunce in his ambassade thether, with his train and all other his necessaries.

A warraunt, undirected, to deliver to Thomas bishop of Elie the some of ij M. Frenche crownes, taking of him sufficient bond for the repayment of the same in like crownes, or other golde of the same fynes, and of that vallew. And also to sondry other noblemen and gentlemen as shall attend upon the lord marques of Northampton in his ambassade iijj M. French crownes a pece (*sic*), taking likewise of every of them bondes for the repayment thereof as afore is said. (Ibid. f. 95.)



May 17. A warraunt to the Thesaurer of the Chamber to deliver John Oliver, doctour of the civill law, appointed oone of the two lawyers to goe in to Fraunce with my lord marques of Northampton, iiij. markes by the day for his diets from the xij<sup>th</sup> of May last untill his returne; and to admite him before hand for . . . moneth, etc. defalking C li. deliverde him allredy in prest. (Ibid. f. 97.)

June 13. A warraunt to sir Andrew Dudley knight, etc. to deliver to Richard Cicill and Robt. Robotham, yomen of the robes, and to John Bridges, the Kinges taylour, xvj. yardes of chrimisen vellat, to be employed in the kirtell, hood, and typpit concerning th'ordre of the Garter for the French King. (Ibid. f. 109.)

P. 327. *Six shippes, being before prepared.*—So long before as May in the preceding year six ships were said to be in preparation. Martin Micronius, one of the ministers of the foreign Protestants, wrote to Bullinger from London on the 28th May, 1550: "Just as I am about to close this letter, a man worthy of credit has come to me, and states that the King has this day given orders for *six* of the largest ships to be furnished with all munitions of war. But what is to be their destination no one as yet knows." (Zurich Letters, ii. 564.) This appears to have been the usual number of ships kept in commission at this period: see again the passage dated in March 1551-2, in the note, p. 404.

P. 330. *The Sweating sickness.*—The English treatise of doctor John Kaye has also been republished by the Sydenham Society in 1844, as an appendix to the essay on that disease, which forms part of the interesting volume on "The Epidemics of the Middle Ages, from the German of J. F. C. Hecker, M.D. Translated by B. G. Babington, M.D. F.R.S." The Latin treatise of Caius was first printed in 1556, reprinted in 1721 (not 1724), and again by Dr. Hecker in Germany in 1833. There are some curious notices of the Sweating sickness in Blakeway's History of Shrewsbury, which have escaped Dr. Hecker and his English editor.

Page 334. *The King's reception of the order of Saint Michael of France.*—The two papers mentioned in the note are—one a programme, and the other the narrative placed on record by the heralds:—

The manner of receiving the order of St. Mychaell by King Edward the Sixth.

(Ashmole's Order of the Garter, p. 368.)

First, the King's majesty to be in his privy chamber, accompanied with his noblemen, and all them of the order of the Garter to have their collars about their necks, and the French King's ambassador to enter with the order; and so, after his obeysance, the proposition to be given; and, after the proposition done, the King's majesty must put off his uppermost garment, the ambassador shall invest him with the robes of that; and afterwards, when the King is fully invested, then all the noblemen to proceed afore the King, and the ambassadors which be in company to go afore the King, with the noblemen in order, to the chappel, and after them the two French lords, then the king at

arms, then the sword, then the King's majesty himself, then the lord chamberlain, and the vice-chamberlain to bear the train of the robes, and in this order to proceed to the chappel, and the King to go into his stall, and the other into their stalls. And at the offering-time the King's majesty to offer, and the greatest man about the King to give the King his offering, and then the two other to offer to their estates. When the King is in his stall, and when all the service done, they to proceed in like order as they came to the chappel, to the place appointed for dinner; and none to sit at the King's board, but only the two knights which be of the same order of France. And after dinner the King's majesty to put off his robes, and to wear such apparel as shall please his Majesty.

NOTE —The King's majesty, when he passeth the French's King's stall, is to make but only a beck with his head.

The manner how the most excellent prince King Edward the Sixth received the order of St. Michael sent from the French King Henry.

(MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 6297, f. 7.)

Item, on the 17. day of July the French ambassadors came to Hampton Court, where there was prepared in the King's majesty's chappell two cloths of estate for the receiving of the order of France, and three stools for the three officers of the order, that is to say, first the chancellor, who had a carpet, one for the provost, and the third for the king of arms of the said order; and, although the chancellor was not present, yet his place was appointed as if he had been there.

The said chappell thus being in a readiness, about 10. of the clock the marshall of St. Andrew's, mons<sup>r</sup> St. Degar,<sup>a</sup> and mons<sup>r</sup> Beaulodphin,<sup>b</sup> and the bishop of (*blank*), and two more, which went to the King's privy chamber in manner as hereafter followeth: first came in the king of arms, bearing the robes wrapped in blue velvet; and after came the provost of the order, bearing a cushion of cloth of silver, whereon lay the collar; and after them came mons<sup>r</sup> Seygar (de Gyé), mons<sup>r</sup> marshall St. Andrew, and three others following them, which were also in commission; and, after their obeysance done, one mons<sup>r</sup> (*blank*) made the proposition, after which the King's majesty made answer himself to the ambassadors; after the which answer the king of arms and the provost came to the King to take off his gown and his jacket, the which gown was of cloth of silver tissue, with three dozen of buttons and aiglets of gold, and furred with black jennets, the which gown and

<sup>a</sup> Monsieur de Gyé; see p. 332.

<sup>b</sup> "Mons<sup>r</sup> de Beaulodphin, who is a gentilman of moche estymacion here, and chief maistre d'hostel to this King, shalle goo unto England in his (Mons<sup>r</sup> de St. André's) company, and shalle remayne ambassadeur there." Letter of sir John Mason to the marquess of Northampton, from Angiers, the xxviij. of May, 1550. (Sir John Mason's letter-book in the State-paper office.) His real title, however was Boisdaulphin: see the note in p. 334.

jacket, with his sword and dagger, the foresaid provost of the order had.<sup>a</sup> After this the marshall and mons<sup>r</sup> Degar put upon the King a coat of silver, with small fringe of gold; and after that they put on a mantell, turned up on the left shoulder; and after that put on a hood on the left shoulder, and the tippet on the right shoulder; and after all this the marshall put on the collar about his neck. All these ceremonies done, they proceeded to the chappell: first, all gentlemen, and after them mr. treasurer of the King's house, after him the king of arms and the Garter in his coat of arms, and after the provost of the order with the sword, then the King, and after him the lord chamberlayn, bearing the train of the robe.

NOTE.—That Garter was in the King's privy chamber, and saw all the ceremony done.

The following items referring to the same affair are from the register of the billets, &c. signed by the King and council.

July 28. A warraunt to sir Andrew Dudley knight to deliver to (*blank*) viij. yardes of clothe of silver, and iiij. yardes iij. quarters di. of white taffeta, for lynynge to make a cope against the receyving of the Frenche order.

A note witnessing that the Kinges ma<sup>te</sup> toke out of the coffer marked withe B. a ring of golde set with a greate diamonte, and geven to the marshall St. Andrewes, the French Kinges ambassador, bringing in the French order at Hampton courte.

A lettre to the Frenche King in the commendation of the sayd marshall of St. Andrewes. (MS. Reg. 18<sup>c</sup>. XXIV. f. 121.)

The order of St. Michael had been accepted by the King's father from Francis the First in 1527, when, as now again, the orders of France and England were exchanged: see Nicolas, *History of the Garter*, p. 159 et seq. In note 3, p. 160, is there noticed the copy of the statutes of the Garter, prepared for Francis I. with a beautiful illustration, now the Additional MS. Brit. Mus. 5712: in the Chapter-house at Westminster is preserved the corresponding copy of the statutes of St. Michael, transmitted to Henry VIII. and which has an equally beautiful painting of the sovereign and knights of that order assembled in chapter. In 1566, when queen Elizabeth sent the Garter to Charles IX., the French monarch, by way of return, conferred his order on her two greatest subjects, the duke of Norfolk and earl of Leicester. "This," says Camden, "she took for a great honour, remembering herself that no English was ever honoured with this order save Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, and Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk; but when she exactly observed all things that belonged to the honour of it, she was at length much displeased to see it so vilified that it was prostituted indifferently to every man." (*Annales*.) Many of the Scottish nobility were enrolled among the knights of St. Michael; see several particulars of the early history of this order,

<sup>a</sup> See note on the like custom in the order of the Garter, p. 325.

especially as connected with England and Scotland, collected in Notes and Queries, Second Series, ii. 470, iii. 113.

King Edward's celebration of the feast of Saint Michael in the September following his investiture has been fully described in p. 346.

P. 335, note <sup>3</sup>.—At *Chelsea* probably, as before in p. 279, not at Sheen.

P. 335. *A fair house in Hyde parke*.—This temporary banqueting-house is described in the accounts of the office of the Revels, &c. as follows: "Banketing-houses two, the one in Hyede parke, conteynenge in length 57 feet, and in bredth 21 feet of assize, with a halpace staier, containing in bredth the one way 60 foote, and the other way 30 foote, and over the same a type or turret garnished. One other house in Marybone parke, conteyninge in lengthe 40 foote: the same adjoined, framed, made, and wrought of tymber, brick, and lyme, with their raunges and other necessary utensyles therto insident, and to the like accustomed. And six standinges, whereof were in either of the said parkes three, all of tymber, garnished with boughes and flowers, every of them conteynenge in lengthe 10 foote, and in bredth 8 foote: which houses and standinges were so edified, repaired, garnished, decked, and fynyshe against the marshall Saint Andrewes comynge thethere, by speciale and straight comandement as well of the late King as his counsell to sir Thomas Cawarden, knt., Mr. of the said office of Revels, and Lawrence Bradshaw, surveior of the Kinges workes, exhibited for the same, with earnest charge done, wrought, and attended betwene the 27. of June and the 2 of August in the said year." Examples of wages paid to different artificers employed on these works, for 22 days "at all hours, a space to eat and dryncke excepted:"—Carpenters at one penny the hour, bricklayers ditto, labourers a halfpenny the hour, plasterers eleven pence the day, painters seven pence and six pence the day. Charges for cutting boughs in the wood at Hyde park for trimming the banqueting-house, gathering rushes, flags, and ivy; payment to the lady Daunsye for two loads of scaffold-poles; Robert Venardo, for turning six great bases for pillars, at iij s. iiij d. each; Anthony Toto, the sergeant painter, for antique moulded heads; painters under John Ledys for painting furniture appertaining; taylors, for sewing roofs and borders; basket-makers, working upon windows, vij li. ijs. x d.; The total cost of erecting the banqueting-houses was 169 li. 7 s. 8 d. Kempe's Loseley Manuscripts, p. 96, where notices of similar erections on other occasions in the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth will be found.

P. 350. *Fees to the Heralds at the creation of the dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, the marquess of Winchester, and earl of Pembroke* :—

Particion made at London for the creation of the money (*l.* creation money) receved by the hand of Garter principall kinge of armes for ij. dukes, one marques, and one erle, of the sume of lxiiij li. 1551, the xix<sup>th</sup> day of October, payd by the same noble men, that is to say, the duke of Suffolke, the duke of Northumberland, the marques of Wynchester, and th'erle of Pembroke, the which was devyded—



|               |             | li.      | s.  | d.   |
|---------------|-------------|----------|-----|------|
| To Garter     | . . . . .   | xij      | v   | iiij |
| To Norroy     | . . . . .   | xij      | v   | iiij |
| To Clarencius | . . . . .   | xij      | v   | iiij |
| Wyndesor      | } . . . . . | xij      | v   | iiij |
| Rychemond     |             |          |     |      |
| Ruge dragon   | } . . . . . | vj       | xij | vj   |
| Porculles     |             |          |     |      |
| Blewmantell   | . . . . .   | iiij     | vj  | ij   |
| Summa         | . . . . .   | lxij li. |     |      |

(Partition Book, College of Arms.)

P. 363. *Two naggcs*.—The doubt whether one of the presents made by Edward to the dowager queen of Scotland consisted of two “ambling nags” (as they were then called), is solved by the following entry:—“A warraunt to sir Andrew Dudley, knight, etc. to deliver to th’erle of Pembroke xv. yardcs q’t’ of russet gold tyncell, making for the trapping and hed stalls of ij. horses by the King given to the Scottes quene, and xv. yardcs and a halfe of yellow bridges satten to lyne the same.” (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV f. 169.)

P. 377. *The Articles of Religion*.—Since writing the note in this page I have found proof that Strype was correct in supposing that the “articles” submitted in Oct. 1552 to the King’s chaplains were the fundamental articles of the Church of England. These articles (in Latin), forty-five in number, are extant in the State-paper office, Domestic Edw. VI. vol. xv. art. 28, being the very copy which the King’s chaplains confirmed and subscribed with their autograph signatures, as follow: Jo. Harley. Will’m<sup>o</sup> Bill. Robertus Horne. Andreas perne. Edmūdus grindall. Jo. Knokꝑ. Reduced in number to forty-two, the Articles were approved by the convocation of 1552, and then printed under the title of “Articuli de quibus in Synodo Londinensi Anno Domini 1552 inter Episcopos et alios eruditos viros convenerat,” issued in conjunction with Nowell’s catechism (noticed in p. 547). See Synodalia, a collection of Articles of Religion, &c. edited by the Rev. Edward Cardwell, D.D. 1842, two vols.; the Rev. C. Hardwick’s History of the Articles of Religion, 1842, 8vo; and the same author’s History of the Christian Church during the Reformation, 1856, 12mo.

P. 380. *Resignation of lord chancellor Rich*.—In line 5 of note, for 1665 read 1655. This misprint is important, because it deprives of meaning my subsequent words “being at once appropriated from Fuller,” whose Church History had been published just before the compilation of David Lloyd. It is worthy of remark that, when Rich retreated from the perils of the political world, he made Northumberland his proxy in the House of Lords, Jan. 30, 1551-2.

P. 380. *The lord admirall christenid the French kinges child.*—Given by King Edward to the christenyng of the Frenche kinges son :—

Imprimis, a pair of pots of gold, fair wrought and enamilled, weighing Clxv oz. di.

Item, a pair flagons of gold, wrought according to the same pots, Clxv oz. qr.

Item, one bolle of gold, wrought with divers divises of astronomye and phismanyes, Cviiij oz.

Summa totalis, Ccccxxxviiij. oz. iiij. qr.

Value Mcccxvj li. v s. (1,316*l.* 5*s.*)

(State-paper office, French correspondence, 97 a.)

"Jan. 18, v. Ed. VI. A warraunt to the lord Thesaurer for the payment of ij<sup>c</sup>. iiij<sup>xx</sup>. xij. French crownes to the lord admirall, which he gave in reward to the governour, nurse, and other' ministers about the Frenche kinges yongest sonne, lately christned by him in the Kinges name." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 177.)

P. 386. *Letters of thanks to the earls of Desmond and Clanrickard and the baron of Dungannon.*—It appears from the note-book of the council that there were "iiij lettres of thankes for the good service done unto the Kinges mat<sup>ie</sup> in the late expedition made by his highnes' marshall and theim in the north partes against Mackeneloge, &c." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 174.) In the Irish correspondence in the State-paper office, the last article of vol. ix. is one headed "L<sup>r</sup>es to be written to the lordes of Irlonde," and which presents a curious catalogue of the most influential lords of that country, both native and English. It commences thus—

To th'erle of Tirone.

To the ladie his wife, by whom he is most rulid.

To the barrone of Dongannon, who hathe well served the Kinges Mat<sup>ie</sup>, and is th'erles sonne and heire.

To Shane Onelle, an other sonne of the same Erle, w<sup>th</sup> answer to his own l<sup>r</sup>e, sent to the Kinges mat<sup>ie</sup>.

A long letter of the council to the lord deputy of Ireland, dated 26th Nov. 1551, contains this passage: "Towching the keping of therle of Tyrone with yow there, who hath as it appereth bene the chief cause of the barbarye and desolation of his owne contreye, and of his amendment no hope remayning but by taking hym out of that contreye and committing the charge to others with his son the baron of Donkanon, who is reported both civill, wise, and an obedient subject, and therin the rather hated of his father. . . . Ye shall do well to take order to send hym safely hither, and with hym also his sonne Shane Onell, if ye can obteyne hym anywise, as we perceive the said Shane is a man likest to follow his father's conditions, and to be a like enemy to the state and weale of our contreye there." In the Addit. MS. (Brit. Mus.) 6362, art. 11, is an original warrant signed by the King and council, April 6, 4 Edw. VI. for the delivery of "oone

standing cup guilte with a cover weying Thyrtie ounces and a half," to be conveyed as the King's gift to the earl of Tyrone.

Richard earl of Clanrickard wrote to the privy council on the 31st Jan. 1551, on being restored to the dominion of his country through the means of the lord chancellor. He reports that he had lately caused several gentlemen to be hung, drawn, and quartered; and boasts that the like execution had not before been seen in Ireland. He concludes with promises to continue faithful; dating from the King's majesties town of Galwey the last Jan. 1550, and signing *Rychard off Clanrycard*.

P. 392. The anecdote of the conduct of *Sir Ralph Vane* at his execution is given by Camden in his "Remaines" as from the *Relatio Gallica*.

P. 401. *Secretary de Laubespine*. "Dec. 2, v. Edw. VI.—A warrant to the lord Thesaurer to deliver to oone that he shall thinke mete the some of iij<sup>c</sup>. Frenche crownes to be mowltion downe into a cheine for mouns. de Lambespine (*sic*), the Frenche kinges secretary." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 401.)

P. 424. *Unreasonable prices of things*.—Three weeks before the visit of the councillors to the city they had attempted to reduce the prevalent high prices by letter: "Greenwicke, 18 May, 1552. A letter to the mayor of London, and to his bretherne and common counsell of the same, marvailing that they suffer the vitailers of the citie to sell still all manner of things at so excessive prises, seeing the prises ar fallen in all places of the realme but there only. Wherefore the King's Ma<sup>ty</sup> pleasour is they shall forthwith see it reformed, or ells his highnes will redresse it by other than by them if they reforme it not." (Privy-council register.)

P. 457. *Lettre sent to trie Stucleis truth*.—This letter, signed by the council, and dated from Windsor, Sept. 24, 1552, is preserved in MS. Cotton. Galba B. xii. and printed by Strype, Eccles. Memorials, ii. 329.

P. 479. *Alexander Alesse*.—In quoting Burnet respecting Bucer and the Book of Common Prayer, I was not aware of his misapprehension as to Alesse having translated that book for Bucer's use. Mr. Clay, in his preface to the Elizabethan Liturgies, &c. (Parker Soc. 1847, p. xxv.) shows that this statement is erroneous. Bucer had no means of becoming acquainted with the English book, except through an *oral* interpretation; and, although Alesse's work is printed in Bucer's *Scripta Anglicana*, immediately before his "Censura," yet this, as shown by the marginal notes, was merely to enable the reader to understand the nature of his remarks. (Note by the Rev. J. C. Robertson in Heylyn's History of the Reformation, 1849, vol. i. p. 165.)

P. 513. *Saint George*.—It appears not improbable that the proposal to exclude the commemoration of Saint George from the order of the Garter, was provoked by bishop Gardiner, who had made objections to the badge of the order, inasmuch as its continuance was an inconsistency. In a letter to master Ridley (written apparently in 1546) he asked: "If images be forbidden, why doth the King wear St. George on his breast? But he

weareth St. George on his breast: ergo, images be not forbidden. If saints be not to be worshipped, why keep we St. George's feast? But we keep St. George's feast: ergo, &c." He was answered by the reformers that they spoke only against images set up in churches, not against others.—Fexe's *Actes and Monuments* (edit. Cattley), vi. 62.

Gardiner pursued the same line of argument with regard to the King's great seal, for he appears to have imagined that the equestrian figure thereon was a representation of Saint George, and his antagonists admitted that it was actually so regarded by the rude and ignorant people. The following passage occurs in the bishop's letter to captain Vaughan, May 3, 1547:—

"The destruction of images containeth an enterprise to subvert religion, and the state of the world<sup>1</sup> with it, and especially the nobility, who, by images, set forth and spread abroad, to be read of all people, their lineage and parentage, with remembrance of their state and acts; and the poursuivant carrieth not on his breast the King's name written with such letters as a few can spell, but such as all can read, be they never so rude, being great known letters in images of three lions and three fleurs-de-lis, and other beasts holding those arms. And he that cannot read the scripture written about the King's great seal, yet he can read St. George on horseback on the one side, and the King sitting in his majesty on the other side; and readeth so much written in those images, as, if he be an honest man, he will put off his cap. And although, if the seal were broken by chance, he would and might make a candle of it, yet he would not be noted to have broken the seal for that purpose, or to call it a piece of wax only, whilst it continueth whole."

To this argument the following reply was made by the lord protector:—

"Indeed images be great letters; yet, as big as they be, we have seen many who have read them amiss; and belike they be so likely to be read amiss, that God himself, fearing the Jews to become evil readers of them, generally did forbid them. Nor is it any great marvel though in reading of them the lay-people are many times deceived, when your lordship (as appeareth) hath not truly read a most true and a most common image. Your lordship hath found out, in the King's highness's great seal, St. George on horseback, which the graver never made in it, nor the sealer ever sealed with it; and this inscription is not very little, and if it were it could not escape your lordship's eyes. As the inscription testifieth, the King's image is on both the sides—on the one side, as in war, the chief captain; on the other side, as in peace, the liege sovereign; in harness, with his sword drawn, to defend his subjects; in his robes in the seat of justice, with his sceptre, rightfully to rule and govern them; as he whom both in peace and war we acknowledge our most natural and chiefest head, ruler, and governor. If it were St. George, my lord, where is his spear and dragon? And why should the inscription round

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<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* the due subordination of ranks.



about tell an untruth, and not agree to the image? Yet it is called sometimes so of the rude and ignorant people; but not, by and by, that what is commonly called so is always truest. And some have thought that by like deceiving, as your lordship herein appeareth to have been deceived, the image of Bellerophon or Perseus was turned first and appointed to be St. George, and of Polyphemus, of Hercules, or of some other colossus to be St. Christopher, because authentical histories have not fully proved their two lives."

Gardiner was obliged to admit his blunder, but he justified himself by averring that he had adopted the vulgar error current among the people: "I was not very curious in the writing of them, for with me truth goeth out plainly and roundly; and, speaking of the King's seal, I uttered the common language I was brought up in, after the old sort. When, as I conject of a good will, the people taking St. George for a patron of the realm under God, and having some confidence of succour by God's strength derived by him, to increase the estimation of their prince and sovereign lord, I called their King on horseback, in the feat of arms, St. George on horseback, my knowledge was not corrupt. I know it representeth the King, and yet my speech came forth after the common language, wherein I trust is none offence."

P. 543. *The Regentes letters*.—The letter referred to is clearly that mentioned in the King's Journal in p. 431, as having been received on the 5th July, 1552, and not the subsequent letter in November.



# I N D E X.

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## A.

- Abbeys, commission on proceeds of sales of, 468, 469  
 Aben, John, 447  
 Abergavenny, *see* Bergavenny  
 d'Abrie, mons. 459  
 Abuses, the King's Discourse on the Reformation of, 475  
 Adams, Clement, lxxvii  
 Admiralty, charges of, 287, 289, 543  
 Adultery, proposal to punish with death, cxxxvi, 128  
 Æpinus, Joh. cccxxxviii  
 Africa, or Aphrodisium, the siege of, 289, 292, 294, 341  
 Alasco, *see* à Lasco  
 Alderley, Arthur, 451  
 Alderney, commission for fortifications in, 277, 278, 287  
 Aldeworth, Thomas, 453  
 Aldrich, dean, xxv  
 Alee, Thomas, cccxii  
 Alesse, Alexander, 479  
 Alexander, Nicholas, 316  
 Allan, John, 383  
 Allen, Robert, conjuror, cxxviii  
 Allerton, sir William, knighted, cviii  
 Allington, sir Giles, cclxii, ccxcvii  
 Almaine camp taken, 227  
 Alms, the King's daily, c  
 Alnwick, 364  
 Altars, &c. injunctions for pulling down, 280, 296  
 Alva, duke of, 461, 466, 468  
 Aman, William, 266  
 Ambletuse, *see* Newhaven  
 Amcotes, sir Henry, knighted, ccvii  
 Amiens, 267  
 Amphill, xxxviii, lxxxi, 1  
 Anabaptists, 280  
 d'Andelot, François de Coligny, seigneur, 222, 338; biographical note, 270  
 Andover, 418  
 Andrew, Nicholas, cccxii  
 d'Angoulême, Edouard-Alexandre duc, birth and christening of, 67, 281, 346, 349, 380  
 Anhault, duke of, 407  
 d'Annebaut, Claude (admiral of France), lxxviii, 22, 465  
 Anne of Cleves, lady, cccxiv; named by the King as a wife for lord Sudeley, cxv  
 Antar, Richard, 444  
 Anthony, Anthony, cxi, cccxvii, 287  
 ———— Mark, cccxii  
 Antwarpe, John, 417  
 Antwerp, 268, 285, 309, 314, 341, 406, 419, 460, 472, 505 *et seq.*; description of its trade, 510  
 Apparel, bill for restraint in, 495  
 Appleby, sir John, a tilter, 274  
 Apryce, sir John, knighted, cccii  
 Apsley, Allen, ccxcvii  
 Archers of the guard, their feats, 318, 335  
 Archery, the King's skill in, ccxviii  
 Argentine, 281  
 Arian, burnt, 312  
 Aristotle, studied by the King, cli, clx  
 Armagh, difficulties in filling the see of, 487; the blind bishop of, *see* Waucop  
 Armorer, William, lxxvi  
 Armour, Roger, lxxvii  
 Armstrong, Sandy, 291  
 Arnold, sir Nicholas, knighted, cccviii; captain of Boulogne Berg, 224, 228  
 Articles of Religion, 377  
 Arran, earl of, 467  
 Arundel, clxxvii  
 ———— Henry earl of, lxiii, xcii; mourner at king Henry's funeral, ccxl; assistant

- to king Henry's executors, lxxxiv, cclviii; marshal at the coronation, cclxx, cclxxx, ccxciii, ccxcvii; takes part against the protector, 233; made one of the six lords attendant, cxxxiii, 242; deprived of his offices and fined, 245; his autograph, in Cheke's "De obitu Bucerii," 305; again summoned to the council, 336; inculcated with Somerset, 361; sent to the Tower, 365; his examination, 369; master of the game at Petworth, 435; compounds for his fine, 473; mentioned, 512, 516, 518
- Arundel, Thomas earl of, xxiv  
 ——— countess of, clxxvii, 362  
 ——— Humphrey, captain of the Cornish rebels, 248
- Arundell, sir John, committed to the Tower, 247; released, 426  
 ——— sir Thomas, cclxi; destined for a peerage, cclxxii; active in the deposition of the protector, 245, 246; biogr. note on, 247; involved in Somerset's fall, 353, 355; condemned, 393; execution, 394
- Ascham, Roger, xli, xlvii, l, lviii, lxviii, lxix; teaches prince Edward writing, lii; letter to Barnaby Fitzpatrick, lxx; letter on the King's studies, cxxxvii, cl; letter (not Lever's) on Cheke's recovery, clxii, ccxlviii; books he is said to have read with the King, cxxi; on courtly sports, ccxviii; on archery, *ib.*; on riding, ccxx
- Ascheney, 420
- Ascough, sir Hugh, knighted, 219
- Ash Wednesday, observance of, cii
- Ashcote, John, 433
- Ashridge, xxxviii, xxxix
- Asta, battle at, 358
- Astene, the siege, 83
- Astlow, Luke, 451
- Astronomy, the King's study of, ccxvii; the King's declamation on, 133\*
- Atwood, sent commissioner to Alderney, 277, 278 (capt. Otwoodde, 286)
- Aucher, sir Anthony, ccxcv, ccci, ccxcv, 273, 304, 306, 410; made marshal of Calais, 449
- Audley, lord, at Somerset's trial, 371: *see* Awdley
- Augmentation, the court of, 432, 500, 501, 544
- Augsburg, 281, 289, 294, 353, 408, 420, 421, 445, 449, 459 (called Augusta)
- d'Aumale, Claude de Lorraine, duc, 270
- Austin friars, London, church given to the Germans, cxlix, 280
- Aveines, siege of, 434
- Awdley, lord chancellor, cclx, cclxiv, cclxv; letter of, xxxvi
- Awdeley, sir George, knighted, 220
- Ayland, dr. Henry, 306; death of, clxii
- Ayleworth, mr. 252
- Aymouth, captured, 219; rased, 251, 254
- Ayssheley, John, cxix

## B

- Babthorpe, sir William, K.B., ccc, 386
- Bacher (Baker?), John, 306
- Bacon, Anne lady, xxxii
- Bagnall, sir Ralph, knighted, 219; a joustier, ccci
- Bagnell, sir Nicholas, 383
- Baker, sir John, assistant to King Henry's executors, lxxxiv, cxxxii; under-treasurer of the exchequer, ccv, ccxcv, 233, 238, 242, 329, 336, 403 *bis*; speaker of the parliament, 409 *bis*; his fee as, 478; charge as a privy councillor, 499, 500
- Baldwyn, William, clxxv; his Funerallcs of Edward the Sixt, cxli
- Bale, John, bishop of Ossory, 489; his character of King Edward, ci; refuses to perform a requiem at Kilkenny, ccxli; his Expostulation, &c. ccli; his vocacyon to the see of Ossory, ccliii
- Banester, John, 449; sent to the Tower, 355; release, 426
- Bankers, negotiations with, 314, 396, 400, 402, 412, 413, 417, 419
- Barantyne, sir William, cclxi
- Barbaro, Daniel, Venetian ambassador, 322  
 ——— Josaphat, narration of, cccxxxv
- Bards and bases, 375
- Barclay, Henry, 451
- Barker, sir Christopher, nominated K.B. ccc  
 ——— *see* Berkeley
- Barlow, bishop William, sermon by, ciii; a Protestant bishop, cxi; a commissioner on ecclesiastical laws, 398, 399
- Barnaby, Patrick, lxxvii  
 ——— *see* Fitz Patrick



- Barnes, William, to survey Calais, 424  
 ——— sir George, clxxxii, clxxxv  
 Barneston, or Barnardeston, sir Thomas, knighted, ccii  
 Barriers, ccxx  
 Barry, captain, 286, 288  
 Bartholomew fair, cheeses at, 227; mentioned, 506  
 Base, or running, challenge at, ccxix, 311  
 Bases, 368, 375  
 Basiliques, ordnance so called, 250  
 Basill, Theodore, *see* Becon  
 Basing, the King's visit to, 452  
 Basse Fontaine, 282  
 Bassiam, or Bassiano, the family of, minstrels, cccxiii  
 Bath, 374  
 Bath, John earl of, lxii, ccxl, cclxxi; summoned to court, 270; at Somerset's trial, 371  
 Bath, Knights nominate of the, ccxcix  
 Baynard's castle, 401  
 Baynton, sir Edward, xxv, xxvi, xxxi, cclxi  
 ——— sir Henry, cclxi  
 ——— lady, ccxv  
 Beanor, Nicholas, 483  
 "bear on hand," 13  
 Bearbaiting, clxxxix, ccxxii, 272, 273  
 Beaton, the King's organmaker, ccxvi  
 Beaulieu, otherwise Newhall, Essex, 297, 308, 310  
 ——— Hants, the King's visit to, 81, 445  
 Beaumont, John, receiver-general of the court of wards, 297; master of the rolls, charged with corruption and forgery, 397; his submission before the council, 422, 426, 427; his lands, 544  
 Beckwith, sir Leonard, 263, 312  
 Becon, Thomas, sermon at court, cv  
 Beddington, cxxx  
 Bedford, John Russell earl of (lord privy seal,) cix, clxxvii, ccxc; great steward at the coronation, 212; suppresses the insurrection in Devonshire, 229; letters to, 235, 236; made one of the six lords attendant, 243; created Earl of Bedford, 248; commissioner for treaty of peace with France, 249, 266; at a chapter of the Garter, 260; attends the French ambassadors, 272; nominated for Lord President of the West, 277; his men at arms sent to the sea-coast, 285; his band of horse, 299, 419, 435; at Richmond, 336; at Court, 351, 352, 363; at earl of Arundel's examination, 369, and Somerset's trial, 371; a commissioner, 383, 389, 403; mentioned 418, 431, 436, 454, 469 *bis*, 474; his charge as a privy councillor, 498—501; mentioned, 513  
 Bedford, countess of, clxxvii, 360, 362  
 Bedill, servant to sir W. Paget, 240  
 Bedingfield, sir Edmund, cclxxi  
 ———, sir Henry, knighted, ccviii  
 Bekinsaw, Thomas, 451  
 Bell, dr. cclxii  
 ———, sir Thomas, knighted, cciii  
 ———, William, at Gardyners's sermon, cix  
 Bell-ringing on the King's removes, cx  
 Bellingham, sir Edward, ambassador to the emperor, cclxix; sent deputy to Ireland, 221; his death, 289  
 Belmayne, John, the King's French master, xlv, li, cxix, cccxxxv, 58, 144, 173, 210  
 Belpoole, Peter, 306  
 Belsire, George, 451  
 Bentley, doctor, cccxiv  
 Bergavenny, lord, cclx, 235; goes to France, 315, 316; at Somerset's trial, 371; committed to ward for striking the earl of Oxford, 403  
 Berkeley, lord, cclx  
 ——— sir Maurice, a joust, ccci  
 ——— chaplain to the lady Mary, 297  
 Berkshire, tumults in, 228 n.  
 Berteville, le Sieur, his memoir on the expedition in Scotland, 217; knighted, 220; testifies against the duke of Somerset, 375  
 Berthelot, the printer, cccxvii  
 Berwick, 216, 303; fall of the wall, 344; new fortifications at, 439, 544; officers nominated, 462  
 Beston, [William,] captain in the royal navy, 404  
 Bethell, Richard, captain in the royal navy, xcvi, 404  
 Beverley, Robert, 252  
 Bibliander, his praise of King Edward, ccii; epigram addressed to by Parkhurst, cciv  
 Bidding prayer, of Bishop Gardyners in 1548, cvii  
 Biddlecumbe, Edmund, 451  
 Bikeley, Henry, 442

- Bill, dr. William, cccxiv, 377, 394  
 Bills, seditious, 233, 242; proclamation against, 319  
 Birch, John, interlude player, 387  
 Bishops, &c. act for consecrating, 248; general character of, in Edward's reign, 478  
 Bishop's Stoke, cclii, ccliii  
 Bishop's Waltham, the King's visit to, 441  
 Blaage, sir George, knighted, 219; at Gardyners sermon, cviii; death of, clxii  
 ———, mistress, cccxv  
 Black galley, 230  
 Blackheath, 328  
 Blackness, taken by the French, 227, 228  
 Blechingley, 319  
 Blewett, sir Roger, knighted, ccii  
 Blockhouses, or bulwarks, in Essex, 461  
 Blois, 297  
 Blount, Richard, lxxvi, ccxciv; knighted, ccviii, 252, 263  
 Bocher, Joan, burnt for heresy, cvvi, ccxi, 264  
 Bodley, Christopher, 451  
 Bohemia, Maximilian king of, 368  
 Boisdaulphin, Claude, seigneur de, his embassy to England, clxxxvi, cxcii, 334; his nativity by Cardano, ccxiv  
 Boisdelowe, mons. 470  
 Bold, Philip, 460  
 Boller, Robert, 451  
 Bollonia, Alexander de, cccxii  
 Bollonus, sir Dominic, knighted, ccvii  
 Bond, R. xl  
 Bonham, sir Walter, a jouter, ecci, cciii; knighted, ccvii, 220  
 ——— William, a jouter, cciii  
 Booth, George, xxi  
 Borough, lord, cexl, cccxiv, 371  
 Borthwick, sir John, sent ambassador to Denmark, 297  
 de Bossy, mons. 432, 466, 468  
 Bothwell, earl of, 311  
 Boucher, Anthony, cxviii  
 Bouchetel, *see* de Sassy  
 Boulinois (soldiers who had been employed at Boulogne), and their captains, 286, 292  
 Boulogne, besieged, 228, 232; restored to the French, 250, 257, 262, 263; visited by Henry II. 269; mentioned, 321, 335, 385, 410  
 Boulogne berg, defended, 224; evacuated, 228  
 Bouchier, lord, cclix  
 ——— sir John, cclxi  
 Bovington, Edward, 306  
 Bowde, Thomas, cccxi  
 Bower, Richard, cccxii  
 Bowes, sir Martin, cccxv  
 ——— sir Robert, warden of the West marches, 222, 225, 266; commissioner for peace, 312; to remain warden of the East and Middle marches, 285; his information given to the marquess of Dorset, 304  
 ——— (master of the rolls), clxvii, 347, 383, 403 *bis*, 406, 414; made master of rolls, 415; a commissioner, 469, 470, 471; charge as a privy councillor, 499, 500, 501  
 Boyton, William, 306  
 Brabazon, sir William, 292, 416, 425  
 Bradford, John, sermons at court, civ, clxxix, 377, 395  
 Bradshaw, Henry, made chief baron, 415  
 Bramborough, John, clxxxvi  
 Brandenburg, Albert margrave of, embassy from 261; confederate with Maurice of Saxony, 357, 366, 405, 407, 412, 434, 445, 450, 459, 461, 468, 470  
 ——— margrave Hans of, 460, 468  
 Brandling, sir Robert, knighted, ccvi, 220  
 Brandon, lord Charles, nominate K.B. ccxcix; a jouter, cciii; verses on the death of Bucer, 306; his death, 330  
 Bray, John lord, cxix, cclix, cccxiv; a jouter, cciii; joint almoner at the coronation, ccv; 257, 260, 263; goes to France, 316, 317; at court, 359, 362, 384  
 ——— lady, cccxv  
 ——— sir Edward, sent to survey Calais and Guisnes, 385  
 Breeching or Whipping boy, lxx  
 Bremen, 294, 366  
 Brend, John, 361  
 Brentius or Brentzen, letter to, cxliii  
 Brereton, sir Urien, knighted, ccii  
 Brett, Alexander, 462  
 Brézé, Artus, seigneur de, 265  
 Bricket, Edward, at Gardyners sermon, cix  
 Bridewell palace granted to the city, clxxx; pictures at, *see* List of Portraits  
 Bridges, John, clxxviii  
 Bridgwater, rebels at, 230

- Brigham, Nicholas, teller of the exchequer, cccv
- Brisac, mareschal, 445, 447
- Bristol, mint at, 56, 224; sickness at, 87; St. James's fair, 506
- Brockett, sir John, knighted, cccii
- Bromley, sir Thomas, executor to Hen. VIII. lxxxiv; 398, 399, 499
- Brook, mr. 271, 350
- Brooke, Robert, serjeant-at-law, 398, 403, 409, 415; recorder of London, cclxxxviii
- Broughty craig, taken by the English, 219; its captain, 220; defended against the Scots, 221; skirmish at, 224
- Brown, George, archbishop of Dublin, 383, 410
- sir John, cclxi
- lady, clxxvii
- Richard, lxxvii
- Thomas, lxxvii
- Browne, sir Anthony, master of the horse, executor to King Hen. VIII. lxx, lxxxiv; rides to King Edward, lxxxv, lxxxvi, lxxxviii, cclvii, cclxxx
- (junior), nominate K.B. cccxcix; imprisoned for hearing mass, 309; a tilter, 384, 388, 389; his entertainment of the King at Cowdray, 80, 436
- Benedict, cccxi
- Edward, lxxi
- sir Edward, letter to, Pref. v
- John, interlude player, 387
- justice, 409; his wife, 360, 362
- Brudenell, sir Thomas, nom. K.B. ccc
- Bruges, 508
- Brunswick, Julius duke of, a suitor of the lady Mary, 262
- Bruxelles, 321
- Bryan, sir Francis, lxix, lxxvii, cclvii, cclxxx; his services in Scotland, 216; made a banneret, 219; marriage, and death, 65
- (Margaret) lady, xxxii, cccxv; letters of, xxxvii
- Brydges, sir Edmund, knighted, 219
- sir John, cclxi, 363
- Buccleuch, sir Walter Scott, lord of, killed, 467
- Bucer, Martin, letter supposed to be written by King Edward to, Pref. v.; letters addressed to, cxii; letters of, cxliii, cxliv; death and funeral of, 304; his book *De Regno Christi*, 475; his Review of the Book of Common Prayer, 479
- Buckden, 330
- Buckinghamshire, tumults in, 228 n.
- Buckler, sir Walter, knighted, cccii
- Buckley, sir Richard, knighted, cccvii
- William, lxxvii, 306
- Bull-baiting, cccxii, 272
- Bullinger, Henry, l; letters addressed to, cxii; cxxxiv, cxxxvi, cxxxix, *et seq.*, cxliv, clxix; dedication to the King, cxli
- Bullion, exportation of, felony, 493
- Bullocke, George, at Gardyner's sermon, cix
- Bulmer, sir Ralph, made captain of Roxburgh, 220
- Bulwarks, commission respecting, 404, 502, 544; those in Kent and Essex abandoned, 460
- Burcher, John, character of his letters, cxii
- Burghley, 418
- Burgoyne, Francis, cxlix, clviii
- Burnet, bishop, remarks on King Edward's Journal, xii; errors in his copy, xiv
- Burrough, Stephen, William, clxxxviii
- Bushop, John, 451
- Butcher, Joan, *see* Bocher
- Butler, Bartholomew, made Ulster king of arms, 395
- sir John, of co. Glouc. knighted, ccci
- of Herts, knighted, cccii
- lord, cclxi
- sir Philip, cclxii
- Philip, Athlone herald, 395
- Butt, dr. William, xxv
- Buttes, sir John, knighted, 219
- C
- Cabinet council, 501
- Cabot, Sebastian, clxxxviii
- Caius, dr. John, 330
- Calais, 263, 265, 290, 318; alterations of the fortifications in 1550, 277, 307; money sent to, 287, 289, 292; victualing of, 293, 294, 304, 306; lord Wiltoughby appointed deputy, 294; quarrel with the French about Fines-wood, 295; 1000 men sent to, 296; survey of, 385, 424; jurisdiction of, 388; mentioned, 410, 433, 449; project for its capture, 454; change of deputy, 457

- Calthorpe, sir Philip, knighted, cccii  
 Calthrop, lady, ccxcv  
 Calthropp, John, 460  
 Calvacant, Guydo, ccxcvi  
 Calvin, letter to Edward VI. cxliii; letters to, cxliv, cxlix, clviii; the King's inquiries after, cxlix; his letters to the King, cl  
 Calwey, Robert, appointed a commissioner of chantries, 221  
 Cambridge university, visitation of, ccxlv; death and funeral of Bucer at, 304  
 Campagni, Bartholomew, 70, 72, 74, 77, 88, 92, ccxcvi  
 Canon law, *see* Ecclesiastical laws  
 Canterbury, mint at, 344  
 Capell, sir Giles, cclxi  
 Capua, prior of, *see* Strozzi  
 Cardano, his character of King Edward, ccviii; Latin verses on the King's death, ccx; biogr. note on, ccxii; his scheme of the King's nativity, *ib.*  
 Carew, sir Nicholas, cclvii  
 ——— Nicholas, verses on the death of Bucer, 306  
 ——— sir Peter, a joustier, ccc, cccliii, 384, 388; goes to France, 317  
 ——— sir Wymonde, nom. K.B. ccc  
 Carlel, Christopher, 306  
 Carlisle, 418, 448  
 Carnegy, Robert, of Kinnaird, 311, 333  
 Carr, Nicholas, letter on the death of Bucer, 306  
 Carvill, Nicholas, 306  
 Cary, sir John, knighted, ccclii  
 Caryl, John, serjeant at law, 398, 399, 415  
 Casanate, Guillermo, ccxiv  
 Cashel, persons proposed for the see of, 487, 489  
 Cassilis, earl of, 467  
 Castalio, Sebastian, ccxcxi  
 Castiglioni, Gio. Battista, lii  
 Castillione, Camillo, 339  
 Castillon, the French ambassador, xxxviii  
 Catlyn, Richard, serjeant at law, 416  
 Cavendish, sir William, treasurer of the chamber, xxiii b, ccxci, ccxcv, 210, 297, 315; his fee, 432  
 Cawarden, sir Thomas, clxxii, ccxxi, ccxcv, 368, 382, 387; King Henry's bounty to, cclxxiii  
 Cecill, Mary, Cheke's epitaph on, 306  
 Cecill, Richard, ccxcii  
 ——— sir William, his wives, xlvii, xlix; his communication with Gardyner respecting his sermon, cvi; present at its delivery, cxiii; argument (written by?) against court mourning, cxlviii; letters to, clxxxvi; letter to B. FitzPatrick, 72; letter of Barnaby to him, 70; one of the judges of the marshalsea, 215; conduct at Somerset's fall, 240, 241; assists in preparing articles for Gardyner's confession, 284; sworn secretary, 292; mentioned, 343, 347; writes letter from the King to lord chancellor Rich, 347; at the creation of the duke of Northumberland, 351; knighted, 352; his conduct towards the duke of Somerset, 354; confers with ambassador from Germany, 357; a commissioner on ecclesiastical laws, 398, 399; mentioned, 403 *bis*; courted and visited at Burghley, by the duke of Northumberland, 418; signature, 425; mentioned, 434, 436, 458, 460, 463, 487, 488, 493, 499, 501; chancellor of the Garter, 516, 517; letters to, on the Garter, from duke of Northumberland and sir T. Chamberlayne, xvi; his reasonings on giving aid to the emperor, 539  
 Chaderton, John, 442, 444  
 Chain of gold, mr. Perrot's, bought for Guidotti, 256; sir Thomas Palmer's for Jarnac, 353  
 Chaloner, sir Thomas, present at Gardyner's sermon, cviii; knighted, 219; treasurer of the expedition into Ireland, 302; commissioner for peace with Scotland, 312, 322, 404; clerk of the council, 333; presumed author of an interlude, 387  
 Chamberlain, office of Great, cix  
 Chamberlain, Edward, cclxii  
 Chamberlayne, Leonard, 233  
 ——— sir Thomas, ambassador to Sweden, 260; to the Netherlands, ccxxv, 291, 541; extracts from his letters, xvi, 321, 323; mentioned, 472  
 ——— mr. clxxiv  
 Chambley, Ralph, captain in the royal navy, 404  
 Chambre, doctor John, xxv, ccxciv  
 Champagne, war in, 349, 420, 428, 465, 467  
 Champernoun, sir Arthur, knighted, ccvii  
 Chancellor, Richard, clxxxvi



- Chandlers, order taken with, 384
- Chantries, act for suppressing, 220; commission for sale of their lands, 417, 544
- Chaplains, the King's six, 376
- Charles V., emperor, his war with France and demand of assistance from England, clxiv; threatens England with war, ccxxii; his movements, 281, 289; "hot about the council" of Trent, 294; war proclaimed against him by the French, 343; demands that the lady Mary might have mass, 387; his flight from Innsbruck, 421; answer to his demands for aid, 432; 435, 457, 539; makes peace with duke Maurice, 445; marches from Augsburg towards the Low Countries, 459; audience to Morysine, 464; progress in his campaign, 466, 468; persons proposed for ambassadors to, 491
- Charter-house, London, 379
- Chartres, François vidame of, ccxxvii, 253, 257, 259, 272; his supper in London, 276; entertained by the earl of Warwick, 279; by the lord admiral, *ib.*; proceeds to Scotland, 290; at Metz, 468
- Château Brian, 324, 333
- Chatelhault, duke of, 467
- Châtillon, Gaspard de Coligni seigneur de, 228, 232, 262; commissioner for peace, 249; biographical note, 250; comes to England as ambassador, 269, 273; entertains the English ambassadors in France, 324; at Metz, 468
- the cardinal of, 325
- Chaundler, John, 451
- Cheap, the Goat in, ccciii
- "good cheap," and "better cheap," 296
- Cheeses at Bartylmew fair, 227
- Cheke, sir John, appointed schoolmaster to the prince, xxxix, xlv, 1; biog. note, xlvi, 520; his courtesy, lxxix; present at Gardyner's sermon, cviii; mentioned, cxvi, cxvii, ccxvi; opinion on the Eucharist, cxli; his own account of his instruction of the King, cli; David Lloyd's account of, clii; illness of, clix; valedictory letter to the King, *ib.*; letter of Ascham on his recovery, ccxlvi; his epitaph by Haddon, clxi; his astrological nativity and reliance on astrology, ccxvii; called Diligence by King Edward, ccxxxvi; Funerall Elegie erroneously attributed to, ccxlii; his temporary disgrace in 1549, ccxlv; letter to the duke of Somerset, ccxlv; his translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew, 41; advises the King as to lord Seymour of Sudeley, 57; has money from Seymour, 58, 62; his letters on the death of Bucer, 305, 306; verses on the same, on sir Anthony Denny, and on Mary Cecill, 306; knighted, 352; employed on the ecclesiastical laws, 398; at Eton college, 458; letter of Curio to, ccxxx; praised by Curio, ccxxxix; by Omphalius, ccxli
- Cheke, mistress, ccxv
- Chelmsford, 314
- Chenault, ambassador from France, 270, 335
- Chester, sir Robert, knighted, ccviii; mentioned, 442, 461
- Cheyne, sir Thomas, K.G. lxxv, assistant to King Henry's executors, lxxxiv, lxxxviii; continued treasurer of the household, xciv, cxxxii, clxi; destined for a peerage, clxxii, ccxciii, 233, 237, 241; sent ambassador to the emperor, 244; at a chapter of the Garter, 260, 516; receives the French ambassadors, 270, 271; his band of horse, 299, 375, 419, 435; a commissioner, 469; privy councillor, 498, 501
- Chidley [Robert, serjeant at law], 487
- Chobham, 345
- Cholmley, sir Roger, 345; made chief justice, 415; mentioned, 487
- Cholmondeley, *see* Chambley
- Chrispes, clxxxv
- Christchurch, the King's visit to, 81, 445
- Christmas, observance of, xcix, c; festivities in, 1551-2, 381
- festivities, 1552, clxxii, *et seq.*
- hall, 381, 388
- Christ's hospital, establishment of, clxxx, clxxxiv
- Church plate, commissions for, 320, 409, 544
- goods, Cranmer's conduct respecting, civ
- Chymere, the episcopal, cxlvii
- Clanricarde, Richard earl of, 387
- Clarke, Rowland, 356
- Claydon, Owen, 236

- Clerk, sir Rowland, knighted, 220  
 Clerkenwell, *see* St. John's  
 Clifford, lady Margaret, lxx; destined for  
 sir Andrew Dudley, cxcii  
 Clinton, Edward lord, cxlvii, clxxvii, cexl;  
 a joust, ccci, ccciii, 55, 67; captain of  
 Boulogne, which he delivers to the  
 French, 262, 263; welcomed home, and  
 made admiral of England, 265; taken  
 into the privy chamber, 268; captain of  
 the guard of Boulogne, *ib.*; attends the  
 French ambassador, 272; entertains the  
 King at Deptford, 279, 328; his men of  
 arms, 299, 419, 435; elected knight of  
 the Garter, cccix, 314, 516; sent as the  
 King's proxy to christen the duc d'An-  
 goulême, 349, 367, 369, 370, 380; his  
 return, 383; entertains Northumberland  
 at Sempringham, 418; returned to court,  
 436; a commissioner, 469 *bis*; privy  
 councillor, 336, 498, 501  
 ——— lady, clxxvii  
 Clonmines, 416, 425  
 Clothes, exportation of, 429; loan on, 460;  
 ill-making of, 508  
 Clothiers, regulated by the privy council, 267  
 Cloughes, Thomas, cccxvi  
 Cobham, lord, cxlviii, cexl, cclix; knight  
 of the Garter, cccix; deputy of Calais,  
 235, 252, 253, 258; ambassador to  
 France, 268; returns, 269; attends the  
 French ambassadors, 272, 273; his band  
 of horse, 299, 419; lieutenant of Ireland,  
 302; present at council, 336; at court,  
 351, 352; at the trial of Somerset, 371;  
 his men of arms, 375, 435; duties as a  
 councillor, 489, 499; at a chapter of the  
 Garter, 516  
 ——— Thomas, 388  
 ——— sir William, knighted, cccvii; goes  
 to France, 317, 388  
 Cockes, or Cooke, grome of the chamber,  
 cccxii  
 ——— or Coke, John, master of requests,  
 ccviii, cexiii, 290, 493, 499  
 Coffyn, sir William, xxiv  
 Coinage, abasement of the, clxiv, 317, 329,  
 332, 338; commission thereon, 471;  
 arrangements for a new, 342, 344, 346;  
 description of the various coins, 347;  
 with ragged staff, clxvi, 374  
 Coke, *see* Cockes and Cooke  
 Colborne, William, York herald 352  
 Collars of jewellery, the King's, 444, and  
 List of Portraits.  
 Colley, Richard, cccxii  
 Comets, the King's conversation with Car-  
 dano on, ccix  
 Commissions for revenue, &c. 468, 469, 470  
 Common Prayer, Book of, cxi, 223, 248,  
 276, 278; the second, 479  
 Communion, declaration against kneeling  
 at, clxix  
 Compton, Thomas, 433  
 Constable, sir Marmaduke, knighted, 200  
 ——— lady, 362  
 ——— sir Robert, 386  
 ——— Robert, captain in the royal navy,  
 404  
 Contile, Lucas, cxcii  
 Conway, sir John, knighted, 219  
 Conyers, lord, deputy warden of the West  
 march, 304, 365, 389, 404, 448  
 ——— captain, 286, 288  
 Cooke, sir Anthony, biographical note, xlix;  
 his opinion on the Eucharist, cxli; com-  
 mendation by Curio, cexliv; epitaph, *ib.*;  
 nominate K.B. ccc; his verses on the  
 death of Bucer, 306; commissioner on  
 the ecclesiastical laws, 398, 399; wit-  
 ticism of, 439  
 ——— lady, 360, 362  
 ——— William, commissioner on the ec-  
 clesiastical laws, 399; fee, 409  
 Copland, mr. xl  
 Coppinger, sir Ralph, knighted, 219  
 Corbet, sir Andrew, knighted, cccvii, 220  
 ——— sir Richard, knighted, cccvii  
 Corfe castle, 369  
 Cork, fortifications at, 302  
 Corn and victuals, proclamation respecting  
 293, 296  
 Cornelis, Edward, the King's locksmith, cx,  
 cccxvi  
 Cornewallys, sir John, xxvi, xxvii; biog.  
 note, xxxi  
 ——— sir Thomas, knighted, cccvii  
 Cornwall, rebellion in, 248  
 Coronation, xcv, cclxxviii, cccv  
 Cossey, William, clxxxvi  
 Cotton, sir George, xxxii, xlii, xliv, liii, lxxiii  
 ——— sir Richard, lxxvii, 240, 263, 357;  
 knighted, ccci; entertains the King at  
 Warlington, 11, 440; the queen dowager

- of Scotland, 358; sent to survey Calais and Guisnes, 385, 424; a commissioner, 406, 414; made comptroller of the household, 448; commissioner, 458, 468, 469 *bis*, 470, 471; privy councillor, 499, 501
- Cotton, Thomas, captain in the royal navy, 404
- sir Thomas, made porter of Calais, 457
- Council, constitution under King Henry's will, lxxxiv; altered by the letters patent of the protectorate, lxxxviii; summoned in full numbers to communicate with the lady Mary, 336; at other times reduced to a cabinet, 348, 501; the star-chamber, 267; distribution of their duties, 498-502, 552 *et seq.*
- clerks of, their fees, clxii
- of Trent, re-assembling of, 292, 294, 579
- Courtenay, Edward lord, excepted from the general pardon, 212
- sir ———, 64
- mr. a tilter, 384, 388, 389
- Courts of revenue, &c. *see* Augmentation
- Couvrieres, Jean de Montmorency, seigneur de, comes from the regent of Flanders, xlx, 412, 413; departs, 426
- Coventrie, John, 414
- Coverdale, Miles, cxlv, cxlix, cc; made bishop of Exeter, 339; commissioner on ecclesiastical laws, 398, 399
- Coxe, Richard (bishop of Ely), made Almoner to the Prince, xxxii, xxxix; his first schoolmaster, (and biog. note,) xlv; testimony to the Prince's diligence, lxxvii, lxxviii; his letter to Paget, *ib.*; present at Gardyner's sermon, cviii; preaches before the King, cxxvi; "no longer tutor," cxli; called Moderation by King Edward, ccxxxvi; letter to archbishop Cranmer, 3; letters of Edward to, 5, 6, 7, 11, 15, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25; appointed almoner, 209; a commissioner for ecclesiastical laws, 398, 399
- Cowdray, the King's visit to, 80, 436; the queen dowager of Scotland at, 358
- Cramp rings, the King's, cii
- Crane, John and Barbara, 355, 361, 365, 369, 370, 372, 426
- Cranmer, Thomas, archbishop, executor to Henry VIII. lxxxiv, lxxxviii; his address at the coronation, xc; his conduct respecting church goods, civ; on the sacrament, in the house of lords, cxii; letter to dr. Parker, cxxv; conduct at Somerset's deposition, cxxx; described by Hooper, cxl; has relaxed his Lutheranism, cxlii, cxlv; conduct towards Hooper, cxliii, cxlvi; recommends Calvin to write often to the King, cl; his advice respecting the emperor, ccxxiii, *et seq.*; Morysine's character of, ccxxvii; performs the service at Edward's funeral, cxcli; sermon by, ccxlvii; his new-year's gifts, cclxiv, cclxv; godfather to King Edward, 209; Letters of Edward to, v, 1, 3, 36; letter to Prince Edward, 4; crowns the King, 212; his answer to the Devonshire rebels, 230; his conduct as to Joan Bucher, 264; conduct at Somerset's fall, 234, 239, 240; opinion as to the lady Mary's mass, ccxxi, 309; at Richmond, 336; his labour on the ecclesiastical laws, 398; supports bishop Tunstall, 465; letters to Cecill, 487, 488; duties as a councillor, 498, 501; defence as to the succession, 566
- Cratzer, Nicholas, ccxvii
- Croft, sir James, knighted, ccxvi; commissioner for fortifications in Ireland, 302, 310; made lord deputy, 316; his instructions, 338; a commissioner, 466
- Croke, dr. Richard, xli, xlv, liii, lxxi
- Croydon, 319
- Crumwell, Gregory lord, xli, ccxxi, 371; nom. K.B. ccxcix
- Thomas lord, cclviii, cclxiv, cclxv
- Cuffe, captain, 286, 288
- Cullam, 237
- Culpeper, Alexander, 328
- John, 306
- sir Thomas, 273, 329
- Cumberland, earl of, negotiations for the marriage of his daughter the lady Margaret, clxv; made joint lieutenant of Westmerland, cxcii
- Curio, on the King's education, ccxlv; letter to Cheke, ccxxxx; his Cicero, ccxxxxi
- Curthop, James, preaches at court, cxxv
- Curzon, sir Robert, knighted, ccxvi
- Cuttes, sir John, nominated K.B. ccc, 260; goes to France, 317, 582

## D

- Dacre, sir Thomas, knighted, 219; made warden of the West march, 448, 460, 471  
 — William lord, ccxl; his command in Scotland, 215; warden of the West march, 291; in parliament, 493  
 Dacre of the South, lord, cclix  
 Dallison, William, serjeant at law, 416  
 Damville, Henry de Montmorency duc de, 270  
 Danby, sir Christ. destined for a barony, cclxxii, cclxxiv  
 — sir Thomas, knighted, 220  
 Dansell, 252, 309  
 Dantzic, corn provided from, 303  
 Danvilliers, siege of, 83, 426  
 Danyell, Thomas, cclxxiii  
 Darcy, sir Arthur, clxvii; made lieutenant of the Tower, 358, 370  
 — sir Thomas, made one of the four knights attendant and vice-chamberlain, cxxxiii, 244, 248, 249; mentioned, cxlviii, clxxvii *bis*, ccxxvii, cclxii, cclxxiv, ccxcv; elected K.G. ccxix, 219, 221, 238; lord lieutenant, 267; his band of horse, 299; made lord Darcy of Chiche and lord chamberlain, 312; in council, 336, 347; at court, 351; at Somerset's trial, 371; his men of arms, 375, 419, 435; receives the seal from Rich, 379; mentioned, 387, 403, 410, 431, 436, 458, 469 *bis*; duties as a councillor, 498—501  
 Darrington, Richard, ccxxii  
 Dartmouth, 455, 549  
 Dawbeney, Oliver, 425  
 Day, George, bishop of Chichester, preaches at court, cxxxvi, cclxii; letter of Edward to, 37; preaches against transubstantiation, 255; proceedings against, 343, 345, 347, 487; deposed, 349; recommended by Cheke to the King's favour, clxi; preaches at the King's funeral and at Mary's coronation, cclxi  
 Debateable land, invaded by the Scots, 291; negotiations respecting, 300, 301, 389, 404, 407, 434, 460  
 Debts, the King's, 266, 292, 313, 314, 343, 396, 406, 409, 412, 413, 414, 417, 419, 460, 489, 543  
 — due to the King, commissions for, 383, 389, 501  
 Declamations, the schemes of Quintilian and Erasmus for, Pref vi  
 Denisot, Nicolas, cccxxxiii, 274  
 Denmark, embassy to, 297  
 Denny, sir Anthony, executor to Henry VIII. lxxxiv, lxxxviii; his testimony to king Henry's will, cclxxi, cclxxiv; king Henry's bounty to, cclxxiii; at the coronation, ccxcv; his death, clxii; verses by sir John Cheke on, 306  
 Dennys, George, lxxvii  
 Denton, mr. 492  
 Denys, sir Maurice, knighted, cclii; treas. of Calais, 258, 265, 266, 287, 290, 307  
 — sir Thomas, cclxxi  
 — sir Walter, cclxi  
 Deptford, 257, 271; King at, cxi, 279, 328  
 Derby, earl of, xcii, ccl, ccxciii; created K.G. xciv, ccxix, 328, 336, 371, 492, 516  
 Desmond, James earl of, 387, 467, 592  
 Dethick, sir Gilbert, 412, 516; knighted, ccviii; his creation as Garter, cxxxvii; goes to France, 582—586  
 — named for the see of Armagh, 488  
 — captain, 222  
 Deuxpont, 466  
 Devenish, captain, 286  
 Devereux, sir Richard, nom. K.B. ccxcix; a challenger at jousts, cco  
 Devonshire, insurrection in, 229, 248  
 — Edward earl of, cccxxxvii  
 Diamonds, 390  
 Dieppe, 327, 340, 366  
 Dies, sir Christopher, knighted, 220  
 Digby, a joust, ccci, ccicii  
 — Anthony, 384, 388, 389  
 — Francis, clxxxvi  
 Dobbes, sir Richard, clxxxii  
 Doncaster, 364  
 Donne, sir Griffith, cclxii  
 Donnington castle, the King's visit to, 453  
 Doodall, Patrick, 383  
 Doria, Andrea, 289, 292, 294, 322  
 Dormer, sir William, xxxix  
 — Jane (duchess of Feria), xxxix, cccxxiv  
 Dorset, Henry Grey, marquess of, xcii; constable at the coronation, cclxx, cclxxx, ccxciii, ccxcvii; elected K.G. xciv, ccxix; mentioned, 53, 55, 56, 60, 260; attends the French ambassadors, 272; made warden of the North marches, 304; re-



- signs, 344; mentioned, 347; favours Protestantism, cxl, cxlii; created duke of Suffolk, 350. *See* Suffolk
- Dorset, Frances marchioness of, cccxv  
 ——— Margaret dowager marchioness of, xxiv
- Douglas, lady Margaret, *see* Lennox
- Dover, 259, 289, 328, 335, 407, 548, 549
- Dowche, Jasper, 315
- Dowdall, George, archbishop of Armagh, 257, 489
- Dowglas, Sir, a priest, cccxviii
- Doyle, sir Henry, knighted, cccii
- Dragut Rey, the corsair, 289, 292, 294, 322
- Drury, mr. 384, 388  
 ——— sir William, cclxii, cccii
- Ducket, Lyonell, 460
- Dudley, lord Ambrose, knighted, lxii, cccvii;  
 his love of learning, lxvi; a tilter, 384, 388, 389; death of his wife, 418  
 ——— sir Andrew, xlv, clxxxviii, exc, exci, excii; appointed admiral in the North seas, 213; biog. notices of, *ibid.*; appointed captain of Broughty craig, 220; which he defends, 221; made one of the four knights attendant, 243; when captain of Guisnes quarrels with the deputy of Calais, 388; appointed to survey Portsmouth, 417; revoked from Guisnes, 461; K.G. 516, cccvii; his proposed marriage to the lady Margaret Clifford, excii  
 ——— Edward, 364, 365  
 ——— sir Edward, made captain of Home castle, 220  
 ——— Elizabeth, xxxii  
 ——— lord Guilford, his projected alliance with lady Margaret Clifford, clxv, clxviii; marriage to the lady Jane Grey, exc  
 ——— Henry, accompanies the vidame of Chartres to Scotland, 290; vice-admiral of the King's navy, 404, 407, 443  
 ——— lady, 360, 362  
 ——— sir John, cclxi  
 ——— lady Katharine, marriage of, lxvii, cxc  
 ——— lord Robert (afterwards earl of Leicester), lxvi, 64; his marriage, 275; sworn one of the six ordinary gentlemen, 338; at court, 359, 384, 389; elected of the Garter, 411; his copy of the statutes of the Garter, 511
- Duke's place, Southwark, 228, 233, 234, 243, 244
- Dungannon, the baron of, 387, 592
- Dunglas castle, 217, 251, 254; delivered, 264
- Dunow, 222
- Duns, Henry, 433
- Dunstalle, George, 235
- Durham, proposed division of the see of, 377, 547  
 ——— place, exci, 270, 328, 330
- Durham, Henry, betrays Broughty craig, 221
- Duvall, mons. 459
- Dybbins, William, 451
- Dyer, sir James, serjeant-at-law, 415, 494;  
 speaker of the parliament, clxxviii;  
 knighted, cccviii; 569  
 ——— sir John, knighted, cccii
- Dymock, sir John, champion at the coronation, 213

## E.

- Earthquake in Surrey, 319
- Easter, observance of, xcvi
- Eaton, Thomas, 460
- Ecclesiastical laws, commission for, 397
- Eden, Richard, clxxxviii, clxxxix
- Edmonds, William, clxxxvi
- Edmondstone, a pirate, 311
- Edrington, 300, 301
- EDWARD, KING: His birth, xxi, 209; his seize quarters, xxii; christening, xxiv, 209; ceremonial of, cclv, cclxiii; his nursing, xxvi; household as Prince, xxvi; visits to him, xxxv; education, 209, xl, cclxiv; his penmanship, lii; his schoolfellows, lvi; not elected of the Garter, lxxxi; intended creation as Prince of Wales, lxxxi, ccc, 210; accession to the throne, lxxxv, 210; proclamation thereof, cclxvi, 210; style as proclaimed at his christening, cclx; at his coronation, cccxviii; brought to the Tower of London, lxxxvi, 210; knighted, xci; coronation, xcvi, 212; ceremonial thereof, cclxxviii—ccc; residences, xcvi; religious observances, xcvi; progress in 1548, ex; his domestic life, cxii; conduct towards lord Seymour of Sudeley, cxv; passes from Suffolk place, in Southwark, through London to Whitehall, cxxxviii, 228; carried to Windsor castle

by the duke of Somerset, cxxix, 236; his parting from the protector, cxxxii; and the "faults" which, on the council's information, he attributed to him, 240; six lords appointed to be attendant on him, and four principal gentlemen of the privy chamber, cxxxiii, 241; again rides through London, cxxxiv, 244; sentiments attributed to him on the burning of Joan Bocher, ccvi, 264; receives the French ambassadors, 271 and 272 note; takes the oath for the acceptation of the treaty, 272; present at the marriage of lord Lisle, 273; and at that of sir Robert Dudley, 275; his progress in 1550, cxxxviii, 275; entertained by the lord admiral Clinton at Deptford, 279; again, 328; and again, 388; receives his sister the lady Mary, 308; challenge for athletic sports, 310; runs at base, 311; shoots at rounds and at rovers, 312; runs at the ring, 317; witnesses the musters of the archers of the guard, 318; describes the negotiations for his marriage with a princess of France, 319, 325—327; elected a knight of the order of St. Michael, 322; which he accepts, 323; is invested, 331, 587; and keeps the feast of Michaelmas, 346; entertains the *maréchal* St. André at Hampton Court, 331; and displays his accomplishments before him, 332; progress in 1551, 343; entertains the queen dowager of Scotland, cliv, 363; falls sick of the measles and small-pox, clviii, 408; and consequently dissolves the parliament by commission, *ib.*; his progress of 1552, clviii, 428, *et seq.*; illness, clxxvi; temporary amendment, clxxxvi, cxlviii; his devise for the succession to the Crown, 561; minutes for his will, 575; last illness, cxcvii; death, cxcix; his death kept secret, ccxxxvii; said to have been poisoned, *ib.*; funeral, ccxxxviii. Character: by Udal, cc; by T. Cooper, ccxlviii; by Bale, cci; by Sleidan, ccii; Bibliander, *ib.*; Foxe, cciv; Cardano, ccviii; the Heroologia, ccx; sir John Hayward, ccci; compared to Josias (*see* Josias), to Constantine, ccii; to Salomon, cccxi; personal appearance, ccxiv; his sports, ccvii; conduct towards his sister Mary, ccxxi; intercourse with Elizabeth,

ccxxxii. Anecdotes and sayings: his playing with Jane Dormer, xl; his description of his preceptors, xlv; royal swearing, lxxiv; remark on bishop Thirleby, cxii; on the marriage of lord Seymour, cxv; on Windsor castle, cxxxi; on altering the oath of supremacy, cxlv; his habits of study, clii; on Cheke's illness, clix; saying to sir Thomas Gresham, cxliii; three swords at his coronation, ccii; at shooting with the duke of Northumberland, ccxix; refuses to stand upon a bible, cccxxiii; regrets the destruction of good monasteries, cccxxiv; attention to sermons, xx; and to common prayer, *ib.* note; account of his MS. remains, Pref. i.; his writing-desk, xxi; his quadrant, xxi b; autographs xxii; his exercise-books, cccxx; his library, cccxxv; his portraits, cccxxxviii

Egerton, mr. 491

Egyptians, &c. privy search for, 280

Elderton, Christmas fool, clxxii

Elford, Roger, 367

Elizabeth, the lady, present at her brother's christening, xxiv, celviii, cclx; her skill in Italian, lii; her musical skill, liv; Leland's verses on her accomplishments, lxxx; earl of Devon and lord Maltravers both named as likely to marry her, lxiv; design of lord Seymour of Sudeley to marry her, cxx; her report of Somerset's speech regarding his brother's execution, cxxi; letter addressed to by Seymour at his death, cxxiii; letter of the council to on Somerset's deposition, cxxx; described by bp. Hooper, cxl; account of Edward's intercourse with, cccxxvi; called his sweet sister Temperance, *ib.*; her new year's gifts to prince Edward, cclxiii, cclxv; book presented by her to her father, cccxxv; letters of Edward to, 31, 40; at Hatfield, 31; at Enfield, 210; letter of privy council to, 240; proposed in marriage to the prince of Denmark, 297; informed of the queen of Scotland's arrival, 359

— of France, cliv; biog. note, 319; proposed in marriage to King Edward, 319; negotiations for, 325—327, 333, 387; receives a diamond from Edward, 390

Ellerker, sir Ralph, knighted, ccviii

- Ellerker, William, a joust, ccc  
 Elliott, John, 460  
 Ely place, 54, 233  
 Enfield, lxxxv, ccxlvii, 62, 210  
 d'Enghien, Jean comte, 253, 259, 263, 324, 583  
 Englefield, Francis, 336, 339, 340; knighted, cccii  
 Enlesfeld, John, 386  
 Episcopal vestments, controversy on, cxlv, cxlvi  
 Erasmus, 19, 214; his Institution of a Christian Prince translated by lord Lumley, lxiv; his paraphrase of New Testament, cc; his directions for themata, vi  
 Erskine, Thomas, master of, 266, 268, 282, 311, 312  
 d'Esse, André de Montalembert, sieur, 222  
 Esses, the collar of, cxxxviii, 526  
 Essex, Henry Bouchier earl of, cclviii, cclix, cclxiv  
 — William Parr earl of, assistant to king Henry's executors, lxxxiv, lxxxviii; created marquess of Northampton, xciii  
 Essex, sir Thomas, knighted, xcvi  
 — sir William, cclxi  
 Essex, insurrection and conspiracies in, 226, 227, 280, 313; bishop of London's injunctions enforced in, 280  
 — blockhouses in, 461  
 Esterby, Leonard, clxxxvi  
 Eton college, visitation of, 458  
 Eucharist, disputation on, 224; Ponet's sermon, cxxxiv; Lutheran book on, cxli; verses on, 206; books, cccxxvii, cccxxx  
 Euers, lord, goes to France, 316, 317; at court, 359, 363; at trial of the duke of Somerset, 371; warden of the Marches, 448, 471; present in parliament, 492  
 Exchange, proclamation respecting, 320, 490  
 Exeter, marquess and marchioness of, xxiv, cclviii  
 — siege of, 229  
 Eyes, water for, used by King Edward, ccxv  
 Eyre, Christopher, 53  
 — dr. Giles, lxxx; sermons at court, cv, cxxiv  
 F  
 Fagius, Paul, 304  
 Falmouth, 455, 549  
 Falcon, The, takes a Flemish ship, 402  
 Falstone, the King at, 448  
 Fane, *see* Vane  
 Fargan, Martin, 306  
 Farms, large, proclamation against, 318; act against plurality of, 492  
 Farnese, (Ottavio,) 321  
 Farnham, the King at, 343  
 Farrer, bishop, disputes on the sacrament, cxii  
 Faulkner, Henry, 451  
 Fenn, Robert, 451  
 Ferdinando, king of the Romans, 412  
 Fera, Jane duchess of, xxxix, ccxxxix  
 Fernham, Robert, 451  
 Ferrers, George, lord of misrule, clxxii *et seq.* 217, 382, 383  
 — lord, cclx, *see* Hereford  
 Filiol, family of, 445  
 Fines wood, near Calais, 295  
 Fireworks, *see* Wildfire, 272  
 Fisher, — committed to the Marshalsey, 356  
 Fitzgerald, lord, *see* Garrett  
 Fitzherbert, sir Thomas, knighted, cccii  
 Fitzpatrick, Barnaby, the King's favourite companion, xix, lxix, lxxvii; biogr. notice of, 63; the King's instructions on his departure to France, 67; the King's letters to, 65 *et seq.*; his letters to the King, 73, 76, 78, 82, 88; their literary history, Pref. iv; sworn of the six ordinary gentlemen, 336; his companions to France, 346; presented to the French King, 380  
 Fitzwalter, Thomas lord, cclix; a joust, cccii, ccciii; summoned to court, 270; goes to France, 316, 317; at court, 352, 359, 362, 363, 384, 388, 389; furnished for the campaign, 401; sent for home 457  
 Fitzwarine, John lord, lxii; knighted, cccvii; a hostage in France, 252, 253, 262; a tilter, 384, 388  
 Fitzwilliam, William, 70, 317, 582  
 — sir William, knighted, cccviii  
 Flanders, sir P. Hoby sent ambassador to, 396, 400, 402; embassy from, 412, 413, 431; negociation with, 472, 543  
 Fleet, the King's, *see* Ships  
 Fleet prison, 340  
 Flemmyng, sir Francis, master of the ordinance, knighted, 219; mentioned, 287  
 Fogg, sir John, 449  
 Follambray, or Follambro, 465, 467, 468  
 Fontenello, 334

Forrest, Henry, cccxviii  
 ——— William, cccxxxv  
 Forster, sir John, knighted, 220  
 ——— Bridget, xxxv  
 Fortescue, Anthony, 451  
 ——— sir                   ?, excepted from the  
     general pardon, 212  
 Foscue, Nicholas, xcvi, cx  
 Foster, sir Humphrey, xxiv, cclviii  
 Fowler, John, cxv, cccxii, 15, 22, 451;  
     letters to lord admiral Seymour, 59, 61  
 Foxe, his character of King Edward, cciv  
 France, declaration of war, 227, 577; peace  
     with, 249; proclaimed, 254; comprehen-  
     sion of Scotland, 268; treaty for the King's  
     marriage with, 326; English merchantmen  
     annoyed by, 445, 450 *note*, 459, 463, 468,  
     540; the peasantry of, 481; the King's  
     notes on the English occupation of, 555  
     *et seq.*  
 Francis I. death of, 213  
 Franconia, 434  
 Frankewell, mistress, cccxv  
 Frankfort, 434, 505, 510  
 Franklens, or yeomen, 56  
 Francis, sir William, knighted, 219  
 Frederick II. King of Denmark, 299  
 Fredwald, treaty of, 357, 406  
 Freman, John, 491  
 French crown, its value in England, 287  
 Frere, John, 306  
 Fressé, Jean de, 357, 367  
 "Frigidam suffundit," 29  
 Fugger, Anthony, and nephews, bankers,  
     315, 319, 396, 402, 412, 413, 417, 419;  
     biogr. notice of, 315  
 Fulwell, Ulpian, his "Flower of Fame," 222  
 de Funette, mons. 255, 578  
 Fylpot, John, ccliii

## G

Gage, sir John, constable of the Tower,  
 assistant to King Henry's executors,  
 lxxxiv; continued comptroller of the  
 household, xciv, cxxxii, cxxxiii, cclxi,  
 cxciii, cccxv, 211, 233, 235, 242, 259,  
 336; counsellor 499  
 de la Garde, baron, cclxxix, cxciii, 341,  
 356, 369  
 Gardens at the King's palaces, cccxiii  
 Gardiner, Thomas, 306  
 Gardynier, Stephen, bishop of Winchester,  
 xxv; letter to Ridley on his sermon, ci;  
 letter on bishop Barlow's sermon, cii;  
 his sermon on St. Peter's day, 1548, cvi  
*et seq.*; his presents to prince Edward,  
 cclxiv, cclxv, 59; committed to ward for  
 not receiving the King's Injunctions, 220;  
 committed to the Tower, 223; questioned  
 by the council, 276, 278, 283, 284; se-  
 questered from his first fruits, 285; de-  
 prived of his bishopric, 303  
 Gargrave, sir Thomas, knighted, cccvii  
 Garrat, of the guard, cxix  
 Garret, alderman, 460  
 Garrett, lord, 359, 363  
 Garter, order of, prince Edward not elected  
 of, lxxxi; his first chapter as sovereign,  
 xciv; St. George's day in 1550, 260;  
 carried to Henri II. of France, 325; to  
 sir Andrew Dudley and the earl of West-  
 merland, 412; alteration of its statutes,  
 xvi, 411, 511 *et seq.*; new seal of, 534,  
 535, 538; list of knights during the reign,  
 cccix  
 ——— king of arms, creation of, cxxxvii  
 Gates, sir Henry, knighted, 219; a tilter,  
 368, 369; a pensioner, 513  
 ——— sir John, xlv, cclxxiii; nominated  
 K.B. ccc; a jouter, ccci, ccciii; sheriff  
 of Essex, 280, 284; allowed to retain  
 forty persons, 409; made vice-chamber-  
 lain, 312; in council, 347; mentioned,  
 370, 383, 389, 406; allowed twenty-five  
 men of arms, 409, 416, 419, 431; a com-  
 missioner, 414; made chancellor of the  
 duchy of Lancaster, 430; attends the  
 King on his progress, 436; a commis-  
 sioner, 468, 469 *bis*, 470, 472; coun-  
 cillor, 498, 501, 567  
 ——— Henry, cclxxiii  
 Gaudy, Thomas, a commissioner for the  
 ecclesiastical laws, 399; serjeant at law,  
 415  
 Gendarmery, musters of, 316, 350, 359,  
 375, 416; numbers appointed to attend  
 the King on his progress, 419; reduced,  
 435  
 Gentlemen, the country, not to be trusted,  
 56; "extortious," 242  
 Gentlemen of the privy chamber, the four,  
 appointment of, cxxxii, clxix, 242; called  
 "six" by the King, 338



- Genoa, 289  
 George, Saint, discussion on, 513, 593;  
     pageant of, cclxxxviii  
 German congregation in London, 280, 579  
 German princes, message from, 357; the  
     answer, 366; message to, 413  
 Germany, Will. Thomas's advice respecting,  
     clxiv; Cecil's, 539  
 Gests, of the progress, 275  
 Gianetti da Fano, Guido, clxxxix  
 Gibbs, of the guard, 375  
 Gifford, sir Roger, knighted, ccii  
     — sir Thomas, knighted, cciii  
 Gilgate, Philip, lxi  
 Gillingham water, 288, 323  
 Gilpin, Bernard, preaches at court, clxxvi  
 Gingham, or Zinzan, ccxii  
 Glasgow, archbp. of, *see* Gordon  
 Gloucester, bishopric annexed to Worcester,  
     414  
 Gloucestershire, insurrection in, 225  
 God save King Edward, song of, clxxxii  
 Godsalve, sir John, cclxxvii, ccii, ccxvi,  
     220, 265  
 Gold coined, 432  
 Golding, sir Thomas, knighted, ccviii  
     —, esquire, 236  
 Gondi, mons., 258  
 Gonstone, Benjamin, 271, 287, 542  
 di Gonzaga, don Ferdinand, 334, 338, 471  
 Good Friday, observance of, xevii  
 Goodacre, Hugh, archbishop of Armagh,  
     257, 489  
 Goodrich, John, 306  
     — Richard, 345, 398, 399, 403, 414;  
         fee as attorney of the court of augmenta-  
         tion, 432; a commissioner, 469, 487  
     — Thomas (bishop of Ely), clxxviii;  
         prepares lord Seymour of Sudeley for  
         death, cxiii; one of the Protestant  
         bishops, cxi; argued with Joan Bocher,  
         264; to assist in preparing articles for  
         bishop Gardyner, 284; sent ambassador  
         to France, 315, 319, 325; his reward,  
         337; custos of bishop Day, 345; made  
         lord keeper, 381; chancellor, 74, 390;  
         a commissioner, 383; for the ecclesiastical  
         laws, 398, 399; mentioned, 403, 458;  
         duties as a privy councillor, 498, 501;  
         employed to distribute rewards at the  
         close of the parliament, 409; a commis-  
         sioner, 468, 469  
 Goodwyne, a joust, ccci  
 Gordon, Alexander, archbishop of St. An-  
     drew's, 282  
 Goring, sir William, cclxxi, cclxxiv  
 Gosnald, John, 345, 398, 399, 403 *his*, 414,  
     415, 488; fee as solicitor of the court of  
     augmentation, 432; privy councillor,  
     499—501, 567, 573  
 Gosselyn, Elier, 433  
 Gousa, 408  
 Gracedieu, 418  
 Grafton, Richard, ccxvi, cccxxxiv; his  
     charity, clxxx  
 Græmes, or Grahams, 291  
 Granado, sir Jacques, ccvi, ccxvi, 220;  
     a tilter, 388; sent with horses to France,  
     392; his death, 394  
 Grantham, 364  
 Granville, the cardinal, ccxxiv  
 Gravenor, sir Thomas, knighted, ccii  
 Gravesend, 328, 329, 330  
 Gray, lord, accepts an English pension, 221  
 Great Harry, the ship, cxi  
 Green boughs, bought for the royal pa-  
     laces, xvi, cx  
 Greenway, Richard, ccxcv  
 Greenwich palace, xvi, 221, 265, 280, 317,  
     381, 383, 390, 412, 416, 428, 511, 512,  
     513; departure of Willoughby's expedi-  
     tion, clxxvii  
 Grenier, Nicole, cccxxxi  
 Gresham, sir John, knighted, 219; his  
     losses in the mint, 307  
     — sir Richard, clxxx, ccci, cciii,  
         cccxv  
     — sir Thomas, his services to the  
         King, 315, 391, 400, 413, 419, 460, 545,  
         550; the King's bounty to, cxiii  
 Greville, sir John, knighted, ccii  
 Grey, lady Jane, *see* Jane  
     — lord John, a joust, cciii; surrenders  
         Newhaven, 227  
     — Lady Katharine, cxci  
     — Lady Mary, *ib.*  
     — Ralph, of Chillingham, 448, 472  
     — lord Thomas, knighted, ccci; 570  
     — sir Thomas, 364  
     — of Wilton, William lord, cxli; his  
         services in Scotland, 216; knighted, 219;  
         leaves Scotland, 225; suppresses insur-  
         rection in Oxfordshire, 228; sent into  
         the West, 229; mentioned, 235, 257,

- 260, 271; involved in the duke of Somerset's fall, 353, 355; released from the Tower, 24; proposed for deputy of Calais, 457; made captain of Guisnes, 461
- Grey, William, of Reading, 234; deceased, 354
- Griffith, sir Roger, knighted, ccii
- Grimston, sir Edward, 449
- Grindal, Edmund, 377, 591; preaches at court, clxxix
- Groat, in value xij d. 346
- Grosvenor? *see* Gravenor
- Gryffyn, Edward, solicitor-general, lxxxix, 403 *bis*; made attorney-general, 415, 499, 500, 567, 573
- Gualter, Rodolph, ccv
- Guard, yeomen of the, their qualifications and exercises, ccxii; furnished for the progress of 1550, 275; for that of 1552, 435; musters of, 318, 334
- Guernsey, 278, 433
- Guidotti, Anthony, beginner of the talk for peace with France, 249, 256; knighted and pensioned, ccviii, 256; house at Southampton, 445; mentioned, 546, 582
- Guildford, royal manor of, 434; the King visits, cxxxviii, 80, 290, 292, 428, 434; the queen dowager of Scotland at, 358
- Guildhall, London, 233, 234
- Guillam, little, 317
- Guise, 428
- Claude de Lorraine duc de, his fatal illness and death, 256, 259, 285
- François duc de (*see* Mayenne), 325; made governor of Lorraine, 85, 88, 441; mentioned, 455, 456, 465, 470
- Guisnes, skirmish at, 232; repairs of the fortifications, 277, 278, 549; survey, 385, 490; garrison, 444, 544; jurisdiction, 388
- Gundelfinger, Joachim, 417
- Gunpowder, bought as the "fee penny" of a loan, 267, 309
- Gustavus, king of Sweden, 255
- Gyé, François seigneur de, 332
- H
- Haddington, siege of, 61, 222
- Haddon, Walter, lxiv; visit to Prince Edward, lxxviii; recommended by Cheke to the King's favour, clxi; his epitaph on Cheke, *ib.*; sermon at court, clxxx; executor to Bucer, and orator at his funeral, 305; verses on that occasion, 306; letter of Cheke to, *ib.*; his labours on the ecclesiastical laws, 398; his answer to Osorius, cccxxvii
- Haideck, baron, 446
- Haidock, Michael, 451
- Hales, sir James, nominated K.B., ccc; a commissioner on ecclesiastical laws, 398, 399; his fee, 409
- "Hall, keeping of," 381, 387
- Hall, Francis, commissioner for the French borders, 286; comptroller of Calais, 449
- John, lvi
- Robert, 513
- Hallam, Mr., his remarks on Edward VI., xiii; on Devise for the Succession. 565
- Halnaker, the King's visit to, 80, 437
- Hambleton (Ambleteuse), *see* Newhaven
- Hamburgh, 294, 366, 402
- Hamilton, archbp. John, ccxiv
- Hammond, Lawrence, 354, 365, 370, 375
- William, cccxii
- Hamond, of the guard, clxvi
- Hampshire, insurrection in, 225; duke of Somerset lieutenant of, 288; a "frantick papist" of, celi
- Hampton, Bernard, 459; his fee as clerk of the council, clxii, ccliii
- John, 451
- Hampton court, the birth-place of Edward VI. 21; his christening there, cclv; the chapel, cclvi; mentioned, xcvi, cx, cxxix, cxxxii, 47, 48, 49, 50, 57, 60, 232, 233, 235, 241, 272, 330, 345, 428, 459, 578; Queen dowager of Scotland entertained at, 359; note on, 360,
- Hancock, Thomas, cxxix
- Hanmer, sir Thomas, knighted, cciii
- Hannington, John, 451
- Hans merchants, 429, *see* Steelyard
- Hanworth, cxvii
- Hardy, John, 457
- Hare, sir Nicholas, cccxvi
- Harenden, Edmond, 451
- Harington, —, 60
- sir John, 363
- Harleston, a joust, ccciii
- Harley, bishop John, civ. cxxv, 377, 395, 591; preaches before the King, clviii
- Harman, Edmond, cccxii
- Garrot, 417

- Harper, sir George, xxiv, cclviii, cccli, 392  
 Harquebus, or hagbut, 250, 427  
 Harris, Edward, 451  
 Harry Grace à Dieu, the ship, cxi  
 Harston, Henry, 513  
 Hart, sir Percival, cclxxx  
 Harward, William, 306  
 Harwich haven, the Lion lost at, 213; block-houses at, 461  
 Haslewood, 364  
 Hassenet, Hans, ccxxi  
 Hastings, Henry lord, lxxvii, cclix; nominated K.B. ccxcix; mentioned, 252, 418; marriage of, cxc  
 ——— sir Edward, knighted, 219; at court, 363  
 Hatfield, lxxviii, cx, cxxv, ccxxxvi, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 30; the lady Elizabeth with prince Edward there, 31  
 Havering, xxxvi  
 Haulte, sir William, cclxi  
 Hawking, ccxxii  
 Hawkins, William, clxxxvi  
 Hawley, Thomas, Clarenceux, 429  
 Hayward, sir John, his Life of Edward VI. Preface, i, ix; his character of the King, cxi  
 Heath, Nicholas, bishop of Worcester, disputes on the sacrament, cxii; his matters examined, 343, 345, 347, 487; deposed, 349  
 Heding, siege of, 345, 471  
 Henadoy, *see* de la Hunaudaye  
 Henchmen, lxxv  
 Heneage, Robert, 433  
 ——— sir Thomas, xxiv, cclix, ccxcv  
 Henri II. accession of, 213; declares war with England, 227; marches to Boulogne, 228; appoints commissioners for peace, 249; visits Boulogne, 269; enters Rouen in triumph, 295; elected knight of the Garter, ccix, 314; embassy with, 315, 582; his conversations with sir William Pickering, 338, 341; his preparation for the campaign of 1551, 401; invites King Edward into the league, clxiv, 405, 406, 407; refused, 410; soldiers allowed to go to, 417; progress of his campaign in 1552, 78, 82, 85, 417, 419, 426, 427, 430, 434, 445; project for taking Calais, 455, 462, 549; audience to Pickering, 464; altered the names of his children, 67; goes a pilgrimage, 69; letters to King Edward, 90, 393; has no true claim to the title of Most Christian, ccxcviii; christening of his son, 380, 592  
 Henri III. *see* Angoulême  
 Henry VIII. his marriage to Jane Seymour, xxi; care in educating his children, xli; his death, lxxxii; provisions of his will, lxxxiii; his conduct towards Kath. Parr, 10; Prince Edward's Letters to him, 14, 17, 20, 21, 24, 27, 29, 35; death, 210; funeral, 211  
 Herald, two, degraded for forgery, 429; accompanying the King on his progress, 434, 435; sent to France, 586; their fees at the creation of the duke of Suffolk, &c. 590  
 Herbert, sir Walter, knighted, ccvii  
 ——— sir William (afterwards earl of Pembroke), executor to Henry VIII. lxxxiv, lxxxviii, cxxxii; his testimony to king Henry's will, cclxxi; at the coronation, ccxcv; a joust, ccc, cccli; puts down the Wiltshire rebels, 225; and those in Cornwall, 230; mentioned, 234; letters, 235, 236, 238; made president of Wales, 256, 277; at the earl of Warwick's, 279; examines bp. Gardiner, 283, 284; his band of horse, 299; at Blackheath, 328, 336, 347; reassures the duke of Somerset, 353, 372; created earl of Pembroke, 351; his copy of the Statutes of the Garter, 511; *see* Pembroke  
 ——— Henry lord, marriage of, cxc; nominated K.B. ccxcix  
 ——— sir William, knighted, ccvii  
 ——— lady (Anne Parr), 10, 45  
 ——— of Troy, lady, cclx, ccxcv  
 Hercey, sir John, knighted, ccii  
 Herd, John, 306  
 Heresbach, Conrad, xlii, lxxiv  
 Heretics burnt, 264, 312  
 Hereford, Walter viscount, summoned to court, 270; attends the French ambassadors, 272; at Somerset's trial, 371; in parliament, 492; privy councillor, 498, 501; K.G. 516  
 Heron, a schoolmaster, presents the King as an example to his scholars, cli  
 ——— captain, 288  
 Hertford, lxxviii, lxxxv, 4, 5, 6, 7, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37

- Hertford, Edward earl of, (afterwards duke of Somerset,) present as viscount Beauchamp at Edward's christening, cclviii, cclx; his creation as earl of Hertford, xxiv; appointed lieutenant of the kingdom, xxxix; executor to Henry VIII., lxxxiv; his legacy, lxxxv; rides to King Edward, lxxxv; conducts the King to London, lxxxvi; elected Protector, lxxxvii, xc; made lord treasurer and earl marshal, xci; created duke of Somerset, xcii; Letter of Edward to, 2; meets the admiral of France, 22; *see* Somerset
- Edward (second) earl of, biog. notice of, lx, cclxvii; nominated K.B. cccix; Letters of Edward to, 42, 52; a hostage in France, 251, 252, 253, 259, 262; runs at the ring, 317
- Hertfordshire, insurrection in, 225
- Hesse, William landgrave of, 357
- Hethfield, 273
- Heydon, sir Christopher, knighted, ccviii
- sir John, cclxxi
- Heylyn, his censure on the "sacrilege" committed in King Edward's minority, and the answer made to it, 176
- Hillingdon, 237
- Hilton, baron, 303
- Hobblethorne, sir Hen. knighted, xci, ccvii
- Hoby, sir Philip, conduct at Somerset's fall, 239, 240; returns ambassador to the emperor, 242; master of the ordnance, cclxxiv, 275, 417; ambassador to France, 316, 319, 582, 585, 586; his reward, 337; mentioned, 342, 343, 369, 370, 403; sent to Flanders, 396, 400, 402, 407; allowed 25 men at arms, 409, 416, 427; provost of the Garter, 412; commissioner, 414; mentioned, 435; proposed for ambassador to the emperor, 491; his men at arms, 416; were to go to Calais, 424; left in charge of the Tower, 431, 436; a commissioner, 469; examines earl of Arundel, 474; privy councillor, 499-501; usher or black rod of the Garter, 412, 516; letters to on King Edward's death, cxcv
- Hoggins, Thomas, 317
- Holbeach, bishop Henry, lviii, xcvi; preaches before the King, ciii; a Protestant bishop, cxi; death of, 414
- Holcot, William, 376
- Holcroft, sir John, knighted, 220; nominated K.B., ccc
- sir Thomas, 222, 577; sent to the Tower, 355; deprived of his offices, 423
- Holgate, archbishop of York, 22
- Holland, Thomas, clxvi, 374
- Holleys, sir Thomas, knighted, ccvii
- Holst, duke of, 420
- Holt, Humphrey, clxxxvi
- Holt castle, 56
- Holy Ghost, mass of, cxix, civ
- Home castle, captured, 219; captain appointed, 220; retaken by the Scots, 224
- Homilies, appointed in 1547, 214; more, 548
- Honington bridge, 229
- Hooper, John, preaches before the King, cxxxiv, clxxx; recommends a sermon before the King every Sunday, ci; letters to Bullinger, cxi, clii; made bishop of Gloucester, cxlii, cxlv, 285; difficulties on the vestments, cxlv, cxlvi; a commissioner on ecclesiastical laws, 398, 399; made bishop of Worcester, 414; in parliament, 492 *bis*, 493
- Hopkins, John, lvi
- Hopton, sir Arthur, cclxii
- sir Ralph, knight marshal, 370
- mr. Robert, 387, 388
- chaplain to the lady Mary, 297
- Horne, Robert, dean of Durham, 377; accuses the earl of Westmerland of conspiracy, 463; promoted to bishopric of Durham, 464, 548; signs the articles, 591
- Horses sent as presents to France, 392; their exportation forbidden, 495; given to the Scottish queen, 591
- Horsey, sir Jasper, xxxii, xxxix
- sir John, cclxi; knighted, ccvii
- Horsley, sir John, knighted, 220
- Horton, 364
- Hosier, —, 248
- Hospitals, the city, clxxx
- Hostages, ancient custom of, cxxxvi, 251; list of the English and French in 1549-50, 252
- Howard, mr. cxviii
- sir George, lxxvi, clxxiii; his Triumph of Cupid, clxxiv; a joustier, ccci, ccviii
- lord, cclx; knighted, 219; goes to France, 317; a reveller, 382; a tilter, 384



Howard, lord Thomas, 352, 363  
 ——— (afterwards duke of Norfolk), lvii, lx  
 ——— lord William, xxiv, xxv, cclviii, cclix; a joust, ccc, ccciii, 260, 271, 358, 363, 384; made deputy of Calais, 461  
 ap Howell, Fulke, Lancaster herald, degraded, 429  
 Hubblethorne, *see* Hobbleshorne  
 Hubert, Conrad, 304, 306  
 Huggons, Elizabeth, wife of William, imprisoned for speeches against the duke of Northumberland, clxvi  
 Hull, castle committed to the burgesses, 385; mart proposed at, 405, 505, 506, 549  
 Hume, lord, 467  
 de la Hunaudaye, Jean seigneur, 253, 257, 260, 272, 279, 289, 292  
 Hungary, queen of, 85, 291  
 Hungerford, sir Anthony, cclxi, 363  
 ——— a tilter, 388  
 ——— lord, cclx  
 Hunnings, ——— clerk of the council, 236  
 Hunnis, William, lvi  
 Hunsdon, xxxv, xxxvii, cxxv, 2, 3, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 288  
 Hunting, cxxxii  
 Huntingdon, 364  
 ——— countess of, 362  
 ——— earl of, lxvii, cxcvii, 22, 226, 235; his men of arms, 299, 375, 419, 435; at council, 336; at court, 360, 362; at Somerset's trial, 371; allied with Northumberland, 418; attends the King on his progress, 436; a commissioner, 469; privy councillor, 498; K.G. 516, cccix; a joust, ccc, ccciii  
 Huntly, George earl of, taken prisoner, 218  
 Hussey, sir Henry, knighted, cccvi, 220  
 ——— Lawrence, 290  
 Hutton, sir Edward, cclxi  
 Hyde park, hunting in, 272, 335; banqueting house, 590

I

Images, proceedings for the abolishing of, 214; Gardyner's discussion on, 594  
 Inclosures, proclamations respecting, 225

Injunctions, the King's, in 1547, 214, 220, 547, 548, cccxxvii  
 Innsbruck, 420, 421, 445  
 Interim of Augsburg, 294  
 Interlude, at court, 387; of Orpheus, cccii  
 Italian band, 16  
 Ivoy, the siege of, 84, 427, 430  
 Ireland, money provided for, 281, 287, 289; men sent there, and arrangements for renewing the Irish mint, 283; the office of deputy and his fee, 289; native lords surrender, 292, 322, 579; the French expected to attack, 300, 302; lord Cobham appointed lieutenant, 302; victuals provided for, 303; French ships lost on the coast, 307; certain of the West lords set at one, *ib.*; a king of arms made for, 395; financial arrangements for, 416, 424; money coined for, 425; revenues of, *ib.*; government of, 466, 472; discharge of men, 417, 544; letters written to the loyal lords of, 592; mines in, 416, 425, 546  
 Ireland, play of the state of, clxxv  
 Iron-mills, legislation against, 494

J

Jane, the lady, 56, 360, 362; marriage of, cxc  
 ——— the fool, xlv, cccxlv  
 Jarnac, Guy Chabot, baron de, 349, 353  
 Jenlis, mons. 471  
 Jermyn, sir John, knighted, cccvi  
 Jesus of Lubeck, ship ordered to be sold, 400  
 Jersey, sea-fight at, 227; commission sent to, 278  
 Jobson, sir Francis, cccviii, 433  
 Johnson, John, lxxvi  
 ——— William, cclxlvii  
 Jonas, Hooper's sermon on, cxxxv, cccxxxii  
 Jonson, Christopher, 451  
 Joseph, dr. John, preaches at court, cxxiv  
 Josias, King Edward compared to, xcvi, cxxxv, cxl, cxlix, cxcviii, cciii, cciv, ccv, cccxxxiv, cccxxvii, ccli, 177  
 Josselyn, sir Thomas, nom. K.B. ccc  
 Judde, sir Andrew, knighted, cccviii; his losses in the mint, 307  
 Justs, ccxx, ccc, ccciii

## K

- Karvill, *see* Carvill  
 Katharine (Parr) queen, debarred from intercourse with the King, cxiii; daily prayers in her house, cxxiv; Letters of Edward to, 9, 12, 13, 16, 22, 26, 30, 33, 38, 41, 49, 51; her fair writing and scholarship, 16; her marriage to the lord admiral, 45; her claim of jewels, 54; list of them, 390; her Petrarch, cccxxvi  
 Keat, Ralph, 451  
 Kelloway, Robert, appointed a commissioner of chantries, 221  
 Kemp, sir Thomas, knighted, cccli  
 Kempe, sir William, cclxi  
 Ker, sir Walter, slays the lord of Buccleuch, 467  
 Kent, insurrections in, 225, 264, 273  
 — Thomas, ccxxi  
 Kett's rebellion, 230  
 Keyes, Thomas (not Martin), cxci, 563  
 Keyme, John, 266  
 Keymes, Thomas, 433  
 Kingston, sir Anthony, cclxi, cccxv; a jouter, ccc  
 — lady, xxiv, cclviii, cccxv  
 — sir William, cclxi  
 Kinsale, fortifications at, 302  
 Kirton, Henry, 451  
 Knighthood conferred, accompanied by a gold chain, on Guidotti, 256  
 Knightley, sir Valentine, nom. K.B. ccc  
 Knights nominate of the Bath, ccxcix  
 — of the Garter, ccclx  
 — of the privy chamber (the Four), *see* Gentlemen  
 Knole, 450  
 Knollys, sir Francis, knighted, 219; a jouter, ccc; 384, 389  
 — Henry, 317, 471  
 — sir William, 386  
 Knoppert, doctor, 297  
 Knox, John, taken prisoner at St. Andrew's, 282; preaches in England as one of the King's chaplains, 377; Northumberland's treatment of, 464; sermons at court, civ, clxix; signs the articles, 591  
 Knyvet, Anthony, cclxi  
 — sir Henry, xxiv *bis*, cclviii

- Knyvet, sir Edmond, cclxxiii  
 Kytchin, Richard, 306

## L

- Lacke, Edward, cccxii  
 Lambe, John, cclxxvii  
 Lambert, sent commissioner to Alderney, &c. 278  
 Lancaster herald degraded, 429  
 — county palatine of, 430  
 Land sales, commission on, 469  
 Landaw, 466  
 Lane, lady (Maud Parr), 10  
 — sir Ralph, 10  
 Langley, sir Robert, knighted, ccclii  
 Lansac, (Louis de St. Gelais,) mons. de, 300, 304, 311  
 Laski, or a Lasco, John, 1, 48, 280; a commissioner on eccles. law, 398, 399  
 — Francis, 367  
 Latimer, lord, joint almoner at the coronation, cccv; at Somerset's trial, 371  
 — Hugh (bishop of Worcester,) letter on the birth of King Edward, xxiii; his sermons quoted, xl; sermons before the King, civ, cv, cxxvi, cxxxvi; his reflections on lord Seymour, cxxiii; recovers money concealed by defalcation, cxxviii, 62; commissioner on eccles. law, 398; sermon on avarice, cccxxxiv  
 de Laubespine, secretary, cxc, 394, 401, 593  
 Lauder, surrendered, 251, 254, 257, 259  
 Launceston, rebels at, 230  
 Lawrence, sir Oliver, knighted, 219  
 — Oliver, 441  
 Laws prepared for parliament by the King's learned council, 376  
 Layton, dr. xxxviii  
 Lead, proposed monopoly of, 545  
 Leases made by ecclesiastical persons, bill proposed for limiting, 492  
 Leche, William, 306  
 a Lee, sir Richard, commissioner to view the Scottish borders, 276  
 Leeke, sir Francis, 303  
 Leez in Essex, cx, 256, 288, 291, 579  
 Legh, Thomas, of Adlington, xlv  
 Leicestershire, insurrection in, 225, 227  
 a Leigh, John, 248  
 Leland, John, his Genethliacon, xxv, xxvi; verses on Cheke, xlvii; to R. Ascham,

- liii; his brother, lxi; visit to prince Edward at Ampthill, lxxx  
 Lennox, Margaret countess of, 360, 362, 363, 364, 564  
 Lent sermons, *see* Sermons  
 de Lenns, Gualter, cccxvi  
 Lesley, bishop John, clv  
 Lestrangle, sir Nicholas, knighted, 219  
 ——— Thomas, lxxvii  
 Lever, Thomas, sermons at court, civ, cxxxvi, clxxix; his epitaph, cclxviii  
 Leverous, Thomas, 489  
 Lewis, William, 306  
 ——— Thomas, 306  
 Libels, *see* Bills  
 Lieutenants of Shires appointed, 266  
 Lintz, 412, 450  
 Lisle, John Dudley, viscount, executor to Henry VIII. lxxxiv; made great chamberlain, xci; and earl of Warwick, xciii; intended to be earl of Coventry, cclxxiv, *see* Warwick  
 ——— John Dudley, lord, (son of the preceding,) 252, 260, 263; runs at the ring, 272; his marriage, 273; goes to France, 315, 317, *see* Warwick  
 Lister, sir Michael, xxiv  
 Litany, the, 512  
 Liturgy, *see* Common Prayer  
 Loan, mode of negotiating, 267, 315, 460  
 Locke, merchant of London, cxviii  
 ——— sir William, knighted, cccvii  
 London, the King's procession through to his coronation, xciv, cclxxviii *et seq.*; other state processions through, 228, 244; frays in, and watches ordered, 280; order for its preservation, 294; commotions in, 314; inclined to favour the duke of Somerset, 356, 370; bishop's palace at, 360; censured for dearth of victuals, &c. 424, 490  
 Long, sir Henry, cclxi  
 ——— sir Richard, xxiv *bis*, cclviii  
 ——— Thomas, 374  
 Longie, (Orlando Longin,) treasurer of Flanders, 472  
 Lord of Misrule, 381  
 Lords Governors, the six, appointment of, cxxxiii  
 Lorraine, 78, 82, 85, 88, 417, 441, 465  
 ——— Christina duchess of, 78  
 ——— the Cardinal of, 325  
 Lorraine, duke of, 408  
 Lubeck, 366, 402, 473  
 Lucar, Emanuel, 460  
 Lucas, John, 398, 399, 400, 468, 469, 470, 499, 573  
 Lumley, John lord, lvii, lxiv  
 ——— Jane lady, lxii  
 Lunenburgh, duke of, lxii, cccvii  
 Lute, cccxi  
 Luttrell, sir John, captain of Broughty craig, 224  
 ——— sir Thomas, 425  
 Luxemburg, 430, 431  
 Lyell, dr. Richard, 345, 398, 487  
 Lyons, 406, 505  
 Lysenay, Bastian, clockmaker, cclxiii  
 Lyster, sir Richard, chief justice, 416; house at Southampton, 445  
 Lytton, captain, 286  
 ——— sir Rob. nominate K.B. ccc
- M
- Macedonia, prince of, 334, 381  
 Mackereth, Henry, cccxviii  
 Maclamore, an Irish rebel, surrenders, 292, 579  
 Maddockes, Robert or Richard, cccxii  
 Magdeburgh, 341  
 Magnetic needle, variation of, clxxxix  
 Maidstone, 329  
 Mainwaring, sir Arthur, knighted, cccvii, 220  
 Mallet, Francis, chaplain to the lady Mary, 297; committed to the Tower, 316, 323  
 Mallory, Richard, 460  
 Malta, assailed by the Turks, 341, 353  
 Malton, Christopher, at Gardyners sermon, cx  
 Maltravers, Henry lord, biog. notice, lxii; a hostage in France, 252, 253, 259, 262  
 Mandosse, le sieur de, 324  
 Manners, Richard, cclxii  
 Mansfeldt, count, 295, 405, 407, 445; his conduct at Ivoy, 84, 480  
 Mansions, soldiers', 267, 579  
 Manwaring, Philip, xlv, cxi  
 Marignan, marquess of, 461, 466  
 de Marillac, Charles, 335  
 Marina, sir Angell, nom. K.B. ccc

- Markham, sir John, 233, 238; discharged from lieutenancy of the Tower, 358
- Martin, Christopher, 451
- George, 451
- Marts, proposed to be established in England, 405, 504 *et seq.*
- Martyn, Roger, 460
- Martyr, Peter, cxii, cxlvi, cclxvii; letter of, cxliv, 304, 305; disinterment and cremation of his wife at Oxford, 305; employed on the ecclesiastical laws, 398
- Mary, the lady, godmother to Edward, cclviii, cclix, 209; named by the King as a wife for lord Seymour of Sudeley, cxv; letter of the council to on Somerset's deposition, cxxx; summoned to Oking, but refuses, cxxxviii; visits her brother in Feb. 1552-3, clxxvii; last letter to King Edward, cxc; sir R. Morysine's discourse relative to her being allowed to use mass, ccxxiv; her intercourse with King Edward, ccxxxiv; new-year's gifts to him, cclxiii, cclxv; letters of Edward to, 2, 8, 9, 11, 27, 29, 32, 39; her dancing, 9; her cautious reply to the lord-admiral Seymour, 47; letter of privy council to, 240; the emperor desires leave that she might have mass, 258; asked in marriage by the infant of Portugal and Julius duke of Brunswick, 262; Scipperus employed to steal her away to Antwerp, 284, 288, 291, 323, 327; proceedings of the privy council relative to her hearing mass, 297, 309, 310, 313, 323, 336, 340; visits her brother at Westminster, 308; informed of the queen of Scotland's arrival, 359; the emperor's ambassador demands leave for her mass, 387; visits her brother at Greenwich, 428
- Mary of Guise, queen dowager of Scotland, 265; asks for a passport or safe-conduct, 290; has two, 341, 345; lands at Portsmouth, 356; her progress to London, 357, 358; entertainment at Hampton Court, 359; in London, 360; at Westminster, 362; progress to Scotland, 364; diamond given her by the King, 391; her opinion of Edward, clv
- regent of Flanders, 396
- Mary Willoughby, The, launched, 328
- Mason, sir John, cclxxiv, cccxvi; knighted, cccci; commissioner for treaty of peace with France, 249, 258; appointed ambassador in France, 258; and a privy councillor, *ib*; goes ambassador to France, 268, 316, 582; letters, 271, 281, 294, 295, 296, 579; recalled from embassy, 314, 327; mentioned, 347, 378; sent to the emperor, 407; at court, 436; a commissioner, 469; privy councillor, 499
- Mason, lady, cccxv
- Masques, cccxi; at a marriage, 274, 276; at Christmas, clxxiv, 382, 388
- Maton, Leonard, 451
- Maundy Thursday, observance of, xcvi, c de Mauny, mons. cxc
- Maurice, duke, *see* Saxony
- Maximilian, king of Bohemia, 368
- Maxwell, James lord, invades the Debatable land, 291, 389
- Maxwell, Robert lord, 300, 311
- May, Anthony, cccxii
- dr. William, 398, 399, 458
- Maye, Edward or Robert, cccxii
- de Mayenne, François marquis, 252, 256, 259, 263, 265, 267, *see* Guise
- Mecardus, 450
- Mecklenburg, John Albert duke of, 357, 366, 405
- George duke of, 295; taken prisoner, 314
- Medow, William, at Gardyners sermon, cix
- Medyoxes, 382
- Meggis, Thomas, cclxii
- Menville, Ninian, 378
- Mercers' hall, London, 233
- Merchants, acts proposed for, 492, 494
- Mervyn, sir John, knighted, 219
- Metcalfe, Oswald, 306
- Metz, 408, 459, 465, 466, 468
- Meutas, sir Peter, cclxi, cccxvi; ambassador to France, cclxix, 260, 328, 433
- Michaelmas, the feast of, 346
- Michele, Giovanni, cxcii
- Micronius, Martin, letters of, cxli, cxliii, cxlv, cxlvi
- Middleham, 463
- Middleton, Edward, 451
- Mildmay, lady, 362
- Thomas, 468, 469 *bis*, 470
- sir Walter, knighted, cccvi, cccxvi; appointed a commissioner of chantries, 221; surveyor or general receiver of the court of augmentations, 370, 432; a com-



missioner, 383, 389, 406, 414, 424, 425, 468, 469 *bis*, 470, 472; privy councillor, 499, 501

Minstrels, the King's, cccxiii; his new minstrels, cccxii

Mint, at the Tower, arrangements for, 295, 313, 319, 322; silver lost by treason, 307; charges diminished, 412; change of officers, 491

—— in Ireland, orders for setting to work, 283, 425

—— at Canterbury and York, 344

—— at Bristol, 56

—— at Southwark, 344

Mirandola, 338, 340

Misrule, lord of, *see* Ferrers

Molineux, Edward, 352

Molinox, mr. serjeant, 409, 493

Molyneux, sir Edmund, nom. K.B. ccc

Money, *see* Coinage and Mint

Montagu, *see* Mountague

Montmorency, Anne duc de, constable of France, 249, 325, 353; letter to King Edward, 90; "bears all the swing" in France, 265; his armour at Wilton, 449

—— François duc de, 253, 259, 263

—— Henry duc de, *see* Damville

Montpensier, Louis duc de, 325

the Moor, 21, 22

Moorfields, muster in, 416

More, sir John, knighted, cccvii

—— William, ccxxi, ccxxii

de Morette, monsr. lxxviii, 266

Morgan, Francis, serjeant-at-law, committed to the Fleet, 310

Morley, Harry lord, ccxl, cclviii, 238

Morpeth, 364

Morrys, James, cclxiv

du Mortier, André Guillart seigneur de, 250, 269

Morton, sir Rowland, knighted, cccli

de Morvillier, Jean, 335

Morysine, sir Richard, his "Comfortable Consolation," &c. xxv; his discourse on King Edward's conduct towards his sister Mary, cccxxiii *et seq.*; recall from his embassy, cccxxviii; sent ambassador to the emperor, 287; recalled, 313, 491; extracts from his letters, 353; instructions in Sept. 1552, 456; audience with the emperor, 464

Mother Jak, xxvi

Mottisfont, the King's visit to, 450

Mountague, sir Edward, cxxxii; executor to Henry VIII. lxxxiv, lxxxviii, cxxxii, cclviii, cclix, 233, 237, 238, 242, 336, 403, 493, 499, 566, 567

Mounteagle, lord, cccxiv, 492

Mountford, 303

Mountjoy, James lord, lvii, lx, cclxi

Mountmydy, siege of, 84, 428, 430

Mourning, court, arguments against (written by Cecil?) cxlvi

Moyle, sir Thomas, general receiver of the court of augmentations, cclxx, 432

Muret, Marc Antoine, cccxxxiii

Musgrave, sir Richard, 448, 460

Musicians, list of the King's, cccxi

Mussleborough, battle of, 217

Musters, *see* Gendarmery

Musters of the gendarmery, 316, 350, 359, 375, 416

Mustin, Cornelius, cccxvii

Myres, Matthew, 451

N

Name, two sons of the same Christian, lxi

Nanci, surrendered to the French king, 78, 408

Naples, 428, 447

Natlington, John, 441

Navy, the King's, *see* Ships

Negro, sir Peter, knighted, cccvii, cccxvii, 220

Nemours, duke of, 468

Neville, Alex. his book on the Norfolk rebellion, 230

—— sir Edward, xxiv, cclviii

—— sir Henry, made one of the four knights attendant, cxxxiv; made a gent. of the privy chamber, 257; goes to France, 349; knighted, 352; a tilter, ccci, cccli, 368, 384, 389

—— grome of the chamber, cccxii

—— lord, a joustier, ciui

—— sir Thomas, nominate K.B. ccc

—— (another) knighted, 220, cccli

—— (another) cccvii

Newark, 364

- Newbury, the King at, 87  
 Newcastle, 364, 509  
 Newdigate, Francis, lx, 354, 368, 370, 373  
 Newhall, *see* Beaulieu  
 Newhaven (Ambletouse), taken by the French, cxxxii, 227, 240  
 Newnam, sir Thomas, knighted, cccii  
 Newnham, lady, 360, 362  
 Newnhambridge, fort of, 277, 549  
 Newton, Francis, 306  
 New-year's gifts, to Prince Edward in 1538-9, cclxiii; in 1539-40, cclxv; rewards for, in 1547-8 and 1548-9, cccxi *et seq.*  
 de Noailles, Anthoine, clxxxvi *et seq.*  
 Noble, John, 451  
 Nonesuch, the King at, xcvi, 293  
 Norfolk, rebellion in, 230  
 ——— duke of, cclviii, cclxiv, cclxv; king Henry's proposed division of his lands, cclxiii; godfather to King Edward, xxiv, 209; excepted from the general pardon, 212; his pardon solicited by the duchess of Richmond, 491; more strictly kept, cxciv  
 Norfolk, Mary duchess of, lxii  
 Norham, 364; the treaty of, 333  
 Norice, mr. 384  
 Norris, John, cclxxx, cccxiv, cccxiii  
 North, sir Edward, executor to Henry VIII. lxxxiv; at Gardyner's sermon, cviii; mentioned, cxxxii, 233, 237, 242, 499  
 ——— sir John, cxciii  
 Northampton, William Parr earl of Essex created marquess of, 211; his education, xli; at Gardyner's sermon, cix; carver at the coronation, cxciii, cxcvii; a joust, ccc, ccciii; courted by lord Sudley, 56; sent against the Norfolk rebels, 231; present in council, 233, 237, 241; made one of the six lords attendant, 242; lord great chamberlain, 248, 249; at a chapter of the Garter, 260, 516; mentioned, 260; a lord lieutenant, 267; captain of the pensionaries, 268; attends the French ambassadors, 272, 279; his band of horse, 299; to revise the order of the Garter, 314, 513; sent with the Garter to France, 316, 317, 319, 323, 582 *et seq.*; his reward, 337; partisan of Warwick, 347; at court, 352; his life said to be threatened by Somerset, 353; attends on the queen of Scotland, 359, 363; at earl of Arundel's examination, 369; on Somerset's trial, 371; his men of arms, 375; mentioned, 418, 458; keeper of Guilford manor, 434; attendant on the King, 436; has Reading abbey, 454; a commissioner, 469 *bis*; examines earl of Arundel, 474; duties as privy councillor, 498, 501; favours Protestantism, cxli, cxlii; called by King Edward his honest uncle and by King Henry his Integrity, cxxxxvi  
 Northampton, marchioness of, clxxvii, 359, 362  
 Northamptonshire, tumults in, 228 n.  
 Northumberland, John duke of (*see* Lisle and Warwick), creation of 350; his charges against the duke of Somerset, 353; at court, 362, 364; at earl of Arundel's examination, 369; and Somerset's trial, 371; his men of arms, 375, 419; receives the seal from Rich, 379; letters to Cecill, 388, 450; mentioned, 405; persecutes lord Paget, 410; goes to the North, 418; letter to Cecill, *ib.*; returned to court, 436; appoints deputy wardens of the Marches, 439, 440; summoned to Windsor, 454; mentioned, 458; letters, 462, 463, 464; rumoured quarrel with the earl of Pembroke, 465; a commissioner, 469; examines earl of Arundel, 474; duties as a privy councillor, 498, 501; his mansion at Otford, cliv; unpopularity, clxvi, 566; patronises Knox, clxix; Knox's censure of, clxx; letters of, clxxxvi; anecdote of archery, cccix; dedication by Bale to, ccli; letter to Cecill on the order of the Garter, Pref. xvi  
 Northumberland, Mary duchess of, clxxvii, cxc, 360, 362, 364  
 Norton, sir George, nom. K.B. ccc  
 ——— sir John, cclxi, ccc, cccii, ccciii, 350  
 ——— Thomas, lvi, lxi, clxxx, 547  
 Norwich, battle at, 231  
 ——— castle, Robert Kett hanged on, 231  
 Nowel, Alexander, cv, 306; his catechism, 547  
 ——— John, lxxvi  
 Noyon, 465, 467  
 Nuremburg, 434

## O

- Oatlands, the King at, xcvi, cx, cxxxviii, 51, 292, 293, 344, 428, 431  
 O'Bryen, earl of Thomond, 386  
 Ochine, Barnardine, xxxii, cccxxvii, cccxxx, cccxxxi  
 O'Connor, Brian, submits to the English, 221  
 O'Connor's son, 466, 472  
 Ogle, lord, deputy warden of the Middle march, 304, 365, 471  
 Oking, cxxxviii, 288, 292  
 Okingham, 340  
 Olicke, sir John, knighted, cccvii  
 Olivarius, Petrus, cccxxxv  
 Oliver, dr. John, ambassador to France, 316, 582, 587; commissioner on bishops of Worcester and Chichester, 345, 487  
 Olyverus, Joannes, cccxvii  
*Omnia Vanitas*, 439  
 O'More, Gilla-Patrick, submits to the English, 221  
 Omphalius, cccxli  
 Ordnance, surrendered at Boulogne, 250; delivered for duke of Somerset's use, 288  
 Orkney, Robert bishop of, 311, 312  
 Orme, Humfrey, xcvi  
 Ormonde, James earl of, lxix, 64, 388; goes to France, 316, 317  
 ——— Joan countess of, 65  
 Orpheus, interlude of, cccii  
 Osborne, John, cccxii  
 ——— Peter, l, 459, 461  
 ——— Richard, 451  
 Osorius, cccxxvii  
 Ostium, taken by the Turks, 349  
 Otford, cliv, 418  
 Otterburn, sir Adam, ambassador from Scotland, 213  
 Ottery St. Mary, burnt, 229  
 Otwood (Atwood), captain, 286  
 Owen, dr. George, xxv, xxxv, cxcvii, cc, cccxiv  
 ——— John, clxxxv  
 Oxenbridge, Thomas, 577  
 Oxford, earl of, xci, xcii, clxxvii, cclx, cclxii, 236; mourner at funerals of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., ccxi; at the coronation, cxcvi, cxcvii; a lord lieutenant, 267; struck by lord Bergavenny, 403  
 ——— countess of, cccxv

Oxfordshire, insurrection in, 228; duke of Somerset lieutenant of, 280

## P

- Page, sir Richard, xxx, xxxix, cclxi  
 ——— Lady, xxxi  
 Paget, sir William, dr. Coxe's letters to him, lxxviii; his influence as a statesman, lxxxiii; executor to Henry VIII., lxxxiv, lxxxviii; his testimony to king Henry's will, cclxxi; at Gardyners's sermon, cix; at the coronation, cccxiii; embassy to the emperor, cccxv; presents prince Edward a sand-box, 7; his letter after king Henry's death, 41; his letter in favour of the lord admiral Seymour, 44; conduct at Somerset's fall, 234, 235, 242; letter to the council on Somerset's arrest, cxxxi; created lord Paget, cxxxiii, 248; commissioner for treaty of peace with France, 249, 266; attends the French ambassadors, 271, 272, 273; his band of horse, 297; present at council, 336; inculpated with the duke of Somerset, 361; sent to the Tower, 365; K. G. xciv, cccix; degraded from the Garter, 410; submission before the council, 422, 426, 429; put to his fine and pardoned, 473; appointed to revise the statutes of the Garter, 512, 518  
 Pagington, Thomas, cccxii  
 Pakington, sir John, cccxxvii  
 Paleario, on the Benefit of Christ's Death, cccxxxviii  
 Pallavicino, count, 447  
 Palm-play, cccxii  
 Palm Sunday, observance of, xcvi, cv  
 Palmer, sir Thomas, services in Scotland, 222; commissioner to view the Border, 276; has the custody of the archbishop of St. Andrew's, 282, 283; his gold chain, 353; betrays the duke of Somerset, 353 *et seq.* 370, 372; pardon, 404, 491; commissioner for the Debatable land, 404  
 ——— Little, a joust, ccci  
 ——— William, 451  
 Palsgrave, John, xlii  
 Pardon, general, at the coronation, cxcv, 212  
 Paris, Our Lady of Silver set up at, 73  
 Paris garden, clxxix  
 Paris, George, Irishman, 466, 467, 472  
 van Paris, George, burnt for Arianism, 312

- "Parish" of a bishop, 278  
 Parker, sir Henry, cxxlii  
 ——— Matthew, (afterwards archbishop,) lvi; his sermons at court, cxxiv, cliii, clviii; addresses the rebels at Norwich, 230; executor to Bucer, and preaches at his funeral, 305; attends sir Thomas Arundell, 394; commissioner on ecclesiastical law, 398, 399  
 Parkhurst, bp. John, epigrams on King Edward, cciv  
 Parkins, Christmas fool, clxxii  
 Parliament, meets 4 Nov. 1547, xcvi, xcvii, 220; mass of the Holy Ghost at, xcix, civ; second session 24 Nov. 1548, cxi, 223; third session 4 Nov. 1549, 248; prorogued, 255; further prorogation, 290, 295; laws prepared for, 376; bills reconsidered, 406; dissolved, clix, 408; fees distributed thereupon, *ib.*; bills prepared for, in 1551-2, 491; the second parliament of 1552-3, clxxvii, 546  
 Parma, siege of, 321, 334, 338, 340, 381  
 Parsons, the Jesuit, on King Edward, ccxxxv  
 Partridge, sir Miles, knighted, 219; involved in the duke of Somerset's fall, 353; sent to the Tower, 355, 372; execution, 394, 396  
 Pasmart (Pascha market,) 419  
 Paston, Clement, a joust, ccci, ccciii, 384  
 ——— sir Thomas, a joust, cclxxiv, ccci  
 ——— sir William, cclxx  
 Pate, mr. cclxii  
 Pates, doctor, excepted from the general pardon, 212  
 Patten's "Expedicion into Scotland," 215  
 Paul's Walk, 476  
 Paulet, mr., brother to the marquess of Winchester, 357  
 ——— lord Giles, lvii, lx  
 ——— John, cclxi  
 ——— sir William, cclxi, cclxiv  
 ——— sir Hugh, cclxi, cclxxi  
 Paunsy and the Lion, sea-fight of, 213  
 Pawle, mr. 381  
 Payton, sir Robert, cclxii  
 Peace with France, treaty for, 249; proclaimed, 254; comprehension of Scotland, 264  
 Peaths, the, 216  
 Peckham, sir Edmund, assistant to king Henry's executors, lxxxiv, cxxxii, cccxv, 213, 233, 238, 242, 315, 288, 319, 410  
 Pelham, sheriff of Sussex, 273  
 ——— sir Nicholas, lxii, cccvii  
 Pellicque, 224  
 Pember, Robert, 306  
 Pembroke, Anne countess of, 10, 359; her death, 401, *see* Herbert  
 ——— William earl of (*see* Herbert), created, 351; mentioned, 74, 363, 364; proposed by the earl of Arundel to be arrested, 369; at Somerset's trial, 37; his men of arms, 375, 419; a commissioner, 403; resigns the office of master of the horse, 409; his portrait at Wilton, 449; mentioned, 418; rumoured quarrel with duke of Northumberland, 465; a commissioner, 469; examines earl of Arundel, 474; duties as a privy councillor, 498—502; K G. cccix, 518; mourner at the King's funeral, cclx  
 Penal laws, commission for enforcing, 403, 404, 500, 545  
 Penn, or Penni, Bartilmew, cccxlv  
 Penne, John, cccxii; Sibel, xxxiii, cccxv  
 Peshurst, 391  
 Pensioners, Gentlemen, cclxxx, 263, 268, 359, 364, 375, 416  
 Perigliano, comte, 445, 607  
 Perigneux, the bishop, 335  
 Perlin, Etienne, ccxii  
 Perne, Andrew, 377, 395  
 Perrins, James, 433  
 Perrot, mr. 256  
 Perrott, sir John, lxii; knighted, cccvii; goes to France, 317; a tilter, 384, 389  
 Perusel, Franciscus, 635  
 Perusinus, Peter, 306  
 Peryn, John and Thomas, cccxii  
 Petre, sir William, secretary of state, assistant to king Henry's executors, lxxxiv, cxxxii, cclxxiv, 233, 237, 242; commissioner for treaty of peace with France, 249, 258; ambassador to France, 268, 269; treasurer of the first fruits and tenths, 268; attends the French ambassadors, 271, 272; examines bishop Gardiner, 283, 284; at council, 336, 339; confers with ambassador from Germany, 357; mentioned, 365, 383, 398, 399, 403 *bis*, 431, 436, 448, 459; duties as a privy councillor, 499—501; chancellor of the Garter, 518



- Pett, Arthur, clxxxviii  
 Pettyt, Thomas, surveyor of Calais, 308  
 Petworth, the King's visit to, 80, 435;  
     stewardship of, 245, 474  
 Philip, duke of Almaine, cclxxix, ccxciii  
 Philip, the lutinist, 20, 317, *see* van Wilder  
 Philippe, Francis, lxxvi  
 Philpot, John, ccliii, cccxii  
 Phœnix, the emblem of queen Jane Seymour, cclxxxvi  
 Pickering, sir William, exc, ccii, 67 *et seq.*;  
     letters to sir William Cecill, 72, 76, 91;  
     at the French camp, 79; sent on an embassy to France, 304; returns, 310;  
     made ambassador lieger there, 314, 316,  
     327, 334, 389; extracts from his letters,  
     369, 393, 394; furnished to accompany  
     the French King on his campaign, 401;  
     his services in France, 457, 464  
 Piedmont, war in, 343, 349, 358  
 Pierpoint, sir George, knighted, ccii  
 Piers, John, 275, 354, 355  
 Pilgrimage in France, 69  
 Pinkey, battle of, 217  
 Pirates taken and hanged, 300  
 Pirry, Martin, 416, 425, 491  
 Plate furnished to the galley Subtill, 271;  
     furnished for the King's use, 320  
 Play at court, 387  
 Players, ill, search for, 280  
 Plomer, Hynde, cccxvi  
 du Ploych, Pierre, cccxxiv  
 Plymouth, 456  
 Poings, mrs. 358  
 Pointz, Robert, 451  
 Pole, cardinal, excepted from the general  
     pardon, 212  
 Polish ambassador, Edward's Latin answer  
     to, 48  
 Pollard, sir Hugh, cclxxi, cccxii  
     ——— sir John, knighted, ccvii  
 Pomeroy, sir Thomas, knighted, ccviii  
 Ponet, John, bishop of Rochester, preaches  
     at court, cxxxiv; made a bishop, cxliii,  
     281; extract from his Treatise of Po-  
     litic Power, 245; his opinion as to the  
     lady Mary's mass, cccxvi, 309; translated  
     to Winchester, 312; commissioner on  
     ecclesiastical law, 398, 399; translation  
     from Ochinus, cccxxvii  
 Pontefract, 364  
 Poole, 356, 415; sickness at, 87  
 Poole, sir Giles, knighted, 219  
 Poor, great numbers in London and West-  
     minster, clxxx  
 Pope, sir Thomas, cccxv  
 Porchester, 416  
 Porte, sir John, nom. K.B. ccc  
 Portman, sir William, knighted, xci, cccvi  
     ——— mr. 409, 569  
 Portsmouth, 288; the King's visit to, 81,  
     442; the dowager of Scotland lands there,  
     356; fortifications examined by the baron  
     de la Garde, 369; survey of, 416, 417, 548  
 Portugal, Infant of, talk of his marriage with  
     the lady Mary, 262  
 Posts, the, 544  
 Poulet, *see* Paulet  
 Powis, lord, cccxiv  
     ——— lady Anne, cccxv, 397, 421  
 Poynings, sir Adrian, 350  
 Poyntz, sir Nicholas, cclxi, *see* Pointz  
 de Prat, mons. 432  
 Prayer, the Book of Common, instituted in  
     1548, cccxxxv, 223  
 Preachers, itinerant, 376  
 Preston, little, killed in Scotland, 48  
 Primax, Alexander, cccxii  
 Privy chamber, orders for the, 259; the four  
     principal gentlemen, 243, 334, 462  
 Procession, *i.e.* the litany, 512  
 Proclamations, commission for enforcing,  
     403  
 Progresses: of 1548, cx; of 1550, cxxxviii,  
     275; of 1551, 330; of 1552, plan of,  
     clxviii, 416, 419; preparations for, 431,  
     432; particulars of, 434 *et seq.*; the  
     King's train reduced, 435; Winchester  
     verses on, 451  
 Prophets, search for, 280, 578  
 Protector, election of, lxxxvi, cclxvii; first  
     letters patent, lxxxviii; second letters  
     patent, lxxxix, cxvii, cxx  
 Protestant princes of Germany, 5000*l.* sent  
     to, 284; negotiations with the emperor  
     for the council of Trent, 294  
 Protestant refugees, their entertainment,  
     cccxxxix, cccxli; their church in Lon-  
     don, 579  
 Pruckner, Nicholas, cccviii  
 Purveyors of the household, 293  
 Putney, 428  
 Puvall, Nicholas, cccxii

## R

- Radcliffe, mr. xxiv  
 " Ragged staff," clxvi, 374  
 Railton, Gregory, treasurer in the North, 287  
 Rainsford, sir John, cclxi  
 ———— sir William, xcvi, cclxxx, ccxciv, ccxciii knighted, cccli  
 Randall, John, 451  
 Randolph the German, xlv, xlix, li  
 Rangone, Pallavicino, 274  
 Ratcliff, clxxxv  
 Ratclyffe, sir Humphrey, a joustier, cccii  
 ———— sir John, lxiv, cccii  
 ———— Roger, cclviii, cclxi  
 Reading, 234, 354; the King's visit to, 87, 453; disturbances at, 289; lease of, 543  
 Rebellions, cxxviii  
 Record, Robert, at Gardyners sermon, cviii; notices of, ccxviii, 417  
 Rede, sir Richard, 345, 399, 487  
 Reding, John, 451  
 Redman, John, lxix; sermon at court, civ; sermon on the death of Bucer, 305  
 Reformation, Gardyners required to preach on its doctrines, cvi, *see* Protestants  
 Regal, a sceptre, cclxxxvi  
 Regalles, a pair of, ccxc  
 ———— regalia, ccxcv  
 Regraters and forestallers, proclamations against, 318, 332; statutes against, 492  
 Reiffenberg, landgrave, 407, 445  
 Religion, Articles of, 377, 547, 591  
 Religious observances early in the reign, xcvi—c  
 Requests, regulations for the commissioners of, 502  
 Reservations on spiritual promotions, 491  
 de Reux, mons. 471  
 " reward," 363  
 Rhinegrave, Otho-Henry, 222; biog. note, 270, 459  
 de Ribaud, Jean, 217, 375; knighted, ccvii  
 Ricardes, chaplain to the lady Mary, 297  
 Rich, sir Hugh, lxiv  
 ———— sir Richard, assistant to king Henry's executors, lxxxiv; made lord chancellor, lxxxviii; a baron, xciv; mentioned, cxxxii, cclxx, 211, 233, 241, 256, 336, 339, 498; a lord lieutenant, 267; regulates the clothworkers, 267; proposes to receive the lady Mary at Leez, 288; falls sick, 74, 291; returns a letter from the council, 347; resigns the great seal, 378, 591  
 Rich, lady, 360, 362  
 Richmond, cxxxviii; dispraised by a physician, cxxxi; the King at, 295, 330, 336  
 Richmond, Henry duke of, xli, lxxii, 16  
 ———— duchess of, ccxciv, 362, 364; solicits her father's pardon, 491  
 Riding, ccxx  
 Ridley, Nicholas, sermons before the King, ci, ciii; disputes on the sacrament, cxii; mentioned by Hooper, cxi; preaches to the parliament, clxxviii; his sermon before the King which led to the grant of Bridewell, &c clxxxi; made bishop of London, 255; argued with Joan Bocher, 264; his injunctions, 280; prepares articles for Gardyners, 284; his opinion as to the lady Mary's mass, 309; commissioner on ecclesiastical law, 398, 399; commissioner for sale of chantry lands, 414; for Eton college, 458; mentioned, 487; in parliament, 492; privy councillor, 499; his advice respecting the emperor, ccxxiii *et seq.*  
 Riverius, Franciscus, cxlix, 635  
 Robinson, Alan, ccvii  
 Robotham, Robert, ccxcii, 587  
 Robsart, Amy, 275  
 de la Rochepot, François de Montmorency seigneur, commissioner for peace, 249, 256, 266, 273  
 Rochester, Robert, comptroller to the lady Mary, 297, 336, 339, 340  
 Rochet, the episcopal, cxlvii  
 Rodemanche, siege of, 83, 426  
 Rogers, sir Edward, knighted, cccli; made one of the four knights attendant, cxxxiii, 244; at court, 359  
 ———— sir John, cclxi  
 ———— John, proposed to be sent commissioner to Alderney, 277; commissioner for fortifications in Ireland, 302; surveyor of Boulogne, 385; to survey Portsmouth, 417  
 Rohan, vicomte de, 471  
 Rokeby, Ralph, serjeant-at-law, 416  
 Rokesby, to be marshal of Berwick, 462  
 Romanist party, assists to pull down Somerset, and is deceived by Northumberland, cxxxiii  
 Romford, 280, 310

Ronsard, Pierre, cccxxxi  
 Ropedancers at St. Paul's, ccxc  
 Rose, manor of the, 387  
 Ross, bishop of, 312  
 Rosse, Thomas, 488  
 Rosso, Giulio Raviglio, cxcii  
 Rotherham, sir Thomas, cclxi  
 Rouen, 295  
 Rounds and Rovers, shooting at, ccxix  
 Roussirion, prince of, 468  
 Rowlande, John, ccxcii  
 Rowly, Samuell, his historical play on Henry VIII. liv, lxxi  
 Roxburgh, captured, 219; captain appointed, 220; rased, 251, 254  
 Royston, 364, 365, 618  
 Rudde, John, xcvi  
 de Rue, mons. 465, 467  
 Rugge, (alias Repps,) William, bishop of Norwich, 255  
 Running, (or base,) ccxix  
 — at the ring, ccxx, 272, 279, 310, 317, 328  
 Russell, sir John, cclvii  
 — John lord, executor to Henry VIII. lxxxiv, lxxxviii, cxxxii; made one of the six lords governors, cxxxiii; made earl of Bedford, *ib.*; *see* Bedford  
 — Francis lord, lxvi, 252, 260, 363  
 — Jane, xxxv  
 — lady, 360  
 — sir Thomas, lxii, cccvii  
 Ruthven, master of, 312  
 Rutland, earl of, xxv, cclxii, cclxv; at the coronation, ccxciii, ccxcvi, ccxcvii; a jouter, ccciii; 54, 56, 225, 260, 270; his band of horse, 219, 313; reports against Whalley, 303; goes to France, 317; at court, 351, 352, 363; at Somerset's trial, 371; his men of arms, 375, 419; in parliament, 492  
 — countess of, ccxcv, 362  
 Rutlandshire, insurrection in, 225, 227  
 Rybaude, *see* de Ribaud  
 Rydley, mr. clxxiv  
 Rye, 328  
 Ryther or Ryder, John, xxxii

S

Sackville, sir Richard, xli, lxiii, ccxciv, 414, 432; knighted, cccvii

Sacrament, discussion in the house of lords, 1548, cxii  
 Sadler, Nicholas, xli  
 Sadleyr, sir Ralph, assistant to King Henry's executors, lxxxiv; present at Gardyner's sermon, cviii, cxxxii, cxciii; made a banneret, 219; a privy councillor, 233, 242; master of the wardrobe, 244; has fifty men at arms, 313, 396, 416, 419, 427; at council, 336; mentioned, 365, 395; M.P. for Hertfordshire, 371; a commissioner, 469; privy councillor, 499  
 St. Alban, servant of the earl of Arundel, 365  
 St. Alban's, lease of, 543  
 St. André, the maréchal, his visit to England, 321 *et seq.*; biog. note, 331; services in Lorraine, 78, 88, 408, 468; ring given to, 589  
 St. Andrew's, the prisoners taken at, 282  
 St. Barbe, Thomas, ccxcv  
 St. George, the history of, 513  
 — the feast of, xcvi, 514  
 St. James's field, 376  
 St. James's palace, xcvi, cx, 42 *bis*, 44, 53, 59  
 St. John's, Clerkenwell, the mansion of the lady Mary, 308, 309, 429  
 St. John, sir John, cclxi  
 St. John, William Poulet lord, executor to Henry VIII. lxxxiv; his political conduct, *ib.* cxxxii, cxxxiii, cxlviii, cclxv; at the coronation, ccxciii, 233; the council meets at his house, 234; takes possession of the Tower, 238; made one of the six lords attendant, 243; created earl of Wiltshire, 248; made lord treasurer, *ib.*: his men at arms, 299, 312; to revise the order of the Garter, 314, 512; *see* Wiltshire and Winchester  
 St. Leger, sir Anthony, verses on the Eucharist attributed to, Pref. viii; his character, ix, 206, 208; revoked from Ireland, 221; sent to arrest the protector, 234; at a chapter of the Garter, 260; mentioned, 273; his men at arms sent to the sea coast, 285; 5,000*l.* sent to, 287; sent to the south of Ireland, 302; revoked, 311; feud with the archbishop of Dublin, 383, 410; mentioned, ccxcv, 416, 424  
 — sir John, cclxii; destined for a barony, cclxxii, cclxxiv  
 — sir John, knighted, cccviii

- St. Loe, sir John, cclxi; knighted, cccyii  
 St. Michael, order of, King Edward elected  
   of, 322, 323; ceremony of its reception,  
   587; King Edward keeps the feast of, 346  
 St. Nicholas, battle of, 471  
   — day, observance of, xcix, c  
 St. Omer's, captain of, 408  
 St. Paul's cathedral, ceremonial of the ser-  
   jeants at, 416  
 St. Stephen's college, Westminster, 431  
 Saints, in the calendar of the church of  
   England, 513, *see* St. George  
 Salerno, prince of, 86, 428, 447  
 Salisbury, the King's visit to, 87, 447  
 Salmon, Christopher, cc, ccxii  
 Salvayn, sir Francis, knighted, 219  
 Salysbury, sir John, knighted, ccci  
 Sampson, Richard, bishop of Lichfield,  
   commissioner for peace with Scotland, 312  
   — sir Thomas, cccxviii  
 de San Sulpice, mons. ambassador from  
   France, clxv  
 Sandes, sir Richard, cclxii  
   — Thomas lord, ccix, 450, 492  
 Sandwich, 549  
 Sandys, bp Edwin, xlvii  
 Santerianus, cccxxvii  
 Sapcotes, sir Edward, knighted, ccci  
 de Sassy, Guillerme Bochetel seigneur, 250,  
   269  
 Saunders, James, xxiv  
   — sir Thomas, 371; knighted,  
   cccviii  
   — serjeant, 409, 492, 493  
 Savage, sir John, knighted, cccii  
 Savoy hospital, clxxxiv; lease of, 423,  
   576  
 Saxony, John-Frederick duke of, 421, 434  
   — Maurice elector of, 75, 78, 292, 313,  
   341; his policy, 357, 366, 368, 405, 407,  
   408, 412, 420, 421, 434, 460  
 Scille, 278  
 Scipiaro, 338  
 Scipperus, (Cornelius, seigneur d'Ecke,) ex-  
   pected to steal away the lady Mary, 284,  
   288, 291, 323, 327  
 Schetz, the, bankers, 419  
 Scory, John, sermons by, cliii; preaches at  
   Joan Bocher's execution, 264; commis-  
   sioner on ecclesiastical law, 398, 399;  
   made bishop of Chichester, 415  
 Scottish marches, disorders in, 618; wardens  
   of, 304, 365, 448, 460, 471; *see* Debateable  
   land  
 Scotland, the duke of Somerset's manifesto  
   on invading, 214; the war with, 47, 50;  
   comprehension of in the peace with  
   France, 269; commissioners sent to view  
   the borders, 276; "made wholly French,"  
   300, 302; treaty for settling the bound-  
   aries, 311, 322; concluded at Norham,  
   333; forces sent to aid the French king,  
   467  
 Scots, *see* Mary  
 Scott, sir Walter, of Buccleuch, slain,  
   467  
 Scrope, lord, mourner at funeral of Henry  
   VIII. ccxl  
 Sea-fights: the Paunsy and the Lion, 213;  
   at Jersey, 227; with Flemings, 257; mock  
   fight at Deptford, 279  
 Seal, the great, its surrender by Rich, 378;  
   delivery to Goodrich, 381; again as chan-  
   cellor, 390; its design, 594, ccclix  
 Seame, Christmas fool, clxxii  
 Segrave, — a joster, ccci, ccclii  
 Seman, John, 306  
 Sempringham, 418  
 Senarpon, monsieur, 408  
 Serjeants at law, creation of, in 1552, 416  
 Sermons, rare till after the Reformation, ci;  
   King Edward has one every Sunday, *ib.*;  
   required from those promoted to bene-  
   fices, 257; Ridley's lamentation on the  
   disregard of, clii; Latimer's, cxxvi; Gil-  
   pin's, clxxvi; Knox's, clxxviii  
   — at court, at the new preaching-  
   place at Whitehall, cvi, cxxvi; in Lent  
   1546-7, ci; in Lent 1547-8, clii; in Lent  
   1548-9, cxxiv; in Lent 1549-50, cxxxiv;  
   thanksgiving, cxxxv, 255; by bishop  
   Day, cxxxvi; in Lent 1550-51, cliii;  
   in Lent 1551-2, clviii; to the parliament,  
   clxxviii; in Lent 1552-3, *ib.*  
   — on the death of Bucer, 305  
 Seven sciences liberall, cclxxxiv  
 Severnake, John, cxxxi  
 Seymour, Alexander, 373  
   — lady Anne, cccxxiii; her mar-  
   riage to lord Lisle, 273  
   — David, 355, 358, 365  
   — the lord Edward (afterwards sir  
   Edward Seymour of Berry Pomeroy,) lx,  
   61; knighted, 219; mentioned, 236; a



- tilter, 274; chief mourner at lord Wentworth's funeral, cxlix
- Seymour, the lord Edward, the Protector's third son of the same name, and godson of the King, 61
- sir Henry, nominated K.B. ccc; his history, cxiv, 236
- lord Henry, lxi
- John, lx, 354, 355, 368
- sir Thomas, created lord Seymour of Sudley, xxiv *bis*; assistant to King Henry's executors, lxxxiv; his legacy, lxxxv; made lord admiral, xci, 212; and a baron, xciii, 211; at the coronation, cxciii; elected K.G. cccix; his ambition and efforts to ingratiate himself with the King, cxiii; Heylyn's character of, cxiv; John Fowler's account of his sayings and conduct, cxv; of the money he gave the King and his attendants, cxix; a joust, ccc, ccciii; his courtship of the queen dowager, 41, 44; letter in his favour from the King to her, 46; his marriage, 215; his attempts to become governor of the King's person, 53; billets of Edward to, 60; prosecution, cxx; condemned, cxxii, 224; execution, cxxiii; remarks on his act of attainder, 371, 372; blamed by Latimer, cxxiii, cxxiv; and by his servant Wightman, ccxlvii
- queen Jane, her ancestry, xxi; letters under her signet announcing her son's birth, xxiii; her death, 209
- lady Jane, cccxxxiii, 361
- Margaret lady, cxlvii; argument against court mourning for, cxlviii
- lady Margaret, lxxv, cccxxxiii
- Seyton, William, xlv
- Sharington, sir William, 53, 224, 258, 265, 266, 449, (misnamed sir Thomas in the King's Journal, p. 224.), cxix, cxx; nominated K.B. ccc, cccxvi
- Sheen, 61, 243, 273
- Sheep, 2,000 only to be kept by one man, 318, 481, 483; various bills proposed for, 493
- Sheffield, sir Edmund, created lord Sheffield of Butterwick, xciv, cclxxii, cclxxiv, cclxxvii, 211; slain by the Norfolk rebels, 231
- John lord, verses on the death of Bucer, 306
- Shelley, a joust, ccc
- Edward, killed in Scotland, 218
- Richard, 266, 364, 365; nominated for ambassador to the emperor, 491
- William, 451
- Shelton, sir John, knighted, cccii
- lady, cccxv
- Sheringham, sir Anth. knighted, cccii
- Shingleton, clxxxv
- Ships, the King's to be furnished for the sea, 288; prepared for Ireland, 300; list of the royal navy, 323, 581; orders for furnishing, 323, 327, 587; some ordered to be sold and others let to merchants, 400; some sent to sea, 404, 407; taken by the French, 463
- French, lost on the Irish coast, 306
- Shooting, *see* Archery
- Shoreditch, 364
- Shrewsbury, earl of, xcii, cxxxii, clxxvii; mourner at funerals of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. cexl, cclxiv, cclxv, cxcxvii; at the coronation, cxciii, cxcvi; lieutenant-general in Scotland, 223; mentioned, 226, 233, 236, 237, 241, 266, 332, 336, 356, 364, 469, 492; privy councillor, 499, 501
- countess of, clxxvii
- Sicily, attacked by the Turks, 359
- Sidney, sir Henry, xlv, cxi, cxcix; made a gent. of the privy chamber, cxxiv, 257; goes to France, 317; made one of the principal gentlemen, 334; knighted, 352; a tilter, 368, 384, 389; mentioned, 418; his men of arms, 419, 427; his ship, 463; his description of the King's death, ccliv
- lady Mary, 360, 362
- sir William, xxvi, xxvii, xxxix; biog. note, xxx, 392; letters of, xxxiv
- lady, xxxiii
- Sigismund I. 48
- Silver mine in Ireland, 416, 425, 546
- Sisinghurst, 329
- Skinner, Anthony, 349
- Skippe, dr. cclxii
- Skipwith, sir William, knighted, 219
- "Slaughter-houses," 439
- Sleidan, his praise of King Edward, ccii
- Smith, sir Clement, knighted, cccvi; chidden for hearing mass, 310
- George, brother to sir Thomas, 239

- Smith, dr. Richard, recants his opinions, 214  
 ——— sir Thomas, secretary of state, knighted, cccviii; faithful to the protector Somerset, cxxx, 239, 240; sequestered from the secretaryship, and sent to the Tower, 234, 241; ambassador to France, 316, 582, 585; proposed for commissioner on ecclesiastical law, 398; confers with French commissioners, 459; his astrological MS. ccxvii; bp. Taylor died at his house, civ  
 Smyth, John, player, 382; Christmas fool, clxxii  
 Snaythe, sir William, nom. K.B. ccc  
 Soldiers sent to their "mansions," 267, 579  
 Solway moss, 301  
 Somerset, Anne duchess of, 253; sent to the Tower, 355; had little intercourse with the King, cxlii, cccxiv  
 ——— Edward duke of (*see* Hertford), letters of Edward to, 47, 50, 51; his assumption of the Royal "We," 46; announces to the King his accession, and rides with him from Enfield to the Tower, 210; created duke of Somerset, elected protector of the realm and governor of the King's person, appointed lord treasurer and earl marshal, 211; at the coronation, ccxciii; his style set forth, 214; his services on the Scottish border, 215; challenged by the earl of Huntly, 218; makes several knights, 219; his unwise proclamation respecting inclosures, 225; intended to go against the Norfolk rebels, 231; at Gardyner's sermon, cvi, cviii; occupies "the Queen's side" of the royal palaces, cxi; his intercourse with the King, cxlii; deposed from the protectorate, ccxviii; cabal of the council against him, 232; course of proceedings against, 233, 234; and documents relating thereto, 235-243; deprived of his offices, 244; delivered of his bonds and came to court, 255; taken into the council, 256; his license for 200 retainers, *ib.*; at a chapter of the Garter, 260; restored to his goods, 262; taken into the privy chamber, 268; death of his mother, cxlvii; his band of horse, 299; rumours of his restoration to the protectorship, 303; to revise the order of the Garter, 314, 512; dines with the French ambassadors, 272; entertains them, 273; sups with the vicedam of Chartres, 276; his men of arms sent to the sea coast, 285; appointed lieutenant of Oxfordshire, &c. 267, 288, 289; at Richmond, 336; executes conspirators at Okingham, 340; at the creation of the duke of Northumberland, 352; the charges on his second prosecution, 353; his treatment from Cecill, 354; documents relating to his second fall, 369; his trial, 370; the King describes his trial, 71; and concurs in his execution, 489, 490; his men of arms appointed to the duke of Suffolk, 381; his execution, clvii, 390; amount of his guilt, 474; censured by Knox for sacrificing his brother, clxx; lamented it, as stated by the lady Elizabeth, cxxi; neglected sermons to visit his masons, clxxix; his children, lx; letter of Cheke to, on *philautia*, ccxlv; his character, ccxlv  
 Somerset, sir George, clxxii  
 Sommers, Will, xlv, xlv, lxxii  
 Soranzo, Giacomo, 635  
 Southampton, the King's visit to, ccliii, 81, 444; Guidotti resident there, 256; mart proposed at, 405, 505 *et seq.* 549  
 ——— Thomas Wriothesley, earl of, created, xciii, 211; mentioned, cclx, cclxiv, cclxv, ccxciii; deposed from the chancellorship, xc; takes an active part in the deposition of Somerset, cxxxii, 232, 245; and is disappointed, cxxxiii; put off the council, 249; his death, 288  
 Southwark, 228, 233, 234, 244, 344  
 Southwell, sir Richard, xxiv; assistant to King Henry's executors, lxxxiv, cxxxii, cxxxiii, cclviii, cclxx, cclxxiv, cccxv, 233, 237, 242; committed to the Fleet, 246  
 ——— sir Robert, cccxv, 246  
 Southwick priory, 357  
 Southworth, sir John, knighted, 220  
 Speke, sir Thomas, a joust, ccci, ccciii  
 Spinola, Paul Baptist, 229; knighted, cccviii  
 Spires, 410  
 Spring, sir John, knighted, cccii  
 Stafford, Henry lord, lxvii, cccxxxii; at Somerset's trial, 371  
 ——— sir Humphrey, knighted, cccii  
 ——— sir Robert, clxviii, 388  
 ——— sir Thomas, 382  
 ——— sir William, clxvi, 260, 349, 384

- Stafforton, mr. 513  
 Stamford, 364, 365  
 ——— William, serjeant-at-law, 398,  
 399, 415, 416, 487  
 Stamp of the King's signature, *xxe*, 236, 338  
 Standon, Edmund, 436  
 Stanhope, sir Michael, Pref. iii, cxxviii,  
 cccxv, 54, 58; sent to the Tower, cxxxii,  
 234; again, 355; charges against him,  
 361; commander of Hull, 385; keeper  
 of Guildford manor, 434; letter of, cxxxi;  
 execution, 392  
 Stanley, sir William, knighted, ccci  
 Stansted, 356  
 Staple, merchants of the, 506  
 Stapleton, Thomas, 451  
 Star chamber, 267, 357  
 Steedes (merchants), 429, *see* Steelyard  
 Steelyard merchants, 390, 391, 401, 403,  
 413, 429, 489, 507, 509  
 Stephens, William, 384  
 Sternholde, Thomas, lv, xccxii, cccxvii  
 Stirling castle, 467  
 Stourton, lord, cclix, 225, 360, 363; at  
 Somerset's trial, 371; mourner at the  
 King's funeral, ccxl  
 ——— Charles, surrenders Newhaven, 227  
 ——— — sir Charles, knighted, 219  
 ——— — John, lxxvii  
 Stradling, sir Thomas, cccviii, 365  
 Strange, Anthony, 451  
 ——— Henry lord, lxxv; a hostage in  
 France, 252, 253, 262; runs at the ring,  
 272; testimony against the duke of So-  
 merset, 361, 373  
 Strangways, sir Giles, cclxi, cccvii  
 Strasburg, 405, 417  
 Strelley, sir Anthony, cvii, 220  
 ——— sir Nicholas, deputy warden of the  
 East march, 304, 364, 448; his charac-  
 ter, 462  
 Stremer, mr. clxxv  
 Streete, of the guard, 375  
 Strete, Thomas, cccxii  
 Stretes, Guiliam, painter, cccxliv, cccli  
 Strozzi, Leo, prior of Capua, 343, 353  
 ——— Pietro, 222, 334, 338, 468  
 Strynger, mr. clxxiv  
 Stuart, charged with intention to poison the  
 queen of Scots, 318, 581  
 Stukeley, Thomas, 266; his information  
 against the French king, 455, 457, 462,  
 464, 540, 542, 593; sent to the Tower,  
 462  
 Stump, sir James, knighted, cccviii  
 Stumphius, John Rodolph, l  
 Sturbridge fair, 506  
 Sturmius, John, his praise of King Edward,  
 ccii; letters to, cxxxvii, cl  
 Subtle, the galley, 271  
 Succession, the King's devise for 561 *et seq.*:  
 'the lords' engagement to, 572; described  
 by M. de Noailles, cxciv  
 Sudley, 390; *see* Seymour, sir Thomas  
 Suffolk, insurrection in, 225  
 ——— Charles Brandon, duke of, godfather  
 to King Edward, cclviii—ccixv, 209; his  
 death, 434  
 ——— Charles Brandon second duke of,  
 liv, lvi, lvii, lxii, lxxix, xcii; at the co-  
 ronation, cccxiii, cccxvi; a hostage on  
 the peace with France, 251, 252, 259,  
 262; runs at the ring, 272; his Latin  
 verses on the death of Bucer, 306; death  
 of, 330  
 ——— the dukedom reconferred, clv  
 ——— Henry Grey, duke of (*see* Dorset),  
 creation of, 350; at court, 360, 362; at  
 Somerset's trial, 371; has Somerset's  
 band of men of arms, 381, 419, 435; in  
 progress with the King, 436; a commis-  
 sioner, 469; in parliament, 492, 493;  
 privy councillor, 498, 501; K.G. 518,  
 cccix  
 ——— bad character attributed to one of  
 the dukes of, 137  
 ——— Frances duchess of, 360, 362, 363,  
 clxxvii, cxc  
 ——— Katharine duchess dowager of, 364,  
 365  
 ——— place, Southwark, cxxviii, 228, 233,  
 234, 243, 244  
 Suits, regulations respecting, 427, 497  
 Suliarde, William, cccxli  
 Superantio, ambassador from Venice, 322  
 Supremacy, oath of, cxliii, cxlvi  
 Supreme Head, the King's title, acknow-  
 ledged by bishop Gardynier, cvii; by the  
 French, 269  
 Surgeons, the King's, cccxviii, cccxli  
 Surrey, earl of, ccxx, cccxi, cccxii  
 Sussex, insurrections in, 225—273; search  
 for vagabonds, &c. 280; duke of Somer-  
 set lieutenant of, 288

Sussex, earl of, cclviii, cclix; sewer at coronation, ccxcvii; conducts the duke of Somerset to the Tower, 235; in council, 237; at Somerset's trial, 371; in parliament, 492; mourner at the funerals of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. ccxl  
 Sutton, Oliver, 383  
 Sweating sickness, 329, 587  
 Sweden, ambassador from, 255; his message and the answer, 260; departs home, 263  
 Swords, anecdote of the swords at Edward's coronation, ccii  
 Sydenham, sir John, knighted, ccviii  
 Sydney, *see* Sidney  
 Symonde, Anthony, ccxxii  
 Syon house, cxxxviii, 243, 279, 285, 460

## T

Tables at court reduced, 458, 543  
 Tadcaster, 364  
 de Taille, mons. 428  
 Talbot, George lord, lxi; a hostage in France, 252, 253, 262  
 ——— sir John, knighted, 220  
 Taverner, Richard, 376  
 Taylor, John, sermon at court, civ; commissioner on ecclesiastical laws, 398, 399; made bishop of Lincoln, 414  
 ——— dr. Rowland, commissioner on ecclesiastical laws, 398, 399  
 Temple, William, 306  
 Tennis-play, ccxxii, 425  
 Terentianus, Julius, cxxxvii  
 Terill, mr. 387  
 Terling, Levyn, cccliv  
*Teste*, showing the position of the great seal, not of the King's person, cx  
 Testerns, abased in value, 317, 329, 332, 338; proclamation against melting down, 343; proclamation for exchanging, 353  
 de Thermes, mons. 86, 321, 334, 335, 338, 340; biog. note, 322  
 Therouenne, 440  
 Thirleby, Thomas, disputes on the sacrament, cxii; letters to dr. Parker, cxxv, cclxii; made bishop of Norwich, 255; a commissioner, 312, 406, 414, 468, 469; in parliament, 492, 493; privy councillor, 499, 501  
 Thomas, John, clxvi  
 Thomas, William, his commendation of King Edward, lxxxi; made clerk of the council, 258; his fee in that office, clxii; his essays on state policy, *ib.*; translation of Barbaro, cccxxxv; in France, 58  
 Thomond, earldom of, 386  
 Thornborough, sir William, knighted, 219  
 Thorpe, William, ccxxii  
 Throckmorton, sir ———, excepted from the general pardon, 212  
 Throckmorton, sir Nicholas, goes to France, 317; at court, 359  
 Thynne, sir John, knighted, 219; sent to the Tower, 234, 240, 241; again, 365; deprived of his offices, 423  
 Tiberio, captain, 223  
 Tichborne, Edward, 451  
 Tichfield, the King's visit to, 81, 444  
 Tide, high, 75  
 Tilting, ccxx, 274, 275, 368, 384, 387, 389  
 Timber, act for preservation of, 494  
 Tittenhanger, 32  
 de Toges, mons. 224, 428  
 Tomson, John, 306  
 Tonge, dr. Roger, lxxx, cv  
 Torrentinus, Laurence, 399  
 Toto, Anthony, serjeant painter, ccv, ccxvi, cccliv  
 Toul, 471  
 Tournay, ccxx, 221, 275, 317, 387  
 Tower of London, the King's reception at, on his accession, 211; letters written by him there, 38, 39, 40; mentioned, 234, 235; sir Philip Hoby placed there during the King's progress, 432, 436  
 Towneley, sir Richard, knighted, 220  
 Townsend, sir Roger, eclxxi  
 Traheron, Bartholomew, l, 306; his report of discussion on the sacrament, cxii; letters, cxxxix, cxlv; commission on ecclesiastical law, 398, 399  
 Travers, captain, 229, 230  
 Trent, *see* Council  
 de la Tremouille, Louis seigneur, 253, 257, 259, 289, 292  
 Trepont, burned by the queen of Hungary, 85  
 Treves, 461, 466  
 Troyes, 401  
 Triumphs: ccxxi; at Greenwich, 221, 317, 1; at Blackheath, 328



Trumpet playing on the Thames at Greenwich, cxix

Trumpeters, the King's, cccxi

Tuckar, Lazarus, 400, 419

Tuke, mr. xxxviii

Tumblers, that played before the King, cxix

Tunstall, Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, executor to Henry VIII. lxxxiv, lxxxviii, cclxiv, cclxv; at the coronation, cxciii, cxcvii; commission on his matters, 343; committed to the Tower, 378; decision deferred, 427; deprived, 464, 490

Turks, war with, advocated, for the sake of religion, 98, 125, 457; they prepare for war, 322; their proceedings, 338, 341, 343, 349; assail Malta, 353; their warfare in 1552, 446; proposed league against, 457, 460, 539, 541

Turner, dr Richard, 488, 548

Turnour, captain, 286

Tuxford, 364

Tweed, fishing in the, 300, 301

Tybourn, 248

Tye, dr. Christopher, liv

Tyrol, 421

Tyrone, earl of, xxxviii, 465

Tyrrell, sir Henry, nom. K.B. ccc

——— sir John, cclxii, 350; *see* Terill

Tyrwhitt, lady, 10, 577

——— sir Robert, xxiv, lxxv, cclviii, 10

——— doctor, cclxii

Tytler, Mr. his remarks on King Edward's Journal, Pref. xiii

## U

Udall, Nicholas, 306; reported Gardyners sermon, cviii; his eulogy of King Edward, cc; dedication of the Anatomy of Geminus, ccxcli

Ulm, 412, 459

ab Ulmis, John, letters of, cxlv

Ulster king of Arms appointed, 395

Underhill, Edward, cxxviii, 513

Uniformity of service, act for, 223, 547

Unton, sir Alexander, nom. K.B. ccc

——— sir Edward, 274

Ursiewe, Nicholas, cccxvii

Utenhovius, John, letter of, clxix

Uxbridge, 237

## V

Vachell, Thomas, clxxxvi

Vagabonds, act for the punishment of, 220; search made for, 280

de Valois, queen Marguerite, 274

de Vandeville, mons. 465

Vane, sir Ralph, cclxxiv; made a banneret, 219; involved in the duke of Somerset's fall, 353, 355, 356; condemned of felony, 391; execution, 392, 394, 396, 593; his forfeited offices and property, 431

——— Elizabeth lady, 392

Vanne, Peter, cccxv; sent ambassador to Venice, 257, 269

Vanrossi, Martin, 349, 420, 465

Vaughan, Cuthbert, cccxii

——— George, sent to the Tower, 355

——— Jeffrey, 400

——— sir John, knighted, cccli

——— sir Roger, knighted, cccviii

——— Stephen, 316

Vavasour, mr. 364

Vendosme, Antoine duc de, 465; birth of his eldest son, 346

Venice, Peter Vanne sent ambassador to, 269

——— ambassadors of, 635; their Relations, 322, cccxxxv

Ventrixe, John, xcvi

Verney, Edmund and Francis, 582

——— Ralph, cclxi

——— sir Richard, knighted, 220

Vernon, sir George, destined for a barony, cclxii; nominate K.B. ccc

Veysey, John, bishop of Exeter, notices of, 339

Victuals, proclamations on, 293, 295, 296, 342, 367; Londoners threatened thereon, 424

Vienna, 460

Villa Francha, 369

Villandry, ambassador from France, 463, 468, 470

Villars, count, 353

de Villesiege, sir Alonzo, knighted, cccvii, 220

Vincent, David, cccxii

——— of Calais, clxxxv

——— mistress, cccxv

Virginals, taught the King by John Aysheley, cxix, cccxi

Vives, Juan Ludovico, cccxxix, 3, 16, 19  
 Vowell, alias Hooker, John, his narrative of  
 the Devonshire rebellion, 230

## W

- Wade, Armigell, 378; his fee as clerk of  
 the council, clxii  
 Waldegrave, sir Edward, ccxxxviii, 336,  
 339, 340  
 Walderton, sir William, knighted, ccviii  
 Wales, sir W. Herbert appointed lord pre-  
 sident of, 256, 277  
 Walldyke, the lord, knighted, 219  
 Wallop, sir John, xxiv, cclviii, ccxv, 266;  
 commissioner for the French borders, 286  
 Walpole, Horace, on King Edward's writings,  
 Pref. xiii, xviii  
 Waltham, 543; *see* Bishop's Waltham  
 Walters, William, cclxxvii  
 Warblington, the King's visit to, 80, 440;  
 the Queen dowager of Scotland at, 358  
 Warcop, Mr. 384, 388  
 Wardrobe, the, xxiv b, 544  
 Ware, 364  
 Warner, sir Edward, cclxxiii  
 le Warre, Thomas lord, cclix, 273; elected  
 a K.G. ccxix  
 Warton on the character of King Edward,  
 Pref. xviii  
 Warwick, Anne countess of, *see* Seymour,  
 lady Anne  
 ——— John Dudley, viscount Lisle,  
 created earl of, 211; appointed great  
 chamberlain, 212; and so attends the  
 coronation, ccxciii; second in command in  
 Scotland, 50, 51, 215; almost taken pri-  
 soner, 217; makes knights, 220; encoun-  
 ters the Norfolk rebels, 231; his cabal  
 against the protector, 232; made one of  
 the six lords attendant, 242; re-appointed  
 lord admiral, 244; lord great master, 248,  
 249; general warden of the North, 256;  
 his entertainment at Syon, 279; examines  
 bishop Gardynere, 283; excused from  
 going to the North, 285; his band of  
 horse, 299; revises the laws of the  
 Garter, 314, 513, xvi; at a triumph on  
 Blackheath, 328; at Richmond, 336; made  
 warden of the North, 344; his partisans,  
 347; favours Protestantism, cxi, cxlvi,  
 cxlviii; illness, cxlii; created duke of  
 Northumberland, clv, 351. *See* Northum-  
 berland  
 Warwick, John earl of, son of the pre-  
 ceding (*see* Lisle), 360, 362, 368, 384,  
 389; has fifty men of arms, 391, 419,  
 435; made master of the horse, 409;  
 biogr. notice of, lxxv; marriage, cxlvii;  
 Wilson's *Arte of Rhetoricke* dedicated  
 to, ccxcli  
 Warwickshire, insurrection in, 225  
 Waterford, fortifications at, 310  
 Watson, Thomas, present at Gardynere's  
 sermon, cviii  
 Waucop, Robert, archbp. of Armagh, 257,  
 579  
 Welsborne, sir John, cclxi, ccxv  
 Wendy, dr. Thomas, cxcvii, cc, ccxciv  
 Wentworth, sir John, knighted, ccxii  
 ——— Nicholas lord, cxxxii, 234, 241;  
 made one of the six lords attendant, 243;  
 made lord chamberlain, 245, 248; his  
 band of horse, 299; his death, 306;  
 funeral of, cxlix  
 ——— Thomas lord, 360; at Somers-  
 set's trial, 371; deputy of Calais, 462,  
 635; in parliament, 492  
 ——— sir Nicholas (or William?)  
 porter of Calais, 457  
 ——— sir Thomas, knighted, 219  
 ——— lady, 360  
 West, servant to the lord admiral Seymour,  
 cxviii  
 Westmerland, earl of, 303, 404; K.G. ccxix;  
 accused of conspiracy 463; privy coun-  
 cillor, 498, 501  
 ——— countess of, ccxcv  
 Westminster palace, xcvi, 577  
 Weston, sir Richard, cclxi  
 Wetherby, 364  
 Whalley, Richard, receiver of Yorkshire,  
 escapes arrest at Windsor, cxxxi; letter  
 to Cecill, clv; sent to the Tower, 241; to  
 the Fleet, 303; again to the Tower, 355;  
 deprived of his office, 423  
 Wharton, Thomas lord, 364; at Somerset's  
 trial, 371; commissioner for the Debate-  
 able land, 404; warden of the Scottish  
 marches, 439, 440  
 ——— sir Henry, knighted, ccxvi  
 Wheler, prince Edward's servant, 5  
 Whipping or Breeching boy, lxi  
 Whitchurch, Edward, lvi

- White, John, 357  
 ——— bishop John and sir John, lxi  
 ——— Stephen, 451  
 Whitehall palace, xcvi; the preaching-place at, cvi, cxxvi, 63  
 Whitehead, David, 488  
 Whitsuntide, observance of, xcix  
 Whittingham, William, lvi  
 Whittington, mr. lxxvi  
 Wight, Isle of, descent of the French on, 113; duke of Somerset's intention to go to, 356; survey of, 417  
 Wightman, William, cxxlvii  
 van Wilder, Peter, cxxxi; Philip, liv, cccxi, 20, 317  
 Wildfire on the Thames, 273  
 Wilford, sir James, knighted, 219; biogr. note, 222  
 Wilkes, master Richard, cv  
 Willanton, Robert, at Gardyners sermon, cix  
 Willems, Marc, painter, cccli  
 Williams, sir John, treasurer of the augmentations, clxvii, cccxv, 92, 234, 271, 283; his fee, 432; committed to the Fleet, 421  
 ——— John, cclxi  
 ——— William, assay-master, 425  
 Willot, mr. clxxiii  
 Willoughby, sir Christopher, cclxii  
 ——— sir Edward and sir Francis, 445  
 ——— George, 227  
 ——— sir Hugh, his expedition, clxxxvi  
 ——— sir William, created lord Willoughby of Parham, xciv, cclxxii, cclxxiv, cclxxvii, 211; appointed deputy of Calais, 294; at court, 360, 363; deputy of Calais, 388; revoked from Calais, 457, 461; in parliament, 492  
 Wilson, dr. cclxii  
 ——— Miles, 306  
 ——— sir Thomas, verses on Bucer, 306; book on the dukes of Suffolk, 330; his *Arte of Logique*, and of *Rhetorique*, cccxl  
 Wilton, 240; the King's visit to, 449  
 Wiltshire, insurrection in, 225; duke of Somerset lieutenant of, 288  
 ——— George Boleyn, earl of, cclviii, cclix, cclxiv  
 ——— William Paulet, earl of (*see* St. John), at a chapter of the Garter, 260, 512; at Gardyners sermon, cix; examines bishop Gardyners, 283; his band of horse, 299; at Richmond, 336; partisan of Warwick, 347; created marquess of Winchester, 352. *See* Winchester  
 Wiltshire, John Paulet, earl of, 359, 360, 363, 364  
 Wimbush, sir Thomas, cclxxii  
 Winchester, the King's visit to, 87, 450  
 ——— William marquess of (*see* St. John and Wiltshire), created, 352; at court, 363; letter of, 362, 369; lord steward at the trial of the duke of Somerset, 367, 371; his men of arms, 375, 419, 435; receives the seal from Rich, 379; with the King on his progress, 436; mentioned, clxxvii, 493, 498, 501; his jest on St. George, 513; ruled all by counsel and wit, clxx; Knox's diatribe against him, *ib.*; his conduct with regard to the succession, cxciv; Morysine's character of, cccxxvii; chief mourner at the King's funeral, cclx  
 ——— lady marquess of, clxxvii, 362  
 Windham, mr. Thomas, clxxiii, 382  
 Windsor castle, xcvi, cx, cxxxviii; the King's night journey thither, cxxix; his dislike to, cxxxi; the King at, 87, 233, 285, 286, 290, 339, 343, 454  
 ——— altars defaced at, 280  
 Windsor, lord, at Somerset's trial, 371; in parliament, 492 *bis*; mourner at the King's funeral, cclx  
 ——— sir Thomas, 382  
 Wingfield, sir Anthony, assistant to executors of King Henry, lxxxiv, cxxxii; mentioned, cclxii; 234, 240, 242, 260, 308; made comptroller, 248; at Gardyners sermon, cvii; arrested him, cix; arrests the duke of Somerset, cxxx; his death, 448; privy councillor, 498, 501  
 Wingfield, sir Humphrey, xli  
 ——— James, 355  
 ——— mrs. 355  
 ——— sir Richard, captain of Portsmouth, 356, 359, 417, 443  
 Winter, William, surveyor of the ships, 279, 288; his ship taken by the French, 463; to keep the Thames, 542  
 Wirtemberg, duke of, 445  
 Wisdome, Gregory, clxxxvi  
 ——— sir Robert, 488  
 Woking, *see* Oking

- Wolfe, Edward, sent to the Tower, 234.  
 ——— Reine, cccxvii  
 Woodhall, Richard and Thomas, 441  
 Woodham Walter, 297  
 Woodhouse, sir Thomas, knighted, cccvii  
 ——— sir William, 271  
 Woodlands, the King's visit to, 445  
 Woodward, Richard, ccxxii  
 Wool-fleet, the, of Antwerp, 309, 341, 406,  
 508  
 Woolwich, 271, 328  
 Worcester, earl of, summoned to court, 270;  
 attends the French ambassadors, 271;  
 goes to France, 316, 317; at Somerset's  
 trial, 371; mourner at the King's funeral,  
 ccxl  
 Worcestershire, insurrection in, 225  
 Wotton, sir Edward, executor to Henry  
 VIII. lxxxiv, cxxxii, 233, 238, 242;  
 privy councillor, 499—501  
 ——— dr. Nicholas, executor to Henry  
 VIII. lxxviii, lxxxiv, cxxxii, ccxxviii,  
 233, 237, 242; appointed secretary of  
 state, 244; mentioned, 273; resigns, 292;  
 sent ambassador to the emperor, 307,  
 313; confers with ambassador from the  
 German princes, 357, 435; with the  
 French commissioners, 459  
 Wright, Henry, 306  
 Wriothesley, secretary, xxv; executor to  
 Henry VIII. lxxxiv, lxxxviii, cclxii;  
 created earl of Southampton, xciii. *See*  
 Southampton  
 Wroth, sir Thomas, iii, xlv, cviii, cxvi,  
 cxviii, cxcix, 50; knighted, cccli; made  
 one of the four knights attendant, ccxiii,  
 224; a commissioner, 403, 469; privy  
 councillor, 499—501  
 Wyatt, mr. xxxviii  
 ——— sir Thomas, knighted, cccviii  
 Wye, John, xxiii  
 Wymondham steeple, William Kett hanged  
 on, 231  
 Wynburne, ———, 397  
 Wyndham, sir Edmond, sheriff of Norfolk,  
 231  
 ——— sir John, knighted, ccci  
 Wythers, Richard, Portcullis, 429

## Y

- Ychingham, Edward, lxxvii  
 Yeomen, or Franklins, honest and wealthy,  
 56  
 York, 364; mint at, 344  
 Yorke, Sir John, knighted, cccvii, 233,  
 234, 243, 244, 295; his loss by treason,  
 307; discharged from the mint, 491;  
 master of the woods south of Trent, 433  
 ——— Lady, 362  
 Yorkshire, insurrection in, 228  
 Young, doctor John, cv, cix  
 Younge, John, 317, 582

## Z

- Zinzan, Alexander, cccxii  
 Zouche, Lord, cccxiv; at Somerset's trial,  
 371  
 de la Zouche, sir John, knighted, cccvii



# ERRATA.

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- P. xxxi, line 6 from foot of notes, *for* Astrugie *read* Ashrigie.  
P. xlv, line 2 of note, *for* comendam *read* comendum.  
P. lxi, line 2 of note, *for* 1582 *read* 1552.  
P. cxlix. Franciscus Riverius was not Burgoyne, but Perusel: see correction to page 579 below.  
P. clxii, note <sup>3</sup>, *read* sir Anthony Denny died Oct. 28, 1549: see Athenæ Cantab. i. 539.  
P. ccv, note, line 5, *for* Bacon *read* Becon.  
P. ccviii, note <sup>b</sup> is incorrect, and corrected in p. ccxiii.  
P. 4, second line of small type, *for* ipsa me *read* ipsa mea me.  
P. 13, note, *for* accroyse *read* accroyre.  
P. 43, line 12, *for* Sir W. Hatton *read* Sir William Hickes. The MSS. quoted by Strype as "Sir W. H. MSS." belonged to Sir William Hickes, to whom they had descended from Lord Burghley's secretary. They are now the MS. Lansdowne 1236.  
P. 98. No. 50 is the declamation printed as Oratio XI. That on Astronomy is Oratio XII.  
P. 173, *for* Hatton *read* Hickes (see above).  
P. 219, note, *for* [eldest] son *read* [second] son: see p. 236.  
P. 232, last line of note, *for* as *read* by.  
P. 238, *for* sir Edward *read* sir Edmund Peckham.  
P. 262, line 14, *for* married *read* remarried.  
P. 288, last line of note, *for* 21 Hen. VII. *read* 21 Hen. VIII.  
P. 290, last line of note, *for* May *read* April.  
P. 291, note, *for* James fifth lord Maxwell *read* Robert.  
P. 292, *for* 20. Removing to Oteland *read* 26.  
P. 304, *for* sir Michael Strelley *read* sir Nicholas.  
P. 309, line 2, *for* it *read* at.  
P. 322. The ambassador from Venice, called "Superantio" in the King's Journal, was no doubt Giacomo Soranzo. (List of Venetian Ambassadors to England, by the late John Holmes, esq. F.S.A. in British Museum, MS. Addit. 20,760.) Arms were granted to Giacomo Superantio by patent, dated 5 Feb. 6 Edw. VI. (MS. Ashmole 858, art. 19.)  
P. 335, note <sup>3</sup>, *for* Sheen *read* Otford.  
P. 339, note <sup>3</sup>, line 16, *read* actual fellow 1487. If bishop Voysey was fellow in 1482, he would have been 87 at his death in 1554.  
P. 340, note <sup>1</sup> refers to the fourth (not the second) paragraph of the text.  
P. 387, note, line 2, *for* sir Edward *read* sir Lucius O'Bryen.  
P. 423, note <sup>1</sup>, *for* June 5 or 12, *read* June 19.  
P. 447, line 16 of note, *for* Weastley *read* Wrastley.  
P. 448, note <sup>4</sup>, *for* Dane *read* Dacre (p. 471); and last line, *for* p. 439 *read* p. 441.  
P. 462. Thomas lord Wentworth was appointed deputy of Calais by letters patent dated Sept. 13, 1558.  
P. 578, line 18, *for* consolars *read* conselars (*i. e.* counsellors).  
P. 579, line 25, fill up the blank with the name of Francis Perusel, afterwards minister of Wesel in the duchy of Cleves (see Foxe's narrative of the duchess of Suffolk's exile).













